HISTORY OF THE REDDI KINGDOMS

(Circa 1325 A.D. to Circa 1448 A.D.)

by

M. Somasekhara Sarma

(Department of History, Economics & Politics)

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY, WALTAIR.

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Contents

PART I : POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE

Preface to the Reprint
Acknowledgements
Introduction
Preface
Abbreviations

Chapter	I.	Sources		
		i. Inscriptions	...	1
		ii. Literature	...	2
		(1) Indian		
		(2) Foreign		
		iii. Traditional accounts	...	10
"	II.	Political condition of the Telugu country	...	16
"	III.	The chronology of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu		38
		Appendix ...	...	48
"	IV.	Early History of the Koṇḍavīṭi family	...	50
		Appendix ...	...	70
"	V.	Prōlaya Vēmā Reḍḍi ...	...	76
		Appendix ...	...	92
"	VI.	Anavōta ...	...	95
		Appendix ...	...	106
"	VII.	Anavema ...	...	110
"	VIII.	Kumāragiri ...	...	122
		Appendix ...	...	151
"	IX.	Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma ...	...	157
		Appendix ...	...	169
"	X.	Rāca Vēmā Reḍḍi ...	...	170
"	XI.	Rājamahēndra Rājya or the Eastern Kingdom		172
"	XII.	History of the kingdom of Kandukūru	...	194
"	XIII.	Government ...	...	203
"	XIV.	Crime and Punishment ...	...	224
"	XV.	Military organisation and war	...	235

PART II: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL

			PAGE
		Introduction	253
Chapter	I.	Society	255
		Appendix	283
"	II.	Dress and Ornaments:	
		Dress	286
		Ornaments	295
"	III.	Religion	304
"	IV.	Social customs, Rites and Festivals ...	323
		Different ceremonies and Saṁskāras	327
		Peculiar customs and rites ...	338
		Other customs and beliefs ...	350
		Festivals	353
"	V.	Agriculture	362
		Land survey and land measures ...	363
		Irrigation	368
		Cultivation	373
		Cattle	377
		Labour	378
"	VI.	Industry and Trade	380
		Industry	388
		Trade	389
		Inland trade	392
		Sea-borne trade	403
"	VII.	Games and Amusements	416
		Music	417
		Dance	423
		Hunting	438
		Bull fights etc.	443
		Sports and games	444
"	VIII.	Architecture and Painting:	
		Architecture	448
		Painting	454
"	IX.	Literature	457
		Sanskrit literature	462
		Telugu literature	492
		Literary court	538
		Appendix	543

PREFACE TO THE REPRINT

The idea of reprinting the book 'History of the Reddi Kingdoms' written by late Sri Mallampalli Soma Sekhara Sarma and published by Andhra University in 1948 was mooted by DR. Mudigonda Veerabhadra Sastry and Sri Y. Anjaneyulu of Telugu University, Hyderabad. I was then heading the School of History, Culture and Archaeology, Telugu University a couple of years back. Keeping in view the importance of the book for researchers and general readers in Andhra History and great personal reverence to late Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma, I felt the need to get the book reprinted.

The researches in the History of Reddi Kingdoms have been very few and added very little to the knowledge of the History of Reddi rule. Attempts either to excavate the capital towns of the Reddi Kingdoms or to study the archaeological material, recovered in the excavations elsewhere for the reconstruction of Reddi Cultural History have been lacking. As such the sources of History of Reddi rule remained same even to the later researchers. Hence the decision was taken to reprint the book. I approached the Reddi Welfare Association, Srisailam to take up the publication of the book. They readily agreed and provided necessary funding for bringing out this book.

Shortly, a Telugu version of this book will get into the press for a wider reading in Andhra Pradesh.

-- K.Thimma Reddy

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the outset; we pay homage and respect to late Prof. Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, a great researcher and scholar of eminence. The proposal to reprint the book "History of the Reddi Kingdoms" was brought to the Association by Prof. K. Thimma Reddy, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam. We are thankful to him for taking up the responsibility of printing the book. We express our sincere gratitude to the Vice-chancellor, Andhra University, for permitting us to reprint the book. Our sincere thanks are due to Prof. C. Soma Sundara Rao, Andhra University, a disciple of Late Prof.M Soma Sekhara Sarma for writing introductory remarks. We thank Dr. Abburi Gopala Krishna, Deptt. of Theatre Arts, Andhra University for the excellent design for the cover page. Finally we thank SPAA Offset Colour Prints, Visakhapatnam for excellent and fast work executed in bringing out the "History of the Reddi Kingdoms".

-- All India Reddi Welfare Association
Srisailam

INTRODUCTION

It is gratifying to note that Sri M Soma Sekhara Sarma garu's "History of the Reddi Kingdoms" which was published by the Andhra University in 1948 is being reprinted now. The work was the result of painstaking research and a commitment to the subject. While discussing problems relating to political history, the author threw much light on the society and culture of the Reddi period (1325-1448 A.D.). In these chapters. Sri Sarma garu gave a brief historical survey of each aspect relating to Andhra before actually dealing with the conditions obtaining during the Reddi period. He has utilized the literary source in an exhaustive manner to delineate the culture of the period. As a result, the book has been hailed as the model for research in Andhra History. Such an important work, which was out of print, has been much in demand; and now, this long-felt need is satisfied by this reprint.

No effort has been made in the present edition to incorporate new information that has accumulated in the four decades and a half after its first publication. However, a few discoveries have been listed out below, in order to focus the attention of the readers on the new material:

(i) Dr. N Ramesan has published the Puvvada grant of Prolaya Vema and the Pedapalakaluru plates of Anavema in the book entitled "Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum", Volume-I, pp177ff and 185ff. Sri Somasekhara Sarma himself was aware of these plates; and he wrote a foreword to this work.

(ii) Sri K.H.V. Sarma and Sri T Krishna Murti published the Annavarappadu plates of Kataya Vema in Ep.Ind., Vol.36 pp.167ff which is an important record for the history of Reddis. For the first time, this inscription states that the Reddis of Kondavidu hailed from the town of Vellaseri and that the family of Kataya Vema from the town of Pallamudulla in Pantanadu. It is alsosaid that the gotras of these two families got their names from the towns from which the families hailed.

Again, we come to know that Anavota and Anavema were the sons of Annaya, a brother of Prolaya Vema and that the latter adopted them as his sons. One more important point noted in this inscription is the name

of Anyama, who was the daughter of Anavota and the queen of Kataya Vema.

Besides these, the Pinapalla grant of the Reddis of Rajahmundry and a few other articles on various issues relating to the Reddi history have been published in the Telugu journals like Bharati and Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika by scholars like Sarvasri T. Krishna Murti, M Sambasiva Ramamurti and Chilukuri Papayya Sastri.

Sri Somasekhara Sarma garu noted in the preface to his book on the Reddi Kingdoms that he could not utilise the material published in the "Reddi Sanchika" edited by Sri Vaddadi Appa Rao and published under the auspices of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry as his work was already in the press. It may be noted that the "Reddi Sanchika" was reprinted in 1991 by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

The above survey indicates that though some new inscriptions have been discovered and the light they throw on history has been interpreted in different ways by scholars, most of the work of Sri Somasekhara Sarma garu needs no alteration.

It may be mentioned here that excavations at the capital cities of the Reddis like Kondavidu and Rajahmundry might throw light on the civil architecture and culture of the period.

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PREFACE

'*History of the Reḍḍi Kingdoms*' is the result of research carried out during my stay in the Andhra University, Waltair. It forms the sequel to my earlier work, '*A forgotten chapter of Andhra history*' It is the history of the three Reḍḍi kingdoms of Koṇḍavīḍu, Rājamahēndravaram, and Kandukūru which shaped the destinies of the Andhra people in the coastal tract lying between Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district and Kandukūru in the Nellore district, and covers over a century and a quarter from 1325 A.D. to A.D. 1448. Of the three kingdoms, Koṇḍavīḍu was the chief and the earliest, the two others being its offshoots. The Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, who began as the subordinates of the Musunūri chiefs of Rēkapalli and Warangal, soon became independent, and played an important role during the revival of Hindu supremacy in the post-Kākatīya period.

The history of Koṇḍavīḍu is beaten track.. Many scholars have already worked at it from different angles. Śrīmān Bukkapatnam Raghavacharyulu of the Guntur district was the earliest historian of the Andhra country. He was a scholar both in Sanskrit and Telugu. For some time he acted as a first class Revenue Inspector of the Guntur taluk, and later, was promoted to the post of Deputy Tahasildar. Under orders from the late Hon. D. S Charmichael, Member of Council for the Madras Presidency, he wrote during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the history of the Andhra country under the title, *Telugudēśa Caritra*, basing his account on copper-plate records, stone inscriptions and Telugu literature. This work, which deals with the history of the Andhra country till the end of the Vijayanagar (?) period, is yet unpublished. It is preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The history of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu is but a small chapter in this work. There are other minor works in Telugu on the history of the Reḍḍis, prominent among them being *Koṇḍavīṭisāmrājyamu* by Śrī Maddulapalli Gurubrahma Sarma, who based his account chiefly on the *Koṇḍavīṭi Daṇḍakavile*, the *kaifiyat* of Koṇḍavīḍu, and on Telugu literature. It was the late Śrī Chilukuri Virabhadrarao who first published a history of the Reḍḍi kings worth the name, which formed the third volume of his history of the Āndhras in Telugu (*Āndhrula Caritra*). This volume contains the history also of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar, besides accounts of the Padmanāyaka Velamas of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa and of the Nayaks of Kōṟukoṇḍa. Śrī Virabhadrarao thus prepared the frame-work of the history of the Reḍḍi kings, of which the details have yet to be worked out. Of several writers who contributed stray articles in various journals, it is enough to mention the most important. Of these Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Reader in the Department of History an

Archaeology, University of Madras, (now retired), deserves to be mentioned first. Subsequent to Srī C. Virabhadrarao, there is none who has studied the history of the Reḍḍis so intensely as he has done In connection with his study of the history of Vijayanagar, with his editing of the Telugu poem, *Velugoṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, and of the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa in the *Epigraphia Indica*, he had to make a thorough study of the Reḍḍi history, of which his articles entitled 'the Reḍḍis and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar', his introduction to the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, and his paper on the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa are the results. In these writings he recognised the several problems of the Reḍḍi history, and tackled them in right earnest. Particularly, his paper on the Rajahmundry Museum plates is a very valuable contribution. It may be noted, however, that all he has written on the subject is not from the standpoint of the history of the Reḍḍis but from other angles. Hence, there was room for a fresh study on the subject.

Some others also, like the late Srī K. V. Lakshmana Rao and Srī Vaḍḍādi Apparao, have worked for the elucidation of the political history of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu. The *Reḍḍi Sanchika* of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, edited by Srī Vaḍḍādi Apparao, was published while this work was in the press. I could not take advantage of it for my study of this period.

Regarding literature, both Sanskrit and Telugu, of the Reḍḍi period, considerable work was done by Srī V. Prabhakara Sastri, whose *Śṛṅgāra Śrīnātham*, life of Srīnātha, is a monumental work, the best of its kind in the biographical literature concerning classical Telugu poets. In fact, Srī V. Prabhakara Sastri and Srī Manavalli Ramakrishnakavi, M. A., are the two eminent scholars who, by their admirable zeal and incessant labours, brought to light, in their search for manuscripts on behalf of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, many a forgotten work, and made a solid contribution to the history of literatures, both Sanskrit and Telugu, by their writings on various subjects. Srī Prabhakara Sastri has, in his *Śṛṅgāra Śrīnātham*, not only dealt with the literature produced in the Reḍḍi court of Koṇḍavīḍu, particularly with the works of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Srīnātha, but also reviewed cursorily the literary activity of the Rēcerla chiefs of Rājukoṇḍa, particularly of Siṅgabhūpāla. I may also mention Srī Bandaru Thmmayya, and Srī Kundūri Iswara Dutt, B. A., who have made a special study of Srīnātha and made valuable contributions to the Telugu journals. The late Śrī C. Virabhadrarao and the late Mahōpādhyāya Srī Vedam Venkataraya Sastri have enriched the literature on Srīnātha, the former by the publication of a life of Srīnātha and the latter by his valuable introduction to and commentary on the Telugu *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham*, besides his commentary

on the *Amaru Śataka* of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Dr. V. Raghavan, Lecturer in Sanskrit in the University of Madras, has tackled many a knotty problem in the history of Sanskrit literature and has written learned papers on Vis'vēs'vara and Bommakaṇṭi Appayārya, two of the famous Sanskrit poets of the Rācerla court, and on the *Vaiśyavaṁśasudhākaram* of Kolacala Mallinātha. It was he who drew my attention, even before the volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Travancore Palace Library were available to the public, to the Sanskrit work, *Saṅgīta Cintāmaṇi*, written by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.

The works and writings of all the scholars mentioned above who have worked on some aspect or other of the history of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu, either political or literary, helped me greatly in understanding its various problems. Had it not been for their labours, the history of the Reḍḍis would not have been as clear as it is today. I therefore offer them my grateful thanks. The Epigraphical material for the history of the Reḍḍis, the most important source for the reconstruction of our past history and for solving the literary problems of the age, is very scanty; hence there is room for divergence of opinion on the political and literary problems of the period. I have re-examined all such problems in the light of the available evidence, and sought to arrive at what I believe to be the truth. I offer my respects to all those whose articles and works I had occasion to consult in writing this work for the benefit I derived from them.

In the second part of this work, the social and cultural history to which I attach greater importance, I have attempted a faithful representation of the age and its ideals and a clear portrayal of the life of the period in its different aspects. It is really very difficult for us to discover the key to the mysterious forces at work in a by-gone age, like that of the Reḍḍis, and unravel the motives which impelled the people of that age to act as they did, since we are far removed in time, and our outlook, ideas and habits are greatly affected by western culture and thought.

I wish to acknowledge with grateful thanks my deep indebtedness to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M. A., Ph. D., who took a live interest in the work from the beginning, placed his manuscript, *Vaiśyavaṁśasudhākaram*, and his library unreservedly at my disposal, and kindly corrected the proofs of this work.

I take this opportunity to thank Śrī M. Venkatarangayya, Professor in History, Economics and Politics, Andhra University (now retired), and Śrī Gurti Venket Rao (now Professor in History and Politics, Andhra University) for the interest they have taken in me and my work, and Professor Vissa Apparao, Principal, University Colleges, Andhra

University (now retired) who was instrumental in my getting into the University and was in a way responsible for the writing of this as well as my previous work. I am under special obligation to Śrī B. Muthuswamy, M. A., Lecturer in English in the Andhra University for revising the manuscript. My friends, Śrī K. Ramakotisvara Rao, Editor, *Trivēṇi*, and Śrī Manjeri S. Iswaran, Deputy Editor, *Trivēṇi*, have been of considerable help to me as they read through the manuscript and made valuable suggestions.

When I took up this subject for study I did not comprehend quite correctly the scope of the work I had embarked upon. The more I studied the subject the greater it interested me. I was then able to recognise the magnitude and importance of the work; for, it embodies the history of a very momentous period in the annals of the Andhra country, a period of transition from the early mediaeval to the late mediaeval period which held the moorings of the modern age. It was the period in which the country, after the re-establishment of Hindu supremacy subsequent to the national up-rising, re-habilitated itself and moulded its life in accordance with the changed conditions and with the new forces released. I had to work on such a difficult period without adequate facilities. In this connection, however, I have to thank Śrī K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Professor in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras (now retired) and Dr. V. S. Krishna (now Principal of the University Colleges, Andhra University) without whose good will and good offices I could not have brought out this volume and presented it to the public in its present shape. I am grateful to the former for kindly giving me permission to use his departmental library and affording me whatever help I needed of him.

I acknowledge with pleasure the assistance given to me by the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Madras, in placing the required estampages of stone and copper-plate records at my disposal for consultation in his office and I thank him for it.

My sincere thanks are due to the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Andhra University for kindly sanctioning the publication of this work in the University Series.

And last but not least, I have to thank Śrī Addepalli Lakshmanaswamy Naidu, Proprietor, Saraswathi Power Press, Rajamahendravaram, for the remarkable rapidity with which he executed this work, within a very short period from the time he began the printing of the work and for the interest he took in it. I am aware of the several drawbacks in this work, chiefly typographical, despite the care bestowed on it, and crave my readers' indulgence for them.

22, Dewan Rama Iyengar Road,
Vepery, Madras 7,
October, 1948.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abh. Ct.—Abhilasitārthacintāmaṇi by Bhuvanaikamalla Cālukya Sōmeśvara.

Ag. Pr.—Agni Purāṇam.

Ak. Cr. (or A. K. C.)—Āndhrakavula Caritra (Lives of the Telugu poets) by K. Vīrēśalingam.

An. An.—Āndhra Patrika Annual.

An. Bg.—Āndhra Bhāgavatam by Pōtanamatya.

An. Bh.—Āndhrabhāsābhūsanam by Kētana.

An. Bn.—Āndhrabhāsārnavam by Kōṭi Venkanārya

An. Cr.—Āndhrula Caritra (3 Vols) by Chilukūri Vīrabhadra Rao.

Ant.—Antiquities of the Madras Presidency (2 Vols) by Robert Sewell.

Ap. Kv.—Appakavīyam by Kākunūri Appakavi.

A. P. M.—Āndhra Pariśōdhaka Mahāmaṇḍali.

A. R. H. S.—Archaeological Reports of the Hyderābad State.

A. S. P. L.—Āndhra Sāhitya Parishat Library.

A. S. R.—Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.

A. S. S. I.—Archaeological Survey of Southern India — The stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēṭa.

A. S. W. I.—Archaeological Survey of Western India.

A. V. S.—Āndhra Vijñāna Sarvasvam, Ed. K. V. Lakshmaṇa Rao.

Barbosa —Travels of Duarte Barbosa (2 Vols), Hakluyt Society.

Bh. Pr.—Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam by Śrīnātha.

Bibli. Ind.—Bibliotheca Indica.

Bj. Rj. (or Bh. Rj.)—Bhōjarājīyam by Anantāmatya.

B. K.—Bombay Karnatic.

Bs. Pr.—Basava Purāṇam by Pālkuriki Sōmanātha.

Bs. Pr. (p)—Basava Purāṇam By Piḍuparti Sōmanātha.

Ch. Ch.—Camatkāracandrikā by Viśvēśvara.

Chau Ju-kua.—Hirth and Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua: *His* work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled *Chufan-chi*.

C. P.—Copper Plate.

C. S. M. (or T. C. S. M.)—Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts.

Ct. Mm.—Caṭupadyamaṇimañjari, (2 Vols), compiled by V. Prabhākara Śāstri

D. C. S. M.—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts.

D. C. T. M.—Descriptive Catalogue of Telugu Manuscripts.

Dg. Gd.—District Gazetteer, Godavari.

Dg. Vj.— District Gazetteer, Vizagapatam.

Dn. Cr.—Daśaratharājanandanacaritra by Dharanīdēvula Rāmamantri.

Dv. Pr.—Dēvāṅga Purāṇam by Bhadrakavi Liṅgakavi.

Ep. Carn.—Epigraphia Carnatica.

Ep. Coll.—Epigraphical Collection.

Ep. Ind.—Epigraphia Indica.

Ep. Ind. Mosl.—Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.

Ep. Rep.—Epigraphy Reports.

E. D.—History of India as told by its own historians, Ed. Elliot and Dowson.

E. R. E.—Encyclopaedea of Religion and Ethics.

Foreign Notices—Foreign Notices of South India by K. A. Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri.

Forgotten Chapter—A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History by M. Sōmaśēkhara Śarma.

Forgotten Empire—A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar) by Robert Sewell.

Further Sources—Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, compiled by K. A. Nīlakanta Śāstri and Dr. N. Venkaṭaramaṇayya.

Gerini—Researches on Ptolemy's Geography by Gerini (G. E.).

Hakl. Soc.—Hakluyt Society.

H. I. S. I.—Historical Inscriptions of South India by Robert Sewell; Ed. Dr. S. Krishnasvāmi Aiyaṅgār.

Hr. Vl.—Haravilāsam by Śrīnātha.

Hr. Vm.—Harivaṁśam by Eṟṟā Pregaḍa.

Ind. Ant. (or I. A.)—Indian Antiquary.

In. Ar.—Indian Architecture (3 Vols); Ed. M. A. Ananthālwār and Alexander Rea; Compiler, A. V. Thiagarāja Iyer (1921).

I. C.—Indian Culture.

Ins. Ced. Dts.—Inscriptions of the Ceded Districts.

Indian Ephemeris—Indian Ephemeris by L. D. Swāmikannu Pillai (6 Vols).

I. H. Q.—Indian Historical Quarterly.

I. I. S.—A volume of Indian and Iranean Studies presented to Sir E. Denison Ross.

I. T. D. H.—Inscriptions in the Teliṅgānā Districts of the Hyderabad State.

J. A. H. C.—Journal of the Āndhra History and Culture.

J. A. H. R. S.—Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society.

J. A. S. B.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J. A. S. P. (or A. S. P. P.)—Journal of the Āndhra Sāhitya Pariṣat.

J. B. B. R. A. S.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J. B. O. R. S.—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

J. D. L.—Journal of the Department of Letters.

J. I. H.—Journal of Indian History.

J. M. A.—Journal of the Music Academy, Madras.

J. M. U.—Journal of the University of Madras.

J. O. R.—Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

J. R. A. S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J. R. A. S. B.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (See also J. A. S. B.).

Kb. Cr.—Kēyūrabāhucaritra by Mañcana.

K. D. M.—District Manual, Kistna.

Kd. Rm. (or Kr. Rm.)—Krīdābhirāmam by Vallabhāmātya.

Kf. Kd.—Kaifiyat of Koṇḍaviḍu.

Kf. Km.—Kaifiyat of Kimmūru } Published by V. R. Jagapativarma.
Kf. Kr.—Kaifiyat of Kōṛukonda }

Ks. Kh.—Kāśīkhandam by Śrīnātha.

Kv. Cd.—Kāvyālankāracūḍāmaṇi by Vinnakōṭa Peddana.

Loc. Rec.—Local Records.

Mack. Mss.—Mackenzie Manuscripts.

M. A. R.—Mysore Archaeological Reports.

Major.—India in the Fifteenth Century, Ed. R. H. Major.

Monier Williams—Sanskrit English Dictionary by Monier Williams.

N. D. I. (or N. I. D.)—Inscriptions of the Nellore District by Butterworth and Vēnugōpālacheṭṭy.

Nn. Cr. (or Nv. Cr; Nr. Cr.)—Navanāthacaritra by Gaurana.

Nr. Pr.- Nrsiṁha Purānam by Eṟṟā Pregada.

Pd. Pr.—Padma Purānam by Madiki Siṅgana.

Pm. Bh —Paṁpa Bhāratam.

Pn. Cr.—Panditārādhyacaritra by Pālkuṟiki Sōmanātha.

Pn. Mh.—Pāṇduranga Māhātmyam by Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa.

Pn. Pn.—Pāñcālīparinayam by Mūrtikavi.
Pv. Cr. (or Pr. Cr.)—Palnāṭivīracaritra by Śrīnātha.
Riyāz-us-Salātīn—Riyāz-us-Salātīn (Eng. Translation) by Ghulam Husain.
Rk. Cr.—Rukmāṅgadacaritra by Prauḍhakavi Mallana.
Rm. Vl.—Rāmavilāsam by Ēnugu Laksmanakavi.
S. B. E.—Sacred Books of the East.
Sewell —Forgotten Empire by Robert Sewell.
S. I. I.—South Indian Inscriptions.
Sk. Cr. (or Sd. Cr.)—Sōdaśakumāracaritra by Vennelakanti Annaya.
Sk. Nt.—Śukra Nīti.
Sk. Sm.—Sakalanītisammatam by Maḍiki Siṅgana.
Sl. Vl. (or Sv. Vl.)—Śivalīlāvilāsam by Kommana.
Sm. Dv.—Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśika by Koravi Gōparāju.
Sn. Pn.—Sunandāparinayam by Cintagunṭa Kōdandarāmāmātya.
Sr. Bh.—Śṛṅgārabhūsana Bhāna by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāna.
Sr. Mh.—Śrīraṅga Māhātmyam by Bhairavakavi.
Sr. Nd.—Śṛṅgāra Naisadham by Śrīnātha.
Sr. Sn. (or Sr. Sr.)—Śṛṅgāra Śrīnātham by Vēṭūri Prabhākara Śāstri.
Sv. Dh.—Śivadharmōttaram by Mallā Reddi.
Sv. Mh.—Śivarātri Māhātmyam by Śrīnātha.
Tel. Eng. Dic.—Telugu English Dictionary by C. P. Brown.
T. S. V.—Tirumalai Śrī Venkateśvara (Journal).
Tr. Cat. Tel. Mss.—Triennial Catalogue of Telugu Manuscripts.
Ut. Rm.—Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyanam by Tikkana.
Vb. Vj. (or Vr. Vj.)—Vīrabhadravijayam by Pōtanāmātya.
V. C. E.—Vijayanagar: Origin of the City and the Empire by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.
Vk. Cr.—Vikramārkacarita by Jakkana.
Vm. Cr.—Vēmabhūpālacaritam by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa.
Vn. Pr.—Viṣṇu Purānam by Vennelakanti Sūrana.
Vr. Pr.—Vārāha Purāṇam by Nandi Mallayya and Ghanta Siṅgayya.
V. R.—Topographical list of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, (3 Vols) by V. Rangachārya.
Vs. Rm.—Vāśiṣṭha Rāmāyanam by Mādiki Siṅgana.
Vv. Cr. (or Vv. Vc.)—Velugōtivāri Vamśacaritra by Vellāla Sadāśiva Śāstri and Avadhānam Śēṣa Śāstri.
Vv. Vm. (or Vl. Vm.)—Velugōtivāri Vaṁśāvali.

CHAPTER I

SOURCES

With the materials now available, an attempt is made in the following pages to present the reader with the history of the Reḍḍis who ruled the Andhra or Telugu country in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the Christian era. It is reconstructed with the help of evidence drawn mainly from three sources, namely, inscriptions, literature, and traditional accounts.

I. INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions form the most important of these sources. It must, however, be admitted in the beginning that the original purpose of these inscriptions was quite different from that of furnishing historical information. They were mere gift-deeds, registering grants of land or money to temples or of *agrahāras* to brāhmans, made either by kings, their courtiers or by private individuals. Some of these record the construction of temples or ancillary structures and the setting up of idols in them. So, though very important, these inscriptions alone do not throw much light on the events of the day and cannot help us in writing a succinct history of the country. They are pressed into service to yield some reliable evidence in reconstructing it. Inscriptions may be classified under two heads (1) Copper-plate inscriptions, and (2) Stone inscriptions or lithic records.

(i) *Copper-plate records*:

Inscriptions written on copper - plates generally register grants of *agrahāras* or lands to brahmans, well-versed in Vēdic lore and Sāstras. Each set may contain three, four, five or even six plates according to the requirements of the occasion. These plates are held together by a circular copper-ring, the ends of which are secured in an oval, square or circular seal, bearing the *lāñchana* or emblem of the grantor. Generally, the seals of the grants of the Reḍḍi kings bear the sign of a couchant bull and suggest that they were Śaivites in religion. These copper-plate grants generally contain the ancestry of the grantors and the grantees, a description of the former's exploits, if any, in *kāvya* style couched in hyperbolical terms, and the date of the grant with astronomical details, sufficient at times for verification. The grantees

are generally learned scholars proficient in Science or in Vēdic literature. It is noteworthy that all the copper-plate inscriptions register grants made only to Sanskrit scholars and not to any one proficient in the language of the country.

(ii) *Stone inscriptions* :

Stone inscriptions record, as already stated, gifts made in kind or coin to temples, either by kings or their servants, or by private individuals. Inscriptions of the last category generally mention the name of the king holding sway over the locality at the time of the gift, besides giving full particulars of the date on which the gift was made. It may be reasonable to conclude from a study of these inscriptions that the absence of records of a ruling prince in his dominion for any length of period is generally indicative of abnormal and chaotic conditions prevailing in that region. The extent of the dominion of a ruler can be fairly determined by the provenance of his stone inscriptions; for none of his records would be found, even in holy places lying outside his dominion; records found in any locality beyond his own dominion, indicate that he was either a conqueror or a friend of the king of that region.

Of the inscriptions of the Reḍḍis discovered so far, copper-plate records are greater in number than the stone inscriptions.

II. LITERATURE

The next source of our information, namely, literature may again be classified under two main heads, Indian and foreign, the first including in it Sanskrit and Telugu literatures and a number of Muslim histories written in Arabic and Persian languages, and the other some Muslim itineraries and accounts of European travellers. There is another kind of quasi-historical vernacular literature which, though last of the literary varieties, is by no means the least important to us as evidence for our historical research. This forms a very useful variety by itself and may be properly called "Traditional accounts," as it is mainly preserved in tradition.

Indian :

Many Sanskrit and Telugu poets and Scholars flourished under the patronage of the Reḍḍi and other kings of this period. Some of the rulers of this period were themselves great scholars and poets besides being patrons.

Sanskrit Literature : Of the Sanskrit works of this period which serve us as sources of history, special mention should

be made of *Kumāragirirājīyam*, a commentary on Kālidāsa's three dramas, *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, *Vikramōrvaśīyam* and *Mālavikāgnimitram* by Kāṭaya Vēma; *Śṛṅgāradīpikā*, a commentary on *Amaruśatakam* by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma; *Vēmabhūpāla Caritram* by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa; and the commentary on *Haradattācārya's*, *Caturvēda-tātparya-saṃgraha*, also called *Girīśasṛtisūktimālā* by Śivaliṅga Reḍḍi of the Kandukūri family. *Rasārṇavasudhākaram*, a work on rhetoric by Siṅgabhūpāla of the Rēcerla family, and *Camatkāra Candrikā*, another work on the same subject by Viśvēśvara, are very valuable sources for the history of the Rēcerla chiefs. Besides these, there are many dramas, *kāvyas* and other writings which throw much light on the social conditions and achievements of the age.

The attention of readers may be drawn here to another Sanskrit work called *Alaṁkārasaṅgraha*[1] on rhetoric and poetics. It contains five *paricchēdas* dealing with (1) *Varṇāgamavicāra*, (ii) *Śabdārthanirṇaya*; (iii) *Rasanirṇaya*; (iv) *Nētṛbhēdavicāra*, and (v) *Alaṅkāranirṇaya*. Its author Amṛtānandayōgi wrote this work at the instance of a certain Manvabhūpati or king Manva, son of Bhaktibhūpati, a devotee of Śiva. Manva is styled as "*Sōma-sūrya-kul-ōttamsaḥ*"—the ornament of both the lunar and solar races. This indicates that his father belonged to one dynasty, and his mother to another. There is only one Bhaktibhūpa so far known to South Indian epigraphy, and he was the Eurva chief, Bhaktirāja[2] of the Telugu Cōḍa family, who fllourished in the latter half of the fourteenth century A. D. He was a great devotee of Śiva. He had two sons Bhīmaliṅga or Bhīmadēva Cōḍa or Cōḍa Bhīma[3], and Annadēva Cōḍa[4] or Annabhūpa. Through out this work the king's name is mentioned as Manvabhūpa and not even once as Annabhūpa. It cannot be taken to be a mistake since the substitution of Anna for Manva does not hold good in many places for grammatical reasons. Manvabhūpa, in the work under reference, is given the title komaraṅkabhīma and other Telugu Cōḍa titles which are conspicuous by their absence in the records of both Bhaktirāja and his son, Annadēva. Future research has to make it clear if Manvabhūpa, the patron of Amṛtānandayōgi, is another son of Cōḍabhūpa.

Telugu Literature: The Telugu works produced during this period are very helpful in the reconstruction of the history of the Reḍḍis. Special mention should be made here of *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* and *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* of Śrīnātha, and *Śivalīlāvilāsam* written by Kommana.

1. D. S. C. M. (Madras) No. 12794, pp, 8604—06 ff.
2. J. O. R., Vol. V, pp. 128 ff.
3. Sl. VI., (Introduction), Vide, Appendix to chapter VII, part II of this work.
4. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

Both were court-poets of the Reḍḍi kings and wrote the works under their patronage. These works furnish much information which is not avail able otherwise. Besides the above works *Haravilāsam*, *Krīḍābhiramam*, *Simhāsanadvātrimśika* and many other Telugu poems of the period, when studied from view-points other than political, provide us much useful information. Whatever theme the poets of the period under review might have taken for the subject of their compositions, and however high they might have soared in their flights of imagination, they could not escape from the atmosphere of the period and the realities of the world around them. The theme might be Purāṇic or non-Purāṇic, the hero might be a mortal king or an immortal *dēva*; yet the descriptions given in their works, of customs and manners, of art and architecture, of weapons used and the modes of warfare, and a host of other details, were no doubt taken from contemporary life. In this connection an example or two may be given. In the seventh chapter of Srīnātha's *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* lord Śiva gives an account of the '*mukti' maṇṭapa*' in Kāśī to Acyuta or Viṣṇu, in the course of which he narrates the story of a brāhman named Mahānanda of Ānandakānana who, desirous of earning money, is said to have put on the guise of a '*Goraga*', a '*Bavinīḍu*', a '*Bauddha*', a '*Kāpālika*', *and a Jina*.[5] The '*Goragas*, and the '*Bavinīḍus*, the Śaiva devotees of Mailāra and of Ēkavīrādēvī respectively, earned their livelihood by begging. The worship of god Mailāra and goddess Ēkavīrā was widely prevalent in the Andhra country, during the Kākatīya and the Reḍḍi periods. A fine description of the members of these two orders and of their activities is given in the *Krīḍābhirāmamu*[6], mentioned before. Śrīnātha, keen observer of life and nature that he was, could not refrain from using these terms, evan while translating from the Sanskrit original a mythological story concerning gods, to enchance the beauty and give effective colouring to his picturesque narration. Another instance also may be cited. We know that Śrīnātha was the '*Vidyādhikārī*' of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's court and the writer of all his copper-plate inscriptions. He did not let this experience go in vain. He utilised it in his work, *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, which tells us how Indra, the celestial ruler granted Bhīmakhaṇḍa to Śiva. Śrīnātha makes Indra write a '*dharma-śāsanu*' and indulges in a description of this grant in all its details. He makes Indra address his order to the people of the locality, just as kings on earth do at the time of granting lands and fixing their boundaries. He even notes the date of the grant as '*Caturdaśi*, in the month of Mārgaśirṣa, in *Siddhayōga*, when the moon was in conjunction with Rōhiṇi, and

5. Ks. Kh., vii, v. 280.

6. Kd. Rm., vv. 123-130; 112-115.

concludes it with an invocation to kings ruling at the time of the grant, as well as to future kings, to protect the *dharma* and never to violate it.[7] Many instances of this kind can be cited from the Telugu works of the period, which throw light on the social life of the times. It may be stated, therefore, that a careful and cautious study of these works provides interesting material to reconstruct the life of the period under review, though such evidence unsupported by other information may not be sufficient and accurate.

Muslim Histories: Muslim histories constitute one of the most important sources. These furnish accounts of expeditions of the Muslim rulers of Delhi to the Deccan and their conquests of the Southern kingdoms. It was Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī who first turned his attention to the South. He sent several expeditions to conquer Teliṅgānā and Mahārāṣṭra. With the death of Harapāladēva of Devagiri, the Mahārāṣṭra kingdom was finally annexed to Delhi in Śaka 1239 / 1317 A. D. Teliṅgānā became part of the empire of Delhi with the final conquest of Warangal in Śaka 1245 / 1323 A. D. For the first time in the annals of the Muslim rule in India an independent Muslim state, the Bahmanī kingdom of Gulbarga was founded in the Deccan in Śaka 1269 / 1347 A. D. by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Gangū Bahman Shāh. It was the chief Muslim power in the Deccan, contemporaneous with, and rival to, the Reḍḍi kingdoms of both Koṇḍavīḍu and Rājamahēndravaram and the kingdom of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. In fact, it was against the rising power of the Muslims of Gulbarga, which threatened to sweep away the Hindu kingdoms of the south, that the Reḍdis and the Rāyas had to contend in a life and death struggle to defend and protect their religion and culture. Chief of the Muslim authorities for the history of the Deccan, primarily for the history of the Bahmanī dynasty, are mentioned below.

(1) *Khazāin-ul-Futuḥ* or the *Tārikh-i-'Alāī* by Amīr Khusrau is a very important history of the reign of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, dealing with the period A. H. 695 - 711 / 1296 - 1312 A. D. Some extracts, translated into English, are given from this work in Elliot's '*History of India.*' This work has been recently translated into English by Prof. Muhammad Habib of the Aligarh Muslim University and published by D. B. Tarporewala, Sons & Co. Bombay. This work is valuable for the history of Teliṅgānā, inasmuch as it gives an account of the Muslim invasions during the reign of Pratāparudra of the Kākatīya dynasty of Warangal.

7. Bh. Pr., v, vv. 75-85.

(2) *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* by 'Isāmi, another important work relating to the history of the Muṣsalmans, from the time of Sabuktigīn of Ghaznī to Muhammad bin Tughlaq. The text was recently published by Dr. A. Mahdi Husain of Agra. "Isāmi was born at Delhi about 1310 A. D. and at the age of sixteen, when Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq transferred his capital in 1327 A. D. to Dēvagīr, he was obliged, by the royal command, to migrate to that city like other citizens of Delhi. He lived at Dēvagīr during the next quarter of the century. After the establishment of the Bahmanī kingdom at Gulbarga, he composed his history in 1349–50 A. D., and dedicated it to his sovereign. 'Isāmi was, thus, not only a contemporary of Muhammad bin Tughlaq but an eye-witness to several events of his reign, especially those pertaining to the history of the Deccan."[8]

(3) *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* by Ziā-ud-Dīn Baranī. This treats of the history of the Sultāns of Delhi from the accession of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Balban in A. H. 662 / 1266 A. D. to A. H. 758 / 1357 A.D., the sixth year of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh. He commenced his work in the reign of Sultān Mahammad Tughlaq, and completed it in A. H. 758 / 1359 A. D. A translation of the major part of this work was published in Elliot's '*History of India*'.

(4) *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhi* of Shams-i-ṣirāj 'Afif is essentially a history of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh, the successor of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Afif wrote it under the patronage of Fīrūz Shāh (1357 A. D. to 1388 A.D.). An English translation of a considerable portion of this work is found in 'Elliots' '*History of India*'.

All the chroniclers mentioned above were contemporaries of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Of these 'Afif was perhaps, his youngest contemporary. They are our chief authorities for the first half of the fourteenth century. Besides these, there were some later historians whose works also are very important to us. They are as follows:

(5) *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* by Yāhya bin 'Ahmad bin Abdullā Sirhindi. This narrates the history of the Sultāns of Delhi from the time of Muizuddīn bin Sam, the founder of the Ghōri dynasty, till A.H. 838 or 1434 A D. The author wrote his history under the patronage of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyid dynasty who ruled Delhi from 1427 A.D. to 1435 A.D. An English translation of this work was published by Mr. K.K. Basu in the *Gaekwad Oriental Series*.

8. I. C., Vol. V, P. 261.

(6) *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* of 'Ali bin Azīz Ullāh Tabātabā. This is essentially a history of the Nizām Shāhi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. It was written under the patronage of Burhān Nizām Shāh II (1590 A.D.–1594 A.D.) after whom it is named. It was commenced in 1591 A.D. This history was translated by Major J. S. King and Lt. Col. Sir Wolseley Haig in the *Indian Antiquary*. The portion dealing with the Bahmani dynasty was subsequently published in a book form.

(7) *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* of Khwāja Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad deals with the history of the Muslim rule in India from the time of Shahab-ud-Dīn Muhammad Ghōri till A.H. 1002 / 1593 A. D., the thirty eighth year of Akbar's reign. Besides the history of the Sultāns of Delhi, the author gives also an account of the different Muslim kingdoms that flourished in different parts of India. The author, Khwāja Nizām-ud-Dīn was appointed to the office of '*bakhsi*' of Gujarat, in the twenty ninth year of Akbar's reign and died in his service in A.H. 1003 / 1594–95 A. D. An English translation of this work was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(8) *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* or *Tārīkh-i-Badāūnī* of Mulla 'Abdul Kādar Badāūnī is a general history of India form the time of the Ghaznivides to the fortieth year of Akbar. The author was in the court of Akbar, who employed him frequently to make translations of Sanskrit and Arabic works into Persian. This history as the author admits, is simply an abridgement of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. It was translated into English by Lt. Colonel G.S.A. Ranking.

(9) *Tārīkh-i-Ferishtā* by Muhammad Kāsim Hindu Shāh Ferishtā is a comprehensive history of the rise of the Muslim power in India. The author was born at Astrabad on the borders of the Caspian sea about 1570 A. D. When he was very young he came to India along with his father, and reached Ahmadnagar in the Deccan during the reign of Murtazā Nizām Shāh. After serving for some time under the Nizām Shāhi Sultāns of Ahmadnagar, he left that place and proceeded to Bijāpūr. He arrived there in 1589 A. D. in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, under whom he served for the remainder of his life. At the request of his patron he wrote his history after consulting "no less than thirty-five works." Ferishta did not complete his work till about A. H. 1015 (1606 A. D). This work gives a more detailed account of each reign than any other history. Its value is, however, diminished to some extent by the generally unreliable and incorrect nature of the account it furnishes. Inspite of its unreliability, scholars have to cling to it, because no

other work gives us such an abundance of information about the kingdoms of the Deccan. Ferishṭa's work was translated by Colonel Scott and John Briggs. Brigg's translation is complete and more reliable than Scott's, and the references given in this book are to Brigg's version.

In the period under review, we are mostly concerned with the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and the Bahmanī Sultans of Gulbarga. As for Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign there are histories by contemporary writers as well as later ones, either to supplement or to correct one another. Even here we are not on firm ground. Dates assigned to the same events in Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign, and the chronological order in which they are narrated, vary considerably in the different accounts written either by contemporaries or by later historians. One has to check them at every step and establish their authenticity and accuracy. The force of this statement may be better understood by a reference to the work and papers published so far, relating to the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, particularly by Ishwari Prasad, Mahdi Hussain, Haig, and Venkataramanayya, to mention only a few, wherein one comes across much difference of opinion and argument in establishing many salient points. One such point, for instance, has been the date of the rebellion of Tilang which forms the most important landmark in the mediaeval history of the Andhra country. When such are the descripancies found even in contemporary works, one can easily judge the difficulties one has to confront in elucidating and co-relating histories written by later writers.

There are comparatively more histories which give an account of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq than of the Bahamanī Sultans of Gulbarga. Those that are available in English translations are *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, *Tārīkh-i-Ferishṭā* *Burhān-i-Mā'asir* and the extracts given by King from the *Tazkarat-ul-Muluk*. *Burhān-i-Ma'asīr* and *Tārīkh-i-Ferishtā* are the only two important authorities for the history of the Bahmanīs of Gulbarga; the former is generally more reliable than the latter. Ferishṭa's statements, when they relate to the Hindus, have to be carefully and cautiously weighed before being accepted; when they relate to his co-religionists, they verge on exaggeration. I followed only the English translations of Muslim histories.

***Foreign*:**

***Muslim Itineraries*:** *Travels of Ibn Baṭūṭā*: His full name is Shaik Abū Abdullā Muhammad, Ibn Batūta of Moracco. At the early age of twenty one in 1325 A. D he set out on his travels

and finally returned to his country in 1353 A. D. He died in 1368 or 1369 A.D. He completed the account of his travels in A. H. 756 / 1355 A.D. Ibn Batūta's work is known as *Tuhftuḥ-al-Nuzzār fi Ghara'ib-al-Amsār wa vajaib-al-Safar* or *Safar Nāma.* He reached India in 1333 A. D. Muhammad bin Tughlaq received him cordially and appointed him as the qāzi of the capital. He remained there for eight years and set out from that place in 1342 A. D. In 1344 A. D. he proceeded to Ceylon and from thence to Ma'bar. He wrote about his travels from memory, having lost his notes during the voyage. His account is available in English translations in Elliots' '*History of India*' and in Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's useful and indispensable '*Foreign notices of South India*'.

There is another similar work which should be mentioned alongside of those, the *Travels of Abdur Razzāck.* He was born at Herat in 1413 A.D. and entered the service of Shāh Rukh as the qāzi of the place in 1437 A. D. In 1441 A. D. he was sent on an embassy to the court of Vijayanagar which he visited in 1443 A. D. After staying there for a time, he left India in 1444 A. D. The above dates clearly show that he was at Vijayanagar at a time when the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram passed into the hands of the kings of Vijayanagar. His account of travels, though not very helpful to us politically, provides much information regarding some phases of the life of people of the period. A translation of this work is found in Elliot's *History of India* and also in Major's *India in the fifteenth century.*

Accounts of European travellers: Under Foreign literature, the accounts of European travellers form the main division. In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, just before the beginning of our period, the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo visited India. He started from Venice in 1271 A.D., and reached the court of Kublai, the Grand Khān of China, after travelling for three years and a half across Asia. After residing there for seventeen years he left for Khorāsān in a ship. He arrived at that place voyaging in the Indian seas for over a year and a half. Thence he travelled to Constantinople, and finally reached Venice in 1295 A. D. During the return voyage he touched at many lands and visited Ma'bar and arrived at the port of Mōṭupalli in the Bāpaṭla Taluk of Guṇṭūr District about 1292-1293 A. D. His observations on the Muslins of our country are well-known.

Nicolo de Conti was the next European traveller to visit India in the period under review. He was also a Venetian. He went to the city of Damascus and settled there as a merchant when he was young. After a time he conceived the idea of going on travel. The date

when he started is not known to us; but after travelling as far as China in the East he returned to Venice in 1444 A. D., after an absence of twenty-five years. In the course of his travels he came to India and visited Vijayanagar. He is said to have reached a city and sea port called "Peudifetania" on the road to which he passed by two cities, named "Odeschiria" (Udayagiri in Nellore district) and "Cendergbiria" (Chandragiri in Chittoor District). From there, he proceeded to Mylapore (Madras) and so on.

Athanasius Nikitin was a Russian. He set out on his travels in the latter half of the fifteenth century and returned to Russia in 1474 A.D. In the course of his travels he visited India and stayed for some time in the Deccan. In the reign of the Bahmanī Sultān, Muhamad Shāh II, he was at Bīḍar, the new capital which was founded in 1423 A.D., by Sultān Ahmad Shāh, the successor of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh.

The accounts left by these travellers were translated into English and are found in the publication, known as *India in the Fifteenth century* edited by R H. Major.[10]

These travellers were followed by Portuguese officials, Tome' Pires and Duarte Barbosa who visited South India in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Their accounts were translated into English from the Portuguese and published by the Hakluyt Society. These travel-journals do not generally furnish useful information relating to our political history; but they provide much material for an intelligent understanding of the life in the age of the Reḍḍis. They also confirm and corroborate many points of social and relgious interest which are alluded to in the literature of our country, particularly in the Telugu works of the period. The accounts of foreign travellers, therefore, form a valuable supplement to our knowledge obtained from other sources, occasionally furnishing new information, not forthcoming from elsewhere.

III. TRADITIONAL ACCOUNTS

Accounts concerning a particular locality, individual or family which are preserved in tradition, either in the form of prose or poetry, come under this category. *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśacaritra*, the *Cāṭu Kṛtulu*, the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, the *Local Records* and the *Birudāvaḷis* of the families of nobles of yore belong to this class.

10. In his introduction the editor R. H. Major furnishes a good account of some of the foreign travellers that visited India during this period.

Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśacaritra: This is a modern work dealing with the history of the Velugōṭi family, a branch of the ancient Rēcerla line, written by two pandits, Śrī Vellāla Sadāśiva Śāstri and Śrī Avadhānam Śēsha Śāstri, under the patronage of the present chief of Venkaṭagiri belonging to the above-said family. State records in possession of the descendants of the extant branches of the Rēcerla line, ancient insciiptions of this family, and the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, an anthology of verse, constitute the chief authorities in writing this work. Some of the ancient inscriptions of the Rēcerla chiefs are given as appendices. These inscriptions are all eye-copies. No attempt has yet been made to take good estampages of these stone records and edit them properly.[11] Even these few records do not supply us with much historical information.

So we have to depend on the "*Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*", an anthology of verse composed and sung in ancient times by itinerant and family bards, called Bhaṭṭurājus in praise of different chiefs of the Rēcerla family recounting their heroic deeds and great charities in their usual extravagant style, with little sense of proportion[12]. In this way the traditional lore and verses in praise of the Rēcerla chiefs grew in quantity from generation to generation and were preserved with meticulous care. Even an insignificant chief holding a small fort is given in these verses the same importance as a great king ruling a considerable dominion and both were described in the same strain. Most of the chiefs mentioned in these verses as having been defeated or killed by Rēcerla chieftains are unidentifiable. Because of the lack of confirmatory evidence, the facts mentioned in the *Vaṁśāvaḷi* have to be taken for what they are worth. Another difficulty that confronts us in freely utilising this material is the confusion prevailing in some of these verses. Some of them ascribe the exploits of one chief to another, whereas some others attribute the same exploits to several individuals in successive

11. The original dominion of the Rēcerla chiefs comprised a great portion of Telingānā which has not yet been epigraphically surveyed systematically. Epigraphical material in the Hyderabad state which furnishes useful information for reconstructing our past history, lies still buried. Without utilising this material no history of our country can be sai i · be complete and perfect. Until all the inscriptions in the districts of Telingāna are copied and properly edited, one has to depend on those given in appendicies and make use of them.

12. In fact, one of the chief features which formed part of the regal pomp and contributed to the spelendour of the mediaeval period was the maintenance of a special sect of people—Vandis and Māgadhas as they were generally called – by every military chief of note and by every important noble, to sing the glory of himself and of his family by recounting his and his ancestor's exploits, on all auspicious occasions and to herald his arrival in public. There is reason to believe that this had been a feature of the Telugu court from early times.

generations. It must, however, be admitted that the history of the Rēcerla chiefs has to be re-constructed mostly with the help of these verses and partly with the help of the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśacaritra* and the few inscriptions given in its appendices.

Cāṭu Kṛtulu or *Cāṭu Verses*: *Cāṭu* means pleasing words of discourse, or flattery. *Cāṭu* verses appear orginally to have been composed by different poets to please or flatter the hero concerned, on different occasions. A scrutiny of such poems in Telugu leads us to infer that the *Cāṭus* were composed by poets and bards of former times, either to express their own inner feelings or to flatter or even to censure any individual or family, or merely to describe a locality. The subject of these verses may be anything. All the verses in the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, as has been stated already, are of this kind. Generally these verses are not recorded but were handed down orally from generation to generation. Śrīnātha's *Cāṭus* which have come down to us, are many in number and very popular in the Telugu country. No other Telugu poet of the mediaeval period is so well-known for his *cāṭus* as he. In his view no subject was too insignificant or unimportant to be the theme of a *cāṭu*. Even a gross theme was transmuted into gold at his magic touch. [Since he travelled far and wide, visiting many countries and kingdoms, his *cāṭus* provide us with a panorama of life of his times. He recorded in his poems all that he had observed during his peregrinations. The physical features of the country, the habits and customs of the people, the food they ate, and many such interesting details form the subject-matter of his compositions.

Traditional accounts of many of the villages of the Andhra country, and of some of the ruling dynasties of ancient times have been preserved to us in what are now known as the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* and *Local Records*, housed in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Mackenzie, after whom the collection is named, was a remarkable person to whom, South Indians in general and the Andhras in particular, are much indebted. Colonel Collin Mackenzie was an Englishman He came to India and joined the Madras Engineers in 1782. While he was serving under the East India Company, he toured throughout South India. In the course of such tours, he found many temples and other architectural structures of striking beauty which were unlike those he had seen before, and many stones bearing some kind of writing which, in some instances, differed from that in vogue in the locality. In fact, wherever he went, many things in the country around excited his curiosity, and as a consequence he was searching for one who could initiate him into the mysteries of this land. His desire was fulfilled when he established

contact with a young talented brāhmin, Kāvali Veṅkaṭa Borriah of Ellore in West Godavari district. He engaged him at his own expense to try his hand, if possible, at deciphering these quaint inscriptions found in the country, and to explain to him their content and also to tell him something about the language, literature and the relgion of the people of the land. Borriah succeeded in deciphering inscriptions not only of the later but also of the early period written in Sanskrit and Haḷe Kannaḍa. When every one regarded these inscriptions as unintelligible and meaningless lines, scribbled by some superhuman beings in bygone ages, Borriah's decipherment was certainly a marvellous feat that speaks much of his genius. He was, without doubt, the first Indian epigraphist who successfully probed into the mysteries of ancient inscriptions. "The connection that I then formed" writes Mackenzie, "*with one person, a native and* a brāhmin (the lamented C. V. Borriah, then almost a youth, of the quickest genius and disposition, possessing that conciliatory turn of mind that soon reconciled all sects and all tribes to the course of inquiry followed in his surveys), was the first step of my introduction into the portal of Indian knowledge. Devoid of any knowledge of the languages myself, I owe to the happy genius of this individual the encouragement and the means of obtaining what I had so long sought. On the reduction of Seringapatam, not one of our people could translate from the Canarese alone: at present we have translations made, not only from the modern characters but the more obscure, I had almost said, obsolete, characters of the *Śāsanums* (or inscriptions) in Canarese and Tamil; besides what have been made from the Sanskrit; of which, in my first years in India, I could scarcely obtain any information. From the moment the talents of the lamented Borriah were applied, a new avenue to Hindū knowledge was opened; and though I was deprived of him at an early age, his example and instructions were so happily *followed up by his brethren and disciples*, that an establishment was gradually formed, by which the whole of our province might be analysed, on the method thus fortuitously began and successfully followed.[13]" Mackenzie became the Surveyor-General of Madras in 1810. Soon after, he was called away to command the Engineers in Java (1811-15). He rose to the position of the Surveyor-General of India in 1816 and died near Calcutta in 1821. The activities of Mackenzie in this field and the results achieved by him cannot be described better than by the words of Lord Willingdon who, as the then Governor of Madras, happened to open the proceedings of the Sixth Session of the Indian Historial Records Commission held at Madras in 1924. In his opening speech he says "*Colonel* Collin Mackenzie, who ended his career

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13. J. R. A S., (Old Series; Vol, I. pp. 141 ff.

as Surveyor-General devoted his spare time for a space of thirty eight years to collecting manuscripts bearing on history, ethnology, literature and tradition, chiefly of the country of south of the Kistna river......... The collections.......................included as many as 1,568 manuscripts in Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayālam, Uriya, Mahrathi, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Hindūstāni, Javanese and Burman. In addition to these, he collected as many as 2,070 local tracts bearing on history and ethnology, 8,076 inscriptions, 79 plans, 2630 drawings, 6,218 coins, 106 images and 40 antiquities. The collection was purchased just a century ago by the Marquess of Hastings, then Governor General for a sum of £. 10,000. A large part of it consisting of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Javanese, and Burman books, with the plans, coins, images and sculptures, were sent to England; but the books and tracts in the languages of Southern India to the number of 5,31,255, local tracts and over 8,000 inscriptions were handed over to Madras. They were first lodged in the College Library, then entrusted in 1830 to the Madras Literary Society, then handed over in 1836 to the Rev. William Taylor to be examined with a view to publication. He published five reports in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science and started restoring the manuscripts, which were already becoming lost by the decay in the ink or the material...... Nothing more happened till 1846 when the books were returned to the College Library. About forty years later the collection was transferred to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library............... [14]". This collection is now known as the *Mackenzie Manuscripts.* Some time later C. P. Brown who had done yeoman service to Telugu literature got some of the manuscripts recopied and bound in volumes which are now known as *Local Records or Kaifiyats.*

The *Guḍikaṭṭu lekka* and its detailed edition, *Daṇḍakavile*, the two main account-books relating to *grāma* or village, and *Sīma* or taluk, and the *Birudāvaḷi* or the titular account of a prince, nāyak or dynasty form the last, but by no means the least, of the sources that help us in reconstructing our ancient history. These account-books maintained from generation to generation, give full details regarding several items of the administration of a village or *Sīma* like village services, temples, agriculture, irrigation, and handicrafts. The *Koṇḍaviṭisīma Daṇḍakavile* is a good example of the *Sīma* account-books. '*Kavile*' means a record and the term '*daṇḍa*' seems to be a corruption of '*daṇḍu*' which means army or military. Judged by the name, these *Daṇḍakaviles* appear to have come into existence only

14. Proceedings of the Sixth Session of the Indian Historial Records Commission (1924), pages 3 and 4.

during the rule of the Gajapatis of Orissa who divided the country into military administrative divisions called *daṇḍapāḍus*. Koṇḍavīṭidaṇḍapāḍu was one of such divisions. Even if they owe their origin to the Gajapatis it is certain that they contained in them all the information preserved in the previous accounts; for, they give us also a good account of the *sīmas* before the rule of the Gajapatis.

The Telugu work *Rāmarājīyam* written by Andugula Venkanna is a good specimen of the '*Birudāvaḷi*'. Vinnakōṭa Peddana, a Telugu poet of the fifteenth century called *birudāvaḷi* by the name '*Birudoprabandha*' in his *Kāvyālaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi*, a work on rhetoric. The Oriental Manuscripts Library preseves a Telugu manuscript containing the '*birudāvaḷis*' of the seventy two Nāyaks that served under Kākati Pratāparudra of Warangal.

These are the sources from which evidence is drawn for reconstructing the history of the Reḍḍis, who were the main custodians of the Hindu religion and culture in the coastal region of the Andhra country in the mediaeval period, subsequent to the rule of the Kākatīya monarchs.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE TELUGU COUNTRY

A study of the political condition of the Andhra country at the time of the foundation of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom will give us the proper background to trace the history of the Reḍḍīs and their relations with neighbouring powers.

After the fall of Warangal in 1323 A.D., the whole of the Andhra country passed under the sway of the Tughlaq emperors of Delhi. They appointed '*amīrs*'. '*maliks*' and other officers of state to carry on the administration of this newly-acquired province. Armies were stationed at all important centres in the country, and the nature of the administration was military. Many unjust taxes were imposed on agriculturists and collected with an iron hand. Money was squeezed from the rich without any consideration. Brāhmans and cows were killed; *agrahāras* bestowed upon brāhman scholars by kings of yore, were confiscated, and all brāhmanical sacrifices and ritual were compulsorily stopped. Temples were desecrated and idols were broken. Drinking of wine, eating of beef, libertine indulgence, and brāhman-slaying became the creed of the Mussalmans[1] Great was the opprobrium and horror attached to the Muslim rule. The Muslim officers appear to have made a total war against the Hindus and their religion The copper-plate grant[2] of Vilasa is a very remarkable, though solitary, document of his reign which gives a graphic account of the Telugu country under the Muslim domination. Their cruel and inhuman acts naturally evoked a keen yearning in the minds of the Hindu sufferers to protect, even at the cost of their lives, the cow and the brāhman, the two visible symbols of their *dharma*, one, of spritual and the other, of material prosperity. The well-being of the Hindu Society rested chiefly on agriculture which was dependent on the cow, and on helpful rains in time caused, as the ancient Hindus believed, by the regular performance of brāhmanical sacrifices. The unwise policy adopted by the Muslim administrators, inflamed the Hindus intensely and a profound discontent prevailed all over the country. It knit them together for their emancipation from this oppressive political bondage.

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1. *Forgotten chapter*, p. 20; Appendix, I. p. 108..
2. *Bhārati*, Vol. XIX (1942), March number.
   Forgotten chapter, Appendix I, pp. 100—110.

The down-trodden Hindus did not remain long under the heel of the Muslims. A movement to throw off the foreign yoke and protect their *dharma* and culture was set on foot in the coastal tract of the Andhra country. All the nāyaks living therein joined together into a confederacy with the common purpose of freeing the country from foreign domination, and to re-establish Hindu supremacy. Some old generals like Kolani Pratāpa Rudradēva and Annamantri who had survived Pratāparudra, the last of the Kākatīya monarchs, came forward to guide the movement and its destinies. Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family was chosen leader of the confederates. Since the Hindu records[3] of the costal region reaprear from Śaka 1247 (1325 A D.), it seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that in that year Prōlaya Nāyaka and his confederates rose in rebellion against the Muslim authorities and freed their region from foreign domination.

Prōlaya Nāyaka became the acknowledged leader of the coastal Andhra country and probably all the nobles in that region loyally obeyed his commands. He made Rēkapalli in the vicinity of the Gōdāvarī (in the Bhadrāchalam taluk of East Godavari district) his capital and re-established the Hindu *dharma*. He patronised Vēdic learning and revived Vēdic sacrifices in his dominion and re-endowed the *agrahāras* to their claimants, which were in their enjoyment until the Muslim occupation of the country. All the unjust taxes were repealed and peasants paid to the king as tax, a proper share of their produce even as enjoined in the *Śāstras*, in the same way as the ancient sages paid one-sixth of the fruit of their penance to the kings of their days. Prōlaya Nāyaka established law and order in the country and set right everything that was undone by the Mussalmans during their period of rule

Encouraged by the success gained by the nobles of the coastal country the nāyaks of the western Andhra country (now known as the Rāyaḷa Sīma) who were under the subjection of Malik Neby[4], Muhammad bin Tughlaq's governor of Kaṁpili rose in the rebellion and made administration impossible under the leadership of the Cāḷukya kṣatriya prince of the lunar race, Sōmadēvarāja of the Āravēṭi family. They put the Muslim governor to flight, and captured the forts of Mosalimaḍugu, Sātānikōṭa, Kandanavol (Kurnul), Kalvakolanu, Rācūru,

3. N. D. I., Vol. III, O. 73, pp. 1022—29.
See for a disscussion of the date—*Forgotten chapter*, p. 39, f. n. 7; and Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 189, f. n. 5.

4. Swell's *Forgotten Empire*, Vide, Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz, p. 297. The Governor's name is given as Muhammad and Muhammad Maluka in the Telugu works *Bala Bhāgavatam* (*Dvipada kāvyam*) and *Narapativijayam*.

(Raicur), Ētagiri (Etgir), and Gaṅginēnikoṇḍa. They fought several successful battles at Ānegondi, Mudugallu (Mudgal), and other places and drove away the Muslim officers[5]. The names of the battle-fields and of the forts indicate the extent of the region over which Sōmadēvaraja operated during this rebellion. From the forts he had captured and the battles he had won, it is evident that a great part of the southern portion of the present Hyderabad state also came into his possession. He appointed his kinsmen, and officers as governors of those forts which they retained in their possession for a long time. Western Andhra country thus slipped out of the control of the Muslim authorities most probably about 1328–29 A. D.

Prōlaya Nāyaka and his paternal uncle's son, Kāpā Nēḍu or Kāpaya Nāyaka did not stop their efforts with the re-conquest of the coastal region. To deliver the entire Andhra country from the Muslim domination was their sole aim and object. In achieving that end Prōlaya Nāyaka appears to have been unsuccessful; one is not sure if he ever made any attempts in that direction. As his name is not mentioned by any of the Muslim historians in connection with the rebellion of Waraṅgal, it is reasonable to conclude that he did not live long to carry out his cherished wish.

The mantle of Prōlaya Nāyaka fell on his cousin Kāpaya Nāyaka who succeeded him as the leader of the chiefs of the coastal tract. To fulfil his object he secretly carried on negotiations with the Hindus of the Waraṅgal country and the neighbouring Hindu monarchs like Ballāla III of Dvārasamudra, to make common cause for emancipation from the Muslim rule. His plans succeeded and under his leadership the Hindus of Waraṅgal rose in rebellion in Śaka 1258–59 (1336-37 A.D.) against the Muslim governors in Teliṅgānā above the Ghats. Defeating them in battle they drove them away, and captured the fort of Waraṅgal. Thus was the Hindu independence of Teliṅgānā established once again. Kāpā Nīḍ of Isāmy, Kanyā Naik of Baranī, Kabā Nāyand of Azīz-Ullā Tabâtabā, Kambā Naik and Krishn Naik of Ferishta, who is said to have been the leader of the Hindu insurgents of Waraṅgal, is no other than Kāpaya Nāyaka, the cousin of Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family. After driving away the Mussalmans from Teliṅgānā he made Waraṅgal his capital.

Kāpaya Nāyaka became the chosen leader and the uncrowned king of the entire Andhra country and assumed the titles Andhradēśādhīśvara, lord of the Andhra country, and Andhra Suratrāṇa, the

5. *Forgotten chapter* pp. 48–51.

sultān of the Andhras. He was served, according to the Kaluvacēṛu grant[6] of Anitalli, by the traditional seventy five nāyaks of the Andhra country, the descendants of the nobles that had served the last Kākatīya monarch. The different nāyaks in the country appear to have ruled, as of old, their heriditary nāyōgas or provinces under their charge independently, while formally acknowledging him as their overlord.

The liberation of the Andhra land from foreign domination naturally brought about a change in the attitude and outlook of the Hindu nobles in different parts of the country. The sentiment that had fired their imagination and united them for a common purpose, failed to animate them further to work together soon after the attainment of independence. The first flush of enthusiasm, consequent on their gaining a signal victory over the Imperial forces of Delhi, evoked in their hearts a note of self-confidence and self-reliance, fostering in them an independent spirit. The victory they had won, begot in them a false and pernicious sense of prestige and power which naturally tended to discord and cleavage. The ideal for which they had united and fought, was lost sight of in no time, and each one of the chiefs began to assert his power and extend his authority at the expense of the other. As a consequence, these principalities developed soon into independent states with an aggressively autonomous attitude, which, if it did nothing else, served to make unity among them well nigh impossible. This attitude of the nobles tended to deprive Kapaya Nāyaka of his leadership of the Andhra country, and his dominion comes to be counted as only one of the several new kingdoms, established in the early post-Kākatīya period.

During this period there were as many kingdoms and principalities as there were chiefs, chief of them being the kingdoms of Warangal of the Musunūri chiefs, of Rācakoṇḍa of the Padma Velama chiefs, of Vijayanagar of the kṣatriyas of the yādava clan, and of Koṇḍavīḍu of the Reḍḍis of the Panta clan, besides the comparitively small principalities of the Mañcikoṇḍa Nāyaks of Kōṛukoṇḍa and the Koppula chieftains of Piṭhāpuram. Besides these there was the ancient kingdom of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga with its fiefs.

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6. J.A.S.P., Vol. IV, pp. 93-112; Vide, vv. 23-33. *Bharati*, Vol. XXI, Nos. June and July (1944); This grant was re-edited by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya. The number of Nāyaks that served the last Kakatīya monarch is given differently in inscriptions and literature. It is given as seventy-seven in the *Velugotivāri Vaṁśāvali* and in the *Caṭus* in the second part of the *Caṭupadya maṇimañjari* (pp. 62-68), seventy two in the introductory verses in the *Śivayōgasāraṁ* (*Subhāshi* 1927, October number), and as seventy five in the Kaluvacēṛu grant (A.S.P.P., IV, verse 30).

The Kingdom of Waroṅgal:

An account of the careers of Prōlaya Nāyaka, and Kāpaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family who liberated the Coastal Andhra country and Teliṅgānā respectively, and the distinguished part they played in the history of the Deccan were detailed in the earlier work "*A Forgotten chapter of Andhra history.*" That brochure is really in the nature of a prologue to the history of the Reḍḍi kingdoms of the Andhra country which forms the subject of the present treatise. Hence, only the broad features of the history of Waraṅgal after its re-conquest by Kāpaya Nāyaka are noted down here.

Kāpaya Nāyaka inherited much of the old kindom of the Kākatīya monarchs which extended from Kaulas and Bīdar in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. In spite of the victory he had gained over his enemies in 1336-37 A.D., he was not sure of his ground and was uncertain of his throne; for he was apprehensive of an invasion of Teliṅgānā at any moment by Sultān Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq of Delhi. In order to protect himself from this danger and to safeguard his kingdom, Kāpaya Nāyaka made common cause with the rebel Centurions of the Deccan and despatched a considerable force in aid of Jāfar Khān, one of their leaders, when such help was needed most. These Centurions vanquishing the Imperial forces, and putting an end to the authority of the Sultan in the Deccan country, set up a new independent Muslim state contiguous to the kingdom of Waraṅgal, and elected Jāfar Khān as their king. Jāfar Khān ascended the throne in 1347 A.D., assuming the title of Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Gaṅgu Bahman Shāh, and became the founder of the new Bahmanī kingdom which played a very important part in the history of South India for over a century and a quarter. His capital was Gulbarga.

Kāpaya Nāyaka very soon realised that the trust he placed in Jāfar Khān, now Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh, was misplaced and the aid he gave him was misdirected; for Alā-ud-Dīn, almost from the inception of the Bahmanī kingdom, waged war with the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms in order to reduce them to submission, and to extend his authority. Kāpaya Nāyaka's kingdom did not prove an exception. He realised also that he could not bestow much attention on the affairs of the coastal region, having in his neighbourhood a growing Muslim power which was bent upon wiping out the independent Hindu kingdoms. So, he appointed his cousin Toyyēṭi Anavōtā Nāyaka as his viceroy over the coastal region. The latest record of the reign of Kāpaya Nāyaka in the coastal country is dated in Śaka 1268 (1346 A.D.) and that of his cousin Anavōtā Nāyaka in Śaka 1269 (1347 A.D.). These

records roughly indicate the date of the appointment of Ánavōtā Nāyaka as the Viceroy of the coastal Andhra coutry.

Soon after his accession to the throne, ʻ Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh led a successful invasion against Teliṅgānā and compelled Kāpaya Nāyaka to sign a treaty by ceding him the fortress of Kaulas with its dependencies. This defeat at the hands of ʻ Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh affected Kāpaya Nāyaka's prestige and power and considerably weakned his authority over the coastal Andhra country.

The death of Sultān Muhammad Bin Tughlaq gave ʻ Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh further encouragement and freedom to prosecute his cherished wish of re-conquering all the country previously subject to the Sultāns of Delhi. With this object he launched an extensive campaign, during which he once again invaded the kingdom of Teliṅgānā in about S. 1278/1356-57 A.D The cause of this second invasion appears to be that Kapaya Nāyaka did not become ʻ Alā-ud-Dīn's vassal paying an annual tribute, even though he had already ceded to the Sultān Kaulas with its dependencies. The Muslim historians credit ʻAlā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh with victory this time also. They state that, inflicting a severe defeat, ʻAlā-ud-Dīn compelled Kāpaya Nāyaka to pay the annual tribute he had heretofore been remitting to the Sultan of Delhi and to cede further again the fortress of Bhōnagir (Tribhuvanagiri) which thence forward became the eastern boundary of the Bahmanī kingdom.

Kāpaya Nāyaka made a bid to recover his lost possessions soon after the death of ʻAlā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh in 1359 A.D., with the help of the king of vijayanagar. He sent his son[7] Vināyak Dēv, the fief-holder

7. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya is of opinion that Vināyak Dev was a cousin of the Rēcerla chief, Anavōtā Nāyaka I and it was to chastise him that Muhammad Shāh I Bahmanī led his forces to Velaṁpattun (Vl. Vm., intro, XII). He also says that the death of Kāpaya at the hands of the Velamas " took place in 1369 A.D., or a little earlier". Vināyak Dēv was already dead by A. H. 764 (*Forgotten Chapter* Appendix, IV, p. 127). This year begins in October 1362 A.D. The Lucknow text of Ferishta furnishes also the date of Muhammad Shāh's expedition to Velaṁpattun against Vinayak Dēv as A.H. 763. This year commences from the 31st of October, 1361 A.D., and ends on 21st October 1362 (Saka 1284). We know also from Vl. Vm., that Anavōta I avenged the death of his father, Siṅgama Nāyaka in S'aka 1283 (S'ikhi-kari-Bhānu) and from VV. Or., (appendicies, Nos. 6, 7 and 8) that he was fortifying Rajukoṇḍa in S'aka 1287; The earliest inscription to mention the conquest of Waraṅgal by Anavōta I is his Ainavōlu record dated in 1369 A.D., (S'aka 1291) which clearly states that he made the gift registered therein after returning from a successful military campaign (*Forgotten Chapter*, p. 98). In the light of the above-mentioned facts I am not inclined to indentify Vināyak Dēv with Naga Nāyaka, the cousin of Anavota I.

of Velampaṭṭan who re-conquered Bhōnagir and was preparing to recover Kaulas also. Having heard this news Muhammad Shāh I (1359 A.D. to 1376 A.D.), the son and successor of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh proceeded at once by rapid marches to Velampaṭṭan and laid seige to the fort. Vināyak Dēv escaped to the citadel which was forthwith invested, and finally reduced. He was then captured and burnt alive.

Exasperated by the inhuman and cruel death meted out to his son, Kāpaya Nāyaka grew desperate and appealed to Sultān Fīrūz Shāh of Delhi, the successor of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq for help to crush the Bahmanī power, promising him at the same time to bring the whole of the Deccan once again under the sway of the Emperors of Delhi. This appeal did not bear fruit. Enraged by the reported overtures of Kāpaya Nāyaka to the Delhi court, Muhammad Shāh I invaded Teliṅgānā and ravaged the whole country in Śaka 1288 / 1366 A.D. Kāpaya Nāyaka was reduced to straits and applied for quarter. A treaty was subsequently drawn up between the king of Waraṅgal and the Sultān of the Bahmanī kingdom, by which the former "ceded the hill fort of Gōlcoṇḍa in perpetuity to the Sultān besides presenting him three hundred elephants, two thousand valuable horses and thirty-three lacs of rupees" as indemnity. Gōlcoṇḍa since then became the boundary between the Bahamanī and Waraṅgal kingdoms. Muhammad Shāh I is said to have warned his successors not to molest the kingdom of Waraṅgal as long as its rulers refrained from breaking their faith. On this occasion Kāpaya Nāyaka presented to Muhammad Shāh I a beautiful throne studded with emeralds which was, therefore, called *Tukht-i-Fīrūza.*

While Kāpaya Nāyaka was involved in struggle with the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga the Rēcerla chief Siṅgama Nāyaka I launched a campain for territorial aggrandisement, and even challenged the authority of Kāpaya Nāyaka, the acknowledged leader till then of the confederacy of nobles of the Andhra country in succession to his cousin Prōlaya Nāyaka. After the death of Siṅgama Nāyaka in Śaka 1283 (1361 A.D.) his son Anavōtā Nāyaka led an expedition to the north, accompanied by his brother Mādā Nāyaka I and his son Peda Vēdagiri Nāyaka, and contended with Kāpaya Nāyaka for supremacy over Teliṅgānā. The hostile armies met in the present Waraṅgal district of the Hyderabad state, and a fierce battle was fought at Bhīmavaram in about Śaka 1289-90 (1367–68 A. D.) in which Kāpaya Nāyaka was defeated and slain. Thus came to an abrupt end the rule of the Msunūri chiefs over Teliṅgānā. None of the descendants of Kāpaya Nāyaka is known to history.

The Kingdom of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa:

The Rēcerla chiefs of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa, Padma Velamas by caste, served the Kākatīya monarchs of Warangal from the time of Gaṇapatidēva, as commanders and vassals, and rose to distinction and power. Their history however virtually begins in the post-Kākatīya period from the time of Anavōta I, son of Siṅgama Nāyaka I. Though his father laid the foundations of their power by his conquests to the south of Rājukoṇḍa or Rājācala, it was only his son Anavōta, the real architect who built the edifice of the Rēcerla kingdom. Rājukoṇḍa, one of the important towns in the Rēcerla territory until his time, became his capital. Anavōta made it impregnable by the construction of fort walls, ramparts, tanks and wells[8]. He came to the throne in Śaka 1283 (1361 A.D.) and ruled till about Śaka 1306 (1384 A.D.). After slaying Kāpaya Nāyaka in the battle of Bhīmavaraṁ he took possession of the Warangal kingdom and became the sole ruler of the whole of Teliṅgānā. He was ruling the forts of Waraṅgal, Bhōnagir, Rājukoṇḍa and others in the Telugu country by Śaka 1291 (July 1369 A. D.), the date of his Ainavōlu inscription. From his time Waraṅgal was reduced to a secondary position.

Anavōta Nāyaka I, stationed at Dēvarakoṇḍa his brother Māda Nāyaka who ruled the territory around it with its dependencies. Since that time Dēvarakoṇḍa became the capital of the descendants of Māda Nāyaka in the same way as Rājukoṇḍa was that of the off-spring of his brother Anavōta I. The Kingdom of Dēvarakoṇḍa was subordinate to, and formed only an integral part of the Kingdom of Rājukoṇḍa. Though the chiefs of the collateral lines acted independently in their respective dominions, they whole-heartedly co-operated with one another and worked together as one in the best interests of the united Rēcerla kingdom, in dealing with foreign powers and protecting the integrity of their state. The so-called partition of the Rēcerla kingdom, adverted to in the Annals of the Rēcerla chiefs, between Anavōta Nāyaka and Māda Nāyaka seems to be nothing but a convenient administrative arrangement and a territorial adjustment between the brothers which contributed to the strength and not to the weakness of the Rēcerla kingdom as a whole.

It is interesting to note that the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga did not invade the kingdom of Teliṅgānā even once after it passed into the hands of the Rēcerla kings. It might be that the chiefs of Rājukoṇḍa were actually in alliance with the Bahmanī Sultān against Kāpaya Nayaka

8. Inscriptions recording construction of these works by Anavōta are given in Appendices nos. 6, 7 and 8 to Vv. Or., (Vide pp. 27–29);
Forgotten chapter, p. 95.

and that, on the death of the latter in the battle of Bhīmavaraṁ, the former ratified their conquest of the warangal kingdom, subject to their adherence to the terms of his former treaty concluded with Kāpaya Nāyaka. This was probably the reason for the friendly attitude of the Bahmanī Sultans towards the Rēcerla rulers of Rajukonda. Anavōta I and his successors were very loyal to the Bahmanīs of Gulbarga and assisted them in their campaigns even against their Hindu compatriots. The Bahamanı Sultāns, in their turn, rendered assistance to the Rēcerla kings when their territory was overrun by their Hindu adversaries. For little over a half of a century from the time of Anavōta Nāyaka I the political relations between these two neighbouring states, the Hindu and the Muslim, were very cordial

Virtually, from the inception of the Rājukoṇḍa kingdom the Rēcerla kings were at war with their neighbouring Hindu powers of Vijayanagar and Kondavīdu in the south and south-east respectively. The river Kṛṣṇā separated the Rājukoṇḍa kingdom from both the Vijayanagar and Koṇḍavīḍu kingdoms.

Anavōta I and Māda I were succeeded by their sons Singama Nāyaka II and Peda Vēdagiri Nēḍu respectively. Singa II (cir. 1384 to cir. 1399 A.D.), Kumāra Singa as he was also called was a great Sanskrit Scholar and a great patron of letters. During his reign Peda Vēdagiri, his cousin and contemporary at Dēvarakoṇḍa, afforded asylum to the Ẹruva chief, Annadēva Cōḍa who was dispossessed of his principality in the coastal region by the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu. This factor further embittered and complicated the relations between the Rēcerla chiefs and the Reḍḍi kings, and turned the enmity between the two rival houses into a family feud, which continued with unabated vigour until the end of the Reḍḍi rule.

Singa II was succeeded by his son Anavōta II, also called Kumārannavōta (cir. 1399 A.D. to cir. 1425 A.D.). Kumāra Māda Nāyaka. son of Peda Vēdagiri Nēḍu was his contemporary at Dēvarakoṇḍa. Closely following in the foot-steps of their fathers both these rulers adopted the same policy of hostility with their Reḍḍi contemporaries. Anavōta II however deviated from the traditional policy of loyal subordination to the neighbouring Muslim state and joined the Vijayanagar forces when Pānugal near Nallagoṇḍa was besieged by Sultān Fīrūz Shāh in 1417 A.D.. The Rēcerla kings were however unable to maintain this policy of friendship and co-operation with their Hindu ally of Vijayanagar consistently in later times, owing to persistent invasions of their territory by Fīrūz Shāh's brother and successor, Ahmad Shāh I who ruled the Bhamanī kingdom from Bīdar, the capital which he had built newly.

Kumāra Anavōta's son Sarvajña Siṅgama Nāyaka III (Cir. 1425 A.D. to cir. 1475 A.D.) and Liṅgama Nēḍu, son of Kumāra Mādā Nāyaka who inherited their respective kingdoms after the death of their fathers, often swerved in their loyalty to the Sultāns of Bīdar and joined hands occasionally either with the kings of Vijayanagar or with the powerful king Kapilēśwara, the founder of the Gajapati dynasty of Cuttack who newly established his power in Saka 1538 / 1435-36 A.D., after the fall of the Eastern Gānga line of Kaliṅga.

Liṅgama Nēḍu, the last powerful ruler of Dēvarakoṇḍa is credited to have led incursions into the Reḍḍi kingdoms of Koṅḍavīḍu and Rājamahēndravaram even from his twelfth year and carried the rivalry between both the houses to logical conclusion, until the subversion of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Rājamahendravaram which outlived Koṇḍavīḍu for about a quarter of a century.

It was during the closing years of the reign of Ahmad Shāh I that the Rēcerla chiefs lost Waraṅgal and Rājukoṇḍa. Liṅgama Nēḍu struggled hard in vain to recover the lost possessions of the Rēcerlas. Rajukoṇḍa waned as a power and sank into oblivion amidst the din of strife and struggle.

The Kingdom of Vijayanagar

The kingdom of Vijayanagar was in fact the re-formed and enlarged edition of the sate of Kaṁpili, and came into existence during the momentous period of the Hindu re-conquest of Waraṅgal.

The Muslim convert-captive Harihara Dēvarāya was released from prison along with his brothers and appointed governor of Kaṁpili by Sultān Muhamad bin Tughlaq, to crush the rebellion of the Hindus against the Muslim governor stationed there, to recover the lost territory of the kingdom of Kaṁpili, and to re-establish law and order in the country. Though Harihara succeeded partially in fulfilling his mission he was yet opposed by the neighbouring rulers and did not inspire confidence even in his own subjects, the Hindus of the kingdom. He struggled hard to make himself popular in the country, and soon followed the example of Kāpaya Nāyaka. Apostatising from *Islām* he won the favour and confidence of the sage Vidyāraṇya of the Paṁpā Virūpākṣatīrtha, and defying the authority of the Emperor, asserted his independence.

With the guidance and help of Vidyāraṇya, and with the close collaboration of his brothers Kaṁpa I, Bukka I, Mārapa and Muddapa who, implicitly obeying him, carried out his commands. Harihara Dēvarāya set himself to subdue the neighbouring states and extend his

authority. The old state of Kaṁpili was thus transformed into the mighty Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar under the spell of Vidyāraṇya, the friend, guide and philosopher of the first three rulers of Vijayanagar, namely, Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II, and was re-fashioned into a bulwark of Hinduism under the able guidance of that sage.

Harihara I had his capital first at Ānegondi and then at Vijayanagar on the banks of the Tuṅgabhdrā which was built in commemoration of the victory won and in the name of his guru Vidyāraṇya. Harihara I rallied the Hindus under his banner and created a powerful Hindu state to safe-guard the Hindu interests and to counteract the spread of *Islām.*

Within a few years after the birth of Vijayanagar in about 1336–37 A. D. (Śaka 1258) Harihara I and his brothers by their united effort were successful in making it a power to reckon with, and extended their authority far and wide from the eastern to the western seas. By taking on itself the onerous task of protecting the Hindu *dharma* and by spreading the new message of unity among the Hindus irrespective of their sectarian differences, in order to defy and check the Muslim advance, the new kingdom of Vijayanagar rapidly grew into a formidable power, which attracted to its bosom and nurtured in it all the scattered and dissipated forces of Hinduism. Vijayanagar soon became the symbol of Hinduism and the citadel of Hindu culture and stoutly resisted the onslaughts of the aggressive *Islām* and arrested its southward march.

Within a decade after the foundation of Vijayanagar, Udayagiri in the Kāvali taluk of Nellore district became its chief fortress in the east. It was constituted into a separate province called Udayagiri Rājya, attaching to it all the territory which the kings of Vijayanagar conquered in the east. Udayagiri was thus from almost the beginning of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu, a strong military base of the Vijayanagar rulers, from which they carried on their operations into enemy's territory with ease and facility. The fortress of Udayagiri thus became a constant menace to the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu ever threatening its very existance. It was during the reigns of Bukka's son Harihara II (1377 A D., to 1404 A.D.) and his son Dēvarāya I (1406 A.D., to 1422 A.D.) that the Vijayanagar kingdom expanded in all directions in leaps and bounds. King Dēvarāya's foreign policy successfully crippled the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu.

The Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar became also the target of attack by the Bahmanī Sultāns who tried their might in vain to reduce it to vassalage They were however successful in annexing much of the

territory lying between the rivers Tuṅgabhadrā and Kṛṣṇa, even from the time of Harihara I. Though the successors of Harihara I extended their power over the whole of the South Indian peninsula and even over Ceylon and were thus amply recompensated for their loss of territoy in the north, they did not keep quiet without attempting to recover the doab region. Thus, from almost the beginning of their rule the doab region between the river Tuṅgabhadrā and the Kṛṣṇā became the bone of contention between the two powers, the Bahamanī Sultāns of Gulbarga and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar. Many a deadly battle was fought with equal tenacity on either side between the Muslims and the Hindus, during the next two centuries and a quarter, battles which measured their depth of unity, their strength of organisation, their capacity of statesmanship, their ardour of faith and intensity of purpose.

The Koppula Chiefs:

The existence of this minor dynasty of feudatory chiefs, Vīraśāmantas as they were called, is revealed to us for the first time from the Dōnepūṇḍi grant[8] of Nāmaya Nāyaka dated in S'aka 1259. This grant informs us that these chiefs established their sway over the region to the north of the Gōdāvarī, and that their territory, known as Andhrakhaṇḍamaṇḍala comprising a portion of the Andhra country, extended from the banks of the Gōdavarī in the south to Kaḷiṅga in the north. Piṭhāpurī, the modern Pithāpuram in East Godavari district, was their capital. What little we know of this family is derived from the grant referred to above and a few lithic records at Simhāchalam in Vizagpatam district.

The first member of this family referred to in the Dōnepūṇḍi grant is Kāpaya Nāyaka. His son Prōlaya Nāyaka had, by Cōdamāmbā, a son named Nāmaya Nāyaka who had the title of *payameccugaṇḍa*, the hero admired by his adversaries. He ruled the country "nourished by the river Ēlā".. This river, now popularly called Ēlēru, runs through the Yellavaram and Pithāpuram divisions and the Peddāpuram taluk of East Godavari district. Nāmaya granted the village of Dōnepūṇḍi, after re-naming it Prōlōram (corruption of the name of Prōlavaram) after his father, as an *agrahāra* to a brahman, named Gaṇapati of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, who was well-versed in Vēdic lore and Praśnāṣṭaka. The Dōnepūṇḍi grant does not furnish any more information about the history of this family[9].

8. Ep. Ind., Vol, IV. pp. 356 ff.
9. The Mallêśvara Svāmin temple at Bezwada contains an inscription (S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 765) dated in S'aka 1189 registering the gift of a lamp to god Mallêśvara by *Pagameccugaṇḍa* Komppula (not Koppula) Prôli Nāyaka, Muppā Sāni, Doḍḍa Ḍēvara and Nāgana Bôyuḍu for the merit of their grand-father, Goppa Māḍeḍḍi (? Koppula Maḍreḍḍi), of their father, Nāre Bôyuḍu, of their mother, Kāma Sāni, and of their elder brothers Kornupaṭi Erapôti Nâyaka and Ḍomkena Mār Nēḍu. The family name (Komppula) despite its slight variation and the title, *pagameccu-gaṇḍa* point to the fact that this might be an early record of the Koppula family. The chiefs of this Bezwada record seem therefore to have been the ancestors of Namaya Nāyaka of the Dônepûṇḍi grant (Vide, my article, Koppula chiefs in J.A.H.C., Vol. I, pp. 42-47 ff).

There are some more records of the Koppula chiefs at Siṁhāchalam to be taken into account; one[10] of them damaged and undated, furnishes the ancestry of the Koppula chiefs for four generations beginning with Kāpaya Nāyaka. Kāpa's son was Prō'a l. His son was Koppula Nāyaka or Koppulayya. He had a son named Prōlaya Nāyaka II. The record then refers to the wife of some one, most probably of Prōlaya Nāyaka II himself, who is compared to the wives of Madhudviṭ (Viṣṇu) and Mahēśvara. Unfortunately the record is damaged here and the last portion of the inscription is lost. As such, her actual name is unknown. Kāpa of this record seems to be identical with his namesake, the grandfather of Nāmaya Nāyaka.

Another record[11] registers the grant of Adulāpalli (Aṁdulāpalli) for '*pagameccuganḍabhoga*' by Muppamadēvi, wife of Koppulayya in the Śaka year 1310 (1388 A. D.)[12]

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10. S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 822.

11. Ibid., No. 828.

12. The geneology of the Koppula chiefs may be formulated as shown below with the aid of their records, referred to above.

GENEOLOGY

Kāpaya Nāyaka
|
Prōlaya Nāyaka (I) = Coḍamāṁbā
|
Nāmaya Nāyaka (Ś. 1259) (Donor of the Dōnepūṇḍi grant) | Koppa bhūpati alias Koppulayya = Muppamadēvi
|
Prōlaya Nāyaka (II)

It is possible to interpret the term Nama in the passage "Koppula Nāma Bhūpàla" (S.I.I., VI, 822, l. 3) as a proper name. In that case the geneology of the family has to be modified as follows:

Kāpaya Nāyaka
|
Prōlaya Nāyaka I
|
Nāmaya Nāyaka
|
Prōlaya Nāyaka II.

But it is not possible to fix the place of Koppulayya, husband of Muppamadēvi in the geneology as his relationship with the other known members of the family is not known. Similarly, the position of two other members of the family, namely Kapi Nayaka and Nāma Bhūpāla mentioned in two other Siṁhāchalam records dated Śaka 1282 (S.I.I., VI, 821) and Śaka 1291 (ibid, 924) respectively, is also uncertain.

It seems likely that Kāpaya Nāyaka[13] was the first member of the Koppula family to hold office of Nāyāka (*nāyokatano*) under the Kākatīyas. His son Prōla I, probably a contemporary of Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family, co-operated with him in liberating the coastal region of the Andhra country from the Muslims. Prōla's son, Nāmaya Nāyaka was the first independent and powerful ruler in this family who ruled the 'Andhra-khaṇḍa-maṇḍala'. If Nāmaya Nāyaka's rule is taken to have extended over the Guddavādi viṣaya also, he should have ruled the entire region from the east coast up to the Yellavaram division in East Godavari district.

What became of the Koppula chiefs subsequent to Nāmaya Nāyaka's rule is not known. Andulāpalli, the village granted by Muppamadēvi, to God Siṁhādrinātha, is in the Sarvasiddhi taluk of Vizagapatam district. Hence, it is evident that the latter members of the Koppula family were obliged to move further north owing to the pressure from the neighbouring chiefs in the South. Koṭhām in the Tuni division of East Godavari district appears to have been their capital. This town was known as "Koppulavāri Koṭṭhaṁ"[14], Koṭṭhām of the Koppula people even at the beginning of the seventeenth century. No records of Koppa Bhūpati or Koppulayya have so far come to light. We may not be far wrong in supposing that he lived in the latter half of the fourteenth century or about S'aka 1280. Granted a rule of twenty five years from S'aka 1259, the date of the Dōnepūṇḍi grant, Nāmaya Nāyaka's reign comes to a close in S'aka 1284 on the presumption that the grant was issued in the beginning of his reign. Who succeeded Nāmaya Nāyaka is still a problem.

Annadēvá Cōḍa, a chieftain of the Cōḍa family credits his father Cōḍa Bhaktirāja with having defeated the Gajapati in the east in the battle at Pañcadhārla (in the Sarvasiddhi taluk, Vizagapatam District) and of having crowned Koppulapati,[15] probably identical with Koppa-

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13. In No. 822 the first line, though damaged, suggests that Kāpaya was the lord of the country of Gudravāṭi, surrounded by the Gautamī and the Kṛṣṇā. Gudravaṭi seems to be the same as the ancient Gudrahāra or Gudravāra Viṣaya, and to have a close resemblance to Guddavāṭi or Guddavādi of the Eastern Calukya grants. Gudravara Viṣaya comprised the taluks of Bandar and Guḍivāḍu in the Kistna district and Guddavādi, of Rajolo, Cocanada and Ramachandrapuram taluks in East Godavari district either partly or wholly. It is likely that Gudravaṭi and Gudravara were originally two districts whether combined or seperate, and went by the name of Gudravara. In support of this conjecture the Pithapuram pillar inscription of the Velanaṭi chief Pṛithivis'vara may be cited, It refers to Gudravara-dvaya, two territorial divisions, named Gudravara (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV., p. 41, v. 18). See also J.A.H.C., Vol. I pp. 45-46).

14. S. I. I. Vol. VI. No. 1184.

15. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 141 ff; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. 1, p. 188.

bhūpati or Koppulayya. Why the Gajapati waged war with Koppulapati and why Bhaktirāja espoused the latter's cause are problems to be solved by future research. Probably when the Koppula chiefs of the two collateral branches were fighting for the throne the Gajapati and Cōḍa Bhaktirāja interfered in their war of succession for political reasons and took opposite sides. This is however only a conjecture which may prove right or wrong.

After saka 1310 / 1388 A. D. We find no reference to the Koppula chiefs in any of the lithic or copper-plate records. It is probable that they later on lost their independence and were reduced to vassalage to the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom.

A late member of this family, named Valla Bhūpati of Koṭṭhāpuraṁ (Koṭṭhaṁ) is known from the Telugu work *Rājarājābhiṣēkaṁ*

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16. కుదురయ్యె కోటికి కోటలోపల కైశ్య
సుప్రతిష్ఠితుఁడైన శూలపాణి
పాయకేఁ దేఁటిపర్యంత కనకాటి
మిండరాయండు లక్ష్మీధవుండు
వింటారు కోటకు నాదకాలమునందు
జలపూరంబైన సాగరంబు
చదురొందు కోటకు సార్వకాలికము
స్ఫీతంబు వేద ఘోషతోఁట
సురపురంబునకైన నబ్బురములగుచు
కలిగుచునుండు కోటకు నిరులు
వసుమతీ పాదపద్మ సంకలితరత్న
నూపురంబగునట్టి కొత్తాపురంబు.
సార్వక్షితీశుల మకుటంబు లేరాజ
పాదపీఠకు సోపానపంక్తి
చతురబ్ధివలయిత, క్షితితలం బేరాజ
బాహుదండమునకు బాహుదండ
భువనంబులేలు కర్పూరగంధి యేరాజ
లీలాకటాక్ష పాలికకు నీడ
రజని కాంత జయంత రతికాంతు లేరాజ
రూపరేఖకుఁ బ్రతిరూపకంబు
అతఁడు పట్టితలాట కేళాంగరాయ
రాజదేవేంద్ర రాజాధిరాజచంద్ర
గాయగోవాళ జగనొబ్బగండబిరుద
శాలి కొప్పుల వల్లభూపాలమౌళి.

Ak. Cr, Vol, II pp. 499-50. ff.

written by Aṅgara Narasiṁhakavi[16]. Valla's connection, however, with the early members of the Koppula family,[17] is not known.

The Principality of Kōṛukōṇḍa:

The founders of this principality also were a line of Sāmantas, feudatory chiefs who became powerful during the period under review. Only two copper-plate records, one the Śrīraṅgaṁ plates[18] of Mummaḍi Nāyaka dated Śaka 1280, and the other, the Akkalapūṇḍi grant[19] of Siṅgaya Nāyaka dated Śaka 1290, and one or two lithic inscriptions of this family have, so for, been discovered, with the help of which the history of this family has to be re-constructed.

The copper-plate records mentioned above furnish the following information. In times of yore the Pallava emperor, Mukkaṇṭi brought with him two chiefs, Mañci and Koṇḍa from the banks of the Ganges. They founded in the Andhra country a town named Mañcikoṇḍa which subsequently became the gōtra[20] of their descendants. Kēśami Nāyaka or Kēsava Nāyaka born in that family, became the lord of the Teliṅga country (probably the tract of country around Mañcikoṇḍa). His son and successor was Gaṇapati Nāyaka. Kūna or Kūnaya Nāyaka was his son. He had three sons namely, Mummaḍi Nāyaka, Siṅgaya Nāyaka and Gannaya Nāyaka, of whom Mummaḍi, the eldest son was the most powerful. He conqured the countries of Pānāra, Kōna, Kuravāṭa, Ceṅgaṛa and others lying between the two main branches (the Vāsiṣṭha and the Vṛddha Gautamī) of the Gōdāvarī or in their vicinity (*Gōdāvarīm=ubhaya-tōyam=ıpānta dēśam* or "*prathit=ōbhaya-Gōdāvara-madhyapramēṣu*"). Mummaḍi Nāyaka assumed the burden of the kingdom in deference to the wishes of his father,

16. The title of Valla Bhūpāla of the Koppula family, namely *paṭṭutalāṭa, keḷadiraya, gaṇḍigōvāḷa* and *jaganobbagaṇḍa* which were commonly borne by the Velama and the Reḍḍi kings, and the absence in the work of any reference to any Telugu poet later than Srīnātha unmistakably point to the fact that Nṛsiṁhakavi and his patron lived at the fag end of the Reḍḍi Period.

Sri M. Rāmakrishnakavi M. A, states in his introduction to his *Prabandhamaṇibhūṣaṇam*, an anthology of Telugu verse, that Narasiṁhakavi lived about 1500 A. D., and that his patron Valla Bhūpati was the fifth in descent from Nāmaya Nāyaka of the Dōnepūḍi grant.

17. There is a community of Sūdras called Kōppula Velamas in Vizagapatam district. It is not known if these Koppula chiefs belong to this community. At any rate, there is nothing to show, that these were Reḍḍis as some scholars think.

18. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 83 ff.

19. Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 259 ff. For the date of this grant see *Forgotten Chapter*, p. 97, f.n. 46.

20. The Rēcerla gōtra of the rulers of Rājukoṇḍa. Mañcikoṇḍa should be somewhere in the Eastern Teliṅgāṇā.

though at first he was unwilling to do so. He married the niece of Kāpaya Nāyaka, who was given the title of 'Andhra Suratrāṇa' in the Akkalapūṇḍi grant. Mummaḍi Nāyaka had his capital at Kōṟukoṇḍa, not far from Rājamahēndravaram. He appointed his two brothers, Siṅgaya Nāyaka and Gannaya Nāyaka at Kōṭipuri[21] and at Tāḍipāka (Tāṭipāka in the Rājōle taluk, East Godavari district). Siṅgaya Nāyaka who had the title "Gaṇḍagopāla' fixed his capital at Mummaḍivīḍu on the banks of the river, Pampā.

The Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka record the re-granting of the village of Kōṭṭāḷḷapaṟṟu to Śrīraṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam by the mother of Bhaṭṭa Parāśara,[22] the original recipient of the village from Mummaḍi Nāyaka. Siṅgaya Nāyaka's grant of the village of Akkalapūṇḍi to Parahita-Paṇḍita who was well versed in Āyurvēda is registered in the Akkalapūṇḍi record.

Besides these two copper-plate grants there is another stone record[23] of Mummaḍi Nāyaka of Śaka 1275, inscribed on a pillar set up in the court-yard of the Lakṣmīnarasiṁhasvāmin temple on the hill at Kōṟukoṇḍa. This inscription referring to the foundation of the temple of Narasiṃhasvāmin who was believed to be an incarnation of Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, records Mummaḍi's gift of lands and villages to that temple. From these inscriptions we come to know that the Kōṟukoṇḍa chiefs rose to power only after the downfall of the Kākatīyas of Waraṅgal.

Kēśami Nāyaka and his son, Gaṇapati Nāyaka were probably some chiefs of note during the last days of the Kākatīya rule. The Kōṟukoṇḍa record refers to Kēśami Nāyaka's victory over the Pāṇḍyas[24], probably during the southern campaign of the last Kākatīya monarch,

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21. Some historians like Chilukūri Virabhadra Rao took this "Kōṭyāṁpurī" to be the Koṭhām in the Tuni division of East Godavari district (An. Cr., III, p. 123)' This identification is untenable. Koṭṭhām was the capital of the Koppula chiefs, who were contemporaries of Mummaḍi Nāyaka and Siṅgaya Nāyaka. Koti may be Kōṭipalli in the Ramachandrapuram taluk, East Godavari District. Mummaḍivīḍu (probably modern Mummiḍivaram in the Amalapuram taluk, East Godavari district) is not very far from Koṭipuri (Kōṭipalli) in the same district.

22. About Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, see the chapter on Religion in Part II of this work.

23. Ep. Coll., No. 44 of 1912.
The kaifiyat of Kr states that dēvadāsī Lakṣmī got representations of war scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahabharata, of the daśavatārs of God Viṣṇu and of Aṣṭa dikpālas, lords of the eight quarters sculptured on the black stone walls of the Vimān of the temple of Nṛsiṁha and that Mummaḍi Nayaka presented the Cakraplaced onthe temple. The hill on which the temple was built is called Paraśara Śaila, since god Narasiṁha is believed to be an incarnation of Bhaṭṭa Paraśara.

24. The passage describing Keśami Nayaka begins thus "*Vijitya yah Pāṇḍyam-abandhi............*" etc.,

Pratāparudra. Kūnaya Nāyaka, son of Gaṇapati Nāyaka was a contemporary of the Musunūri chiefs, Prōla and Kāpa. He got his son, Mummaḍi Nāyaka married to the niece (sister's daughter) of Andhra Suratrāṇa Kāpaya Nāyaka, unmistakably of the Musunūri family. This alliance with Kāpaya Nāyaka enhanced the prestige of Kūnaya Nāyaka's family and raised his status among the Vīrasāmantas of his age. Kūnaya Nāyaka probably helped Kāpaya Nāyaka's cousin Anavōta in the administration of the coastal region. It is likely that Kūnavaram in the Bhadrāchalam taluk of East Godavari district, situated at the confluence of the S'abarī with the Gōdāvarī was founded, by Kūnaya Nāyaka after his own name. If this is taken to be true it indicates in a way the extent of territory over which Kūnaya exercised his Sway.

It is probable that Anavōta of the Musunūri family died sometime before Saka 1275/1353 A. D., without leaving any heir to the throne of Rājamahēndravaram. In these circumstances Mummaḍi Nāyaka seems to have assumed the reins of government in deference to the wishes of his father about S'aka 1275. Thus came into existence the kingdom of Kōṟukoṇḍa, once served as a military outpost to keep in check the wild people living in the mountainous region in the north from incursions into the fertile plain below. Probably during the reign of Mummaḍi Nāyaka it was converted into a strong and formidable fortress on the north bank of the Gōdāvarī.

From the statements in the Kōṟukoṇḍa epigraph and the Śrīraṅgaṁ grant of Mummaḍi Nāyaka we are led to believe that with the death of Toyyēṭi Anavōta, the region between Rājamahēndravaram and the sea on either side of the Gōdāvarī was lost to the Musunūri Chiefs, and that Mummaḍi Nāyaka, as their representative by virtue of his ties of relationship with Kāpaya Nāyaka, conquered most of this region afresh He is said to have brought under his subjection the kingdoms of Panāra, Kōna, Kuravāṭa, Ceṅgaṟa and others lying on either side of the Gōdāvarī. It is, thus, evident that the kingdom of Mummaḍi Nāyaka was contiguous, in the north, with the dominion of the Koppula chiefs. The countries conquered by Mummaḍi Nāyaka can be identified and located.

Panara: The term Panāra is a popular but corrupt form of Pāvunavāra, Pāgunavāra or Pāguṇāra the ancient name of the country between the Vasiṣṭha branch of the Gōdāvarī and the river Guḷantanī, popularly called Gōstanī nadī that runs through the Bhīmavaram and Taṇuku taluks of West Godavari district. This territorial division finds mention as Pāvunavāra and Pāgunavāra in the

records of the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī. It thus comprises the modern taluks of Narasāpuram, Bhīmavaram and a portion, if not all, of Tanuku in West Godavari District "[25]

Kōna : The country of Kōna was also called 'Reṇḍēṟula naḍimi-viṣaya', that is, the region between the Vaśiṣṭha and the Vṛddha Gautamī, the two main branches of the Gōdāvarī. It was the heriditary kingdom of the Haihayas, the descendants of Kārtavīryārjuna. Mummaḍi Bhīma, the first member known so far of this Haihaya royal line received, in the middle of the eleventh century, the insignia of royalty from Rājēndra Cōḍa, otherwise known as Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I. Since that time the Haihayas were the rulers of that fertile Kōna country for nearly more than two centuries. Throughout the period of their rule they were destined to be subordinate to the sovereign power of the country, either of the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī, or of the Kākatīyas of Warangal or of son e other power. After the deliverance of the Coastal region from the Muslim yoke it is probable that they were subordinate to the Musunūri chiefs who extended their power even over the Kōna country as is evident from the new vilasa grant of Prōlaya Nāyaka.

Subsequent to Śaka 1222 the records of the Haihayas are very rare. Only three records, two[26] of Kōna Bhīmavallabha of Śaka 1240 and Śaka 1286 and two[27] of Kōna Cōḍa, have so far come to light. Cōḍa's inscription is found in Kaḷiṅga, and Bhīmavallabha's in the Pānāra country. As this chief was a contemporary of Mummaḍi it is likely that he was defeated and brought under subjection by the latter, if his talk of conquest of Kōna and Pānāra countries is not a mere boast. Kōna Bhīmavallabha's connection with the main ruling line of the Haihaya chiefs is not yet known.

Kurāvaṭa : This country is probably identical with the region around Kurāvāṭa, modern Kūrāḍa in the Cocanada taluk of East Godavari District.

Ceṅgaṟi : This may be the region known as Cenga Nāṇḍu that finds mention in an inscription[28] at Bhīmavaram in East Godavari District. The correct name appears to be Ceṅgūru Nāṇḍu, of which Cenga Nāṇḍu and Ceṅgaṟa are incorrect but popular forms The village of Maṟṟipūṇḍi, said to have been situated in this Nāḍu or territorial division, may be in one of the agency taluks of the Godavari District bordering on the Gōdāvarī.

25. *Bhārati*, Vol. XXIII (1946, May issue), pp. 479-481.
26. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 128; Ibid, No. 156.
27. Ibid, No. VI, No. 657.
Ibid, Vol. VI, No, 672.
28. Ibid, No. 43 "Ceṅganāṇḍi sthalamulosa(ni) Maṟṟipūṇḍi".

The latest limit of Mummaḍi Nāyaka's reign is difficult to fix. At Siṁhāchalam there are three inscriptions[29] of a chief, named Maṅgipūṇḍi Mummaḍi Nāyaka, dated Śaka 1286, 1304 and 1310. He was, most probably, Mummaḍi Nāyaka, son of Kūnaya Nāyaka of Kōṟukoṇḍa. The record dated Śaka 1304 mentions Siṅgaya Nāyaka as his brother besides his wife Śrīraṅgalakṣmī.

The correctness of this identification is borne out by another piece of evidence. A copper-plate grant[30] of Kāṭaya Vēma, prime minister of Komaragiri Reḍḍi register in Saka 1317 the grant of the village of Gōpavaram in the vicinity of Rājamahēndravaram to God, Gōpināthа. This record informs us that the original name of this village was Taḍukalēṟu and that it was formerly granted as an *agrahāra* to brāhmans by Maṅgipūṇḍi Mummaḍi Nāyaka. Kāṭaya Vēma purchased and renamed it Gōpavaram before granting it to the god. The only ruler bearing that name that held sway over this region before the rule of Komaragiri Reḍḍi was the Kōṟukoṇḍa chief, Mummaḍi Nāyaka. Hence, Maṅgipūṇḍi Mummaḍi Nāyaka referred to in Kāṭaya Vēma's record mentioned above, was no other than Mummaḍi Nāyaka, brother of Siṅgaya Nāyaka. On the basis of this identity Mummaḍi Nāyaka may be said to have lived till Śaka 1310 or 1388 A.D.

The record dated Śaka 1286 at Siṁhāchalam gives us to understand that Mummaḍi Nāyaka, a Vaiṣṇavite by religion was the disciple of Kandāḍa Aiyaṁgār, probably a member of the well-known Kandāḍai family. It is likely that Mummaḍi Nāyaka, subsequent to the death of Bhaṭṭa Parāśara, became the disciple of the Kandāḍais.

These chiefs were later on, reduced to submission by the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu.

The Kaifiyat of Kōṟukoṇḍa informs us that Mummaḍi Nāyaka had three sons, Kūna II, Anna and Kāṭama, and that the period of their rule was forty years.[31] The Kōṟukoṇḍa record of Mummaḍi Nāyaka

29. Ibid, Vol. VI. No. 841 of Ś'aka 1286, no. 1084 of Ś'aka 1304, no. 1090 of Ś'aka 1310. Maṅgipariki, the surname of Mummaḍi Nayaka in no. 841 is evidently a wrong reading. It has to be corrected to Maṅgipuṇḍi. Mummaḍi Nayaka seems to have assumed the title of S'rīraṅgavardhana (*Srīraṅgavardhanut - praptam Mummaḍi Nāyaka - nāmn=ōyam*) Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 94, v. 52) after he became the disciple of Paras'arabhaṭṭa.

30. J. A. H. R. S, Vol. XI, pp. 211, Gopavaram grant of Kaṭaya Vema. v. 28. "Maṁgipūṇḍi Mummaḍindradattaṁ Taḍukaler=iti khyatam........"

31. The Kaifiyat says that the three sons of Mummaḍi ruled for forty years, and that Siṁhadri S'eṭṭi and Vobili S'eṭṭi who acted as regents to Kūna (II)'s son Mummaḍi II while he was a boy, made some gifts to the temple in S'aka 1317 (Kf. Kr., p.p. 5-10). The kaifiyat thereafter adverts to the rule of Kaṭaya Vema Reḍḍi, prime minister of king Komaragiri. Hence the kingdom of Koṟukoṇḍa may be said to have passed into the hands of the Reḍḍi kings prior to the time of Komaragiri.

bears evidence to the truth of the statement regarding his offspring. It is specially interesting to note that the name of one of Mummaḍi's sons was Annavēma, Anna of the kaifiyat. Records of the sons of Mummaḍi Nāyaka have not yet come to light. There is, however, an undated and damaged record of one Kūna Bhūpāla, probably son of Mummaḍi Nāyaka at Penukoṇḍa in the Taṇuku taluk of West Godavari District. The kingdom of Kōṟukoṇḍa, ultimately, became merged in the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu.

The Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga:

From almost the beginning of the sixth century A. D., Kaliṅga which extended from the river Mahānadī to at least Piṭhāpuram in East Godavari district, was ruled by the kings of the Gāṅga dynasty, known in history as the Eastern Gāṅgas. The Eastern Gāṅgas inaugurated an era of their own (known as the Gāṅga era) to mark the beginning of their rule in the Kaliṅga country about the first decade of the sixth century. For nearly six centuries the Eastern Gāṅga kings used to date their copper-plate records in the Gāṅga era. The latest grant to be dated in this era is that of Madhukāmārṇava, son of Vajrahasta II. He issued his charter in the 528th year of their family era. Mudhukāmārṇava's successors Vajrahasta (III) who ascended the throne in Śaka 960/1038 A. D., abandoned that custom and dated his grants in the Śaka years. His reign marks the beginning of a new era in the rule of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga. Vajrahasta's predecessors on the Gāṅga throne are generally termed as the Early Gāṅga kings and his successors as the later Gāṅgas. Kaliganagara (the modern Mukhaliṅgam) on the river Vaṁśadhārā was the capital of the Gāṅga kings.

Of the descendants of Vajrahasta III his grandson Anantavarman Cōḍa Gaṅga, a very powerful ruler conquered the country of Utkal or Orissa and extended his authority as far as the confines of Bengal. With the extension of their authority over Orissa the Gaṅga monarchs came into conflict with their neighbouring Muslim rulers of Gaur or Lakhnauti. The first clash between the Gāṅga rulers and the Sultāns of Bengal occurred in the reign of Anaṅga Bhīma's son Rāja Rāja III who ruled from 1197 to 1213 A. D, The descendants of Raja Raja III bore the brunt of the Muslim invasions from Bengal. From the middle of the thirteenth century the Gaṅga monarchs used to assume the names of Narasiṁhadēva and Bhānudēva alternately. Narasiṁhadēva III who ascended the throne of Kaliṅga after his father Bhānudēva II in 1326-27 A.D. and his successors, Bhānudēva III (1351-52 to 1377-78 A.D.), Narasiṁha IV (1377-78 to 1409 A. D), and Bhānudēva IV 1409 A.D. to 1434-35 A. D.) were contemporaneous with the Reḍḍi kings

of Koṇḍavīḍu and of Rajamahēndravaram. These Gaṅga monarchs, also called Gajapatis, carried on predatory raids into their territory often particularly during the period of internal troubles in their kingdom. The region of Kaḷiṅga is generally called the Eastern quarter in common parlance.

In the early years of the second quarter of the fifteenth century the Gaṅga dynasty which had held uninterrupted and unbroken sway over the Kaḷiṅga country for more than nine centuries, came to an end and was succeeded by the kṣatriyas of the solar race, a new dynasty recognised as the Gajapatis of Oriśsa, which is different from the line of the Gaṅgās of the lunar race who also had a like-title. Kapilēndra, the founder of this dynasty ascended the throne in Śaka 1357-58 / 1435-36 A. D., and made Cuttack in Puri district of Oriśsa his Capital.

CHAPTER III

THE CHRONOLOGY of THE REḌḌI KINGS of KOṆḌAVĪḌU

The chronology of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu is not yet satisfactorily settled. It is difficult to ascertain the initial year of the independent rule of Prōlaya Vēma alias Kōmaṭi Vēma, the founder of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom and the last year of rule of the last Reḍḍi monarch, Rāca Vēma.

We come to know from the *Local records* and the *Mackenzie manuscripts* that six kings in all of the Reḍḍi dynasty ruled at Koṇḍaviḍu. The *kaifiyat* and the *daṇḍakavile* of Koṇḍavīḍu which trace the history of the place, furnish not only the reign-periods of different kings but also the total duration of the Reḍḍi rule. The reign of Prōlaya Vēma, according to these works, began in Śaka 1242 corresponding to 1320 A. D. This is corroborated by several *kaifiyats* in the Mackenzie collection, which assign that year to the end of the Kākatiya as well as to the beginning of the Reḍḍi rule. Though this date was accepted as the initial year of the Reḍḍi rule by several scholars[1] specially of the previous generation, no serious attempt worth the name has been made till recently to investigate the problem of Reḍḍi chronology and establish it on a sound basis. The periods of rule assigned to different Reḍḍi kings both by the *Local records* and the *Mackenzie manuscripts* tally with those furnished by a *cāṭu* verse[2]

1. The late K. Vīresalimgam Pantulu, author of the *Lives of the Telugu Poets*, J. Ramayya Pantulu and K. V. Lakshmanarao - all accepted the date 1320 A. D. as the date of the initial year of Vēma's reign for want of specific data to start with and made it the sheet anchor of the Reḍḍi chronology.

2. ప్రోలయవేమన్న పోలుపారఁ బన్నెండు
వత్సరంబులు గాచె వసుధ నెల్ల
అటమీఁద ముప్పది యనవోతవేమన్న
వన్నె వాసికెక్కె వసుధ నేలె
ధర్మాత్ముఁ డనవేమ ధరణీశ్వరుండు
పదియునేనిట భూమి పదిలపఱిచె
ప్రజల కుబ్బుగాఁ బదునాలుగేఁడులు
కొమరగిరి యేలెను సమయుదాఁక
ఏలెఁ గోమటివేమన యిరువదేండ్లు
రాచవేమన్న నాల్గువర్షముల నేలె
మించి కట్టిరి గృహరాజు మేడ కొండ
వీట నూరేండ్లు రెడ్లు భూవిభులుగా.. .

—Ct. Mm, I.p. 81.

which has been current in the Andhra country for the past many generations. According to this verse, the duration of rule of each of the Reḍḍi kings that sat on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu is as follows:

1.	Prōlaya[3] Vēma	ruled for	12 years
2.	Anavōtu Vēma[4]	„ „	30 „
3.	Anavēma	„ „	15 „
4.	Komaragiri	„ „	14 „
5.	Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma	„ „	20 „
6.	Rāca Vēma	„ „	4 „
		Total period of rule	95 years.

Different versions of the *cāṭu* verse mentioned above are current in the country and they agree with one another in all details except the periods of rule of Anavēma and Kōmaṭi Vēma, the third and fifth rulers who are assigned a period of fifteen or seventeen years, and twenty, twenty five or twenty seven years respectively. It is not possible to understand how this discrepancy arose. In this connection it has to be pointed out that the periods of rule of the kings of Koṇḍavīḍu indicated by this verse are not confirmed by the records of the Reḍḍi kings discovered till now, as will be shown later on. Hence, this verse may be dismissed out of our consideration.

Let us now proceed to fix first the upper and lower limits of the Reḍḍi chronology within which the dates of different kings have to be accommodated. No doubt, the tradition preserved in the *Mackenzie manuscripts*, as stated already, assigns the commencement of the Reḍḍi rule to Śaka 1242 or 1320 A. D., a date which cannot be freely accepted as it is not quite in agreement with the available data. The latest date for Kakati Pratāparudra is furnished by a damaged

3. The name of each Reḍḍi king has two or more variants. Prōlaya was also called Prōlā Reḍḍi. Similarly, we have the alternative forms-Vēmā Reḍḍi, Vēmaya and Vēmana; Komaragiri, and Kumāragiri; Kāṭaya and Kāṭā Reḍḍi; Allaya and Allaḍa Reḍḍi; Vīraya, Vīrabhadraya, Vīrā Reḍḍi and Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi and so on. Prōlaya Vēma bore the names Kōmaṭi Vēma and Anavēma also. Among the kings of Koṇḍavīḍu there were four kings who had the name of Vēma, namely, Prōlaya Vema or Anavēma (Vema I), his son Anavēma (Vēma II), Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma (Vēma III) and his son Raca Vēma are (Vema IV). Because many of these kings had the name Vēma they are generally called Vēmā Reḍḍis in common parl. nce.

4. The *caṭu* verse refers to Prōlaya Vēma's son, Anavōta as Anavotu Vēma. This finds corrobation from Anavēma's (Vēma II) Dākshāram record (S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1880) wherein Anavōta is referred to as Anavōtu Vēma. It must however be pointed out that this usage was very rare and he was better known as Anavota Reḍḍi or Anavōtaya. Conseqently Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was also called Mummaḍi Vēma.

epigraph[5] of Pedda Rudra, son of Muppiḍi Nāyaka at Daksharam, dated Śaka 1243, Durmati. Unfortunately the original which was in existence in the time of Col. Collin Mackenzie, is unfortunately lost.

Until the final overthrow of the Kākatīya power, which brought the whole of the Telugu country under the sway of the Sultāns of Delhi, there was little chance for the birth of a new kingdom in the coastal region. The first expedition against Waraṅgal by Ulūgh Khān (the later Muhammad Bin Tughlaq) was undertaken in 1322 A. D., and the city was finally captured in 1323 A. D. The entire Telugu country was conquered along with the coastal region as evidenced by Ulūgh Khān's inscription[6], dated in 1324 A. D., in the big mosque at Rājamahēndravaram. It is thus evident that at least until that date the coastal region was under the Muslim domination. Vēma's independent rule could not, therefore, have begun before Śaka 1246 or 1324 A. D., a date which may safely be accepted as the upper limit of the Reḍḍi chronology. Adding the total period of rule of one hundred years of the Reḍḍi kings assigned by tradition we get Śaka 1346 (1424 A. D.) for the dismemberment of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. This is exactly the date of a record[7] of the Vijayanagar ruler Dēvarāya II in the Reḍḍi kingdom at Paiḍipāḍu in the Ongole taluk of Guṇṭūr district, which states that his subordinate, Paṇṭa Mailāra Reḍḍi made a fresh settlement regarding the *dēvabrāhmaṇa vṛttis* of the village after inquiring into the custom formerly prevailing during the time of Mummaḍi Vēmaya Reḍḍi. This inscription suggests that, after the conquest of the Reḍḍi kingdom by the kings of Vijayanagar, they made a fresh settlement in the villages regarding *dēvabrāhmaṇa vṛttis*, after making an inquiry into the custom obtaining in the time of Mummaḍi Vēmaya Reḍḍi, that is, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the fifth ruler of Koṇḍavīḍu.

A still earlier date, Śaka 1344 for the Vijayanagar occupation, if not for the final overthrow of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom, is furnished by a record of Dēvarāya I at Pottūru[8] in Guntur district. If the cyclic year Śārvari in this inscription is taken into account, then it looks as if the Reḍḍi rule had actually commenced in Śaka 1242/1320 A. D. But this could not have happened, for as stated already, the coastal Andhra country was under the domination of the Sultan of

5. J. O. R., Vol. XII, pp. 213 ff.
6. Ep. Ind. Mos. 1923-24, pp. 13 ff.
7. N. D. 1, Vol. III, O, 104, pp, 1089 ff.
The reference to Mummaḍi Vêmāya Reḍḍi (Vêma III) in this record indicates that Rāca Vēma's reign was both a short and insignificant one.
8. Ep. Coll. No. 125 of 1917.
The name of the village where the record is found is Pottūru and not Paṭūrū as given in the Ep. Rep. The Śaka year 1344 corresponds to Śubhakṛt and not to Śarvari as given in the record. The Śaka year equivalent to the latter cyclic year was 1342.

Delhi until 1324 A. D. The pottūru record, no doubt, indicates that a major portion of the Reḍḍi territory passed into the hands of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar by Śaka 1342 / 1420 A. D.; but the conquest of the entire Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu was not completed, as will be shown later, until Śaka 1346, the date of the Paiḍipāḍu record referred to before. The foregoing discussion makes it clear that Śaka 1242 or 1320 A.D., the traditional year for the starting point of the Reḍḍi chronology, given by the *Mackenzie manuscripts* and the *Local records* is wrong, and has, therefore, to be rejected.

The earliest Hindu records subsequent to the Muslim conquest of the coastal region are the Mallavaram[8] and Santamāgulūr[9] inscriptions dated Śaka 1247 / 1325 A. D., and Saka 1248 / 1326 A.D. The former refers to Kōmaṭi Vēmā Reḍḍi (Vēma I), as the supreme ruler of the region around Addaṅki, whereas the latter refers to Kolani Rudradēva, a minister of the last Kākatīya monarch and to his gift for his master's merit in that year. These two records bear testimony to the reconquest of the coastal region and to the re-establishment of the Hindu supremacy about 1325-26 A.D. During the period from 1325 A.D. to 1332 A.D., the date of Prōlaya Vēma's second inscription[10] at Nekarikallu in the Narasaraopeta taluk of Guṇṭūr district, none of his records has come to light. During this period he was probably busy in subduing the unruly chiefs in the neighbourhood of his territory and in laying the foundations of the Reḍḍi kingdom.

With these limits of the rule of Reḍḍi kings fixed, let us now try to settle their chronology. For this purpose we have to know first the earliest and the latest dates of each of the rulers of Koṇḍavīḍu as furnished by their inscriptions. The earliest extant record of Prōlaya Vēma is his Mallavaram inscription dated in Śaka 1247 referred to above. His Vēlpūru inscription furnishes the date Śaka 1272[11] The next in chronological order is the record[12] found at Māṇikēśvaram in the Ongole taluk, dated in Śaka 1275. This inscription registers the charities and the construction and consecration of temples by Mañcirāja, son of Rāmarāja, for the merit of his deceased elder brother, Mallinātha who

8. N. D. II., O. 78, pp. 1022 ff; The date of this record as given in Butterworth's Inscriptions of the Nellore district is wrong. See the discussion about this date in "*A forgotten Chapter*" p. 89, f. n. 7.
9. Ep. Coll. No. 308 of 1916; Ep. Rep. 1916, para 53.
10. Ep. Coll. No. 340 of 1915.
11. Ep. Coll. No. 599 of 1925. The gift recorded in this inscription was made in the cyclic year Vikṛti, on the 14th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyēṣṭha. Śaka year is not given; but the cyclic year Vikṛti corresponds to Śaka 1272.
12. N. D. I., III, O. 78, p.p. 1087 ff.

is said to have obtained from Vēma 'the great glory of sovereignty' (*mahatīm* = *mahīrājya-śriyam*) and to have been honoured by his son Anavōta also. This inscription refers, thus, to Prōlaya Vēma and his son, Anavōta, but does not explicitly mention the ruling monarch at that time. As inscriptions subsequent to Śaka 1275 all belong to Anavōta, one of the two dates, Śaka 1272[13] or 1275, most probably the latter, must be the last date of Vēma. The provenance of the inscription[14] of Anavōta Reḍḍi at Tripurāntakam in Kurnool district dated as early as Śaka 1268, does not go against this conclusion, because Anavōta, according to the Telugu work, *Hari vaṁśa* of Erṛā Preggaḍa, was then the *Yuvarāja* or the hair apparent. This work states clearly that the *Yuvarāja* was the commander of the Reḍḍi forces and he assisted his father in the administration of the country.[15] This makes it quite evident that Anavōta was ruling conjointly with his father. Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) may therefore be accepted tentatively as Prōlaya Vēma's last year and his son and successor Anavōta's initial year of rule.

Anavōta's latest record is his Kollūru copper-plate grant.[16] The original plates of this insciption are now lost. The text, however, is preserved in the *Local records* and Elliot's *Telugu inscriptions*. It records the grant of the village of Kollūru on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā to the brāhman scholar Rāmēśvara yajva in Śaka 1286, corresponding to the cyclic year Śōbhakṛt in the month of Māgha at the time of

13. A copper-plate grant from Koṇḍapalli in Kistna district, dated in Śaka 1272 Bahudhānya in the reign of Anavēmā Reḍḍi of Koṇḍavīḍu is noticed in Sewell's List of Antiquities, Vol. I, pp. 49 – 50 and in the Annual Report on Epigraphy as well. It is C. P. No. 5 of 1935—36. This same grant was edited some years back by Mr. K. Virabhadreswararao garu in the Telugu Journal Śārada in 1925, May issue, pp. 88 ff. This is a spurious grant. The date is irregular. The Śaka year 1272 corresponds to Vikṛti and not to Bahudhānya as given in the grant. The gift recorded in the grant was made on the occasion of a Solar eclipse on Sunday in the month of Māgha. There was no Solar eclipse either in the cyclic year Vikṛti or Bahudhānya.

14. Ep. Coll., No. 191 or 1905.

15. వితత యువరాజ పదవీ
స్థితిఁ దనయుసైన్యనాథ సముదగ్రసమా
హిత సంతతస్థిరాంగుం
డిత ప్రతాపశ్రీ సమృద్ధ శకునసిద్ధా! " Hr. Vm, II, ix.

16. Loc. Rec., Vol. LVII pp. 210 ff; Eliot's *Telugu inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 206 ff. The date portion in the copy given in the Elliot's collection is lost. The copy preserved in this collection is incomplete. The fourth plate is missing.

ardhōdaya" puṇyakāla. The same record states in the end that Anavōta's brother, Anavēma also made a gift of land to the extent of fifty *kēsaripaṭi puṭṭis* and added it to Kollūru.

The last year of rule of Anavōta and the initial year of rule of his successor AnaVēma is not definitely known. From the Kollūru grant of Anavōta it is clear that he reigned till almost the end of that year as he made that grant in the month of Māgha. It is gratifying to note also that his brother, Anavēma figures as an additional donor in the Kollūru grant by making a gift of land measuring fifty *kēsaripāṭi puṭṭis* in all, separating it from fields in the adjacent villages and adding it to Kollūru, the village granted.

Like the Kollūru grant of Anavōta the earliest and the latest inscriptions of his successor, Anavēma, are known only from the *Mackenzie manuscripts* and Elliot's inscriptions. His Kōru Tāḍiparru grant[18] is one of Anavēma's earliest records. He is said to have granted Tāḍiparru, alias Kōru Tāḍiparru to the Vēdic scholar, Puruṣōttama

17. Loc. Rec., Vol. Lvii pp 210–211, also see Vols. III, pp. 184–196 ff; and VII, pp. 450 ff. The text is very faulty. The verse containing the date of the grant found in the copies in these volumes is as follows:

शायेाब्दे ऋतुदन्तिभास्करमिते श्रीशोभकृत्वत्सरे
माघेचोत्तममासि पुण्यदिवसेचार्धोदयेपर्वणि
संदद्या दनवोतगाटूपुरंवरं कोल्लूरु कृष्णातटे
श्रीरामेश्वरयज्ववेदविदुषां भोगोष्टकैस्संयुतां ॥

The date of the Kollūru grant is irregular. S'aka date 1286 corresponds with Krōdhi and not with Sōbhakṛt or S'ōbhana. The verse giving the date of the grant is faulty. It says that the grant was made on the occasion of *ardhōdaya* in the month of Māgha. But according to the *Indian Ephemeris* *ardhōdaya* is the special *tithi* amāvāsya falling on a Sunday at the end of the month of Pauṣa and the beginning of the month of Māgha, coupled with the *nakṣatra S'ravaṇam and the yōga* vyatīpāta (Vol. I, part i, p. 64 and p. 69). As the *tithi* amāvāsya in the Pauṣa month falls on Thursday and Wednesday in the S'aka years 1285 S'ōbhkṛt and 1286 Krōdhi respectively it fails to satisfy the above-mentioned conditions. Hence there was no *ardhōdaya* parva in those two years. However, in both the S'aka years 1284 S'ubhakṛt and 1287 Vis'vāvasu Pauṣa amāvāsya falls on a Sunday; and the *nakṣatra* on that day happens also to be S'ravaṇam whether it is present at the sunrise or comes in the course of the day. I did not calculate to see if the *yōga* also was Vyatīpāta: One of the above-mentioned two years must be the date of the Kollūru grant.

18. Mack. Mss., No. 15-4-41; The Kaifiyat of Tāḍiparru; Loc. Rec., Vol. V, p. 86.

Sōmayājin of the Jammalamaḍaka family in Śaka 1286, Krōdhi. Unfortunately, the original plates of this grant were lost by the donee's descendants during the conquest and occupation of the coastal country by Ibrāhim Kutbshāh, the sultan of Gōlkoṇḍa, after the battle of Rākṣasa-Taṅgaḍi. Similarly, there is yet another grant, the Koṟṟapāḍu plates of Anavēma dated in the same year Śaka 1286, Krōdhi. These plates register the grant of the village of Koṟṟapāḍu as an *agrahāra* to Sōmarājayya and Vīrabhadradēva, sons of a certain Sōmaśēkhara-Mahāpātra on the fifth tithi of the bright half of the month of Kārtika. The original plates of this grant also were lost and like the Kōru Tāḍipaṟṟu grant it was only noticed in the *Mackenzie manuscripts*[19]. Anavēma's latest inscription is his Manyamāpuram grant,[20] dated in Śaka 1304 Duṁdubhi or 1382 A. D. Unlike the earlier grants a full text of this record is preserved in the Elliot's collection. After Śaka 1304 inscriptions of Anavēma have not been found till now.

There is no inscription of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu for nearly three years after the date of the Manyamāpuram record. The Anaparti grant[21] of Komaragiri Reḍḍi, the successor of Anavēma dated in Śaka 1312 is the next known record of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu. Within the period of Śaka 1304 and Śaka 1312 we have three inscriptions of Komaragiri's brother-in-law and prime-minister, Kāṭaya Vēma. Of these his Pālakollu inscription[22] is the earliest one. He makes a grant of land to god Kṣīra Rāmēśvara in Śaka 1307 Krōdhana, on Monday on the first tithi in the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa, i. e., on Monday, 21st August, 1385 A. D. In this record there is no mention of any of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu, though the donor was given a string of titles, viz., Jaganobbagaṇḍa, Kēḷādirāya, Āneyamaṇḍalikaragaṇḍa, Appaya-Goppaya diśāpaṭṭa, Ceñcumalacūrakāra, Rāyacē-kōlugaṇḍa, Jagadagōpāla, Pāṇḍyarāyagajasiṁha, Saṁgrama - Dhanaṁjaya, Pallvatrinayana, Pallavāditya and Jagarakṣapāla-titles that were commonly borne by the Reḍḍi nobles. There is nothing in this inscription to show that Kumāragiri was already on the throne of Koṇḍavīdu by that date. So, the Pālakollu inscription may be treated as a private record. The titles are there since Kāṭaya-Vēma was a noble of note connected with the royal family by marrying Anavota's daughter. The next record to be considered is Kāṭaya Vēma's Siṁhācalam

19. Mack. Mass., No. 15-6-36. See the kaifiyat of Koṟṟapāḍu. Somaśēkhara Mahāpātra is said to have been a yajuśśākhādhyāyin of the Bhāradvāja gōtra.

20. Elliot's Collection, Vol. I. pp. 270 ff.

21. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 191 ff.

22. S. I. I., V No. 155.

inscription,[23] dated, Saka 1308. Kāṭaya Vēma who is mentioned here as the *pradhāni* (prime minister) of Komaragiri Reḍḍi, makes a gift to god Siṁhādrinātha on Sunday, the seventh of the bright half of the month of Kārtika in Saka 1308. There is yet another record of Kāṭaya Vēma of the same year at Amarāvati[24] in Guntur district. It registers the gift of a flower garden to god, Amarēśvara by kāṭaya Vēmā Reḍḍi's minister Peddi or Jatanamu Peddi, son of Appana in the S'aka year 1308, on Wednesday, the second of the first half of the intercalary month of Āṣāḍha (Wednesday, 30th May, 1386 A. D.). The presence of this record of Kāṭaya Vēma at Amarāvati may be taken to suggest that, as the prime minister of Komaragiri, he was probably in possession of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom between May, 1386 A. D., and October, 1387 A. D. It is therefore obvious that Kumāragiri must have ascended the throne between S'aka 1304, and S'aka 1308, most probably at the end of that year. Kumāragiri's inscriptions are very few. He is referred to in many records of Kāṭaya Vēma. and others as the ruling monarch.

Again there is considerable uncertainty as to the last year of rule of Kumāragiri. That he was alive till S'aka 1324, i.e. 1402 A. D. is proved by the Taḷḷūru record[25] which registers a grant for the merit of Kumāragiri and his wife, dated in that year, on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti* in the month of Puṣya in Citrabhānu.

Kumāragiri's records after S'aka 1316, that is, 1394 A.D., are not found to the south of the Gōdāvarī. It has, however, to be pointed out that there is a record at Kottūru[26] in the Bejavāḍa taluk of Kistna district which registers a gift of land by an unnamed king on the occasion of *Makara Saṁkrānti* in the month of Puṣya in the cyclic year Vṛsa,[27] corresponding to 1322 if current, and to 1323 if expired, and not to S'aka 1312 as given in the inscription. It is hard to say who the donor was, whether Kumāragiri or his successor Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Since the latter's records are not found before S'aka 1322/1400 A.D. it is likely that the king referred to in the Kottūru inscription was Kumāragiri.

23. Ibid, Vol. VI, No. 781. Kārtika śu. di. 7 falls on a Sunday in S'aka 1309 and not in S'aka 1308. The English equivalent of this date seems to be 20th October, 1387 A. D.. Sunday.

24. Ibid, No. 226.

25. J. A. S. P., Vol, 10, No. 1. The English equivalent of the date seems to be either 26th or 27th of December, 1402 A. D.

26, Ep. Coll. No. 895 of 1926.

27. Makara Saṁkramaṇa in S'aka 1323/1401 A.D. occurred on Tuesday, the 7th of the dark half of Pauṣa, i.e., Tuesday, 27th December, 1401 A.D.

To ascertain the earliest date of Komaragiri's successor, the Taṅgeḍa inscription[28] of Anavēma has to be taken into consideration. The Śaka year in this inscription is damaged. Only the intercalary month of Bhādrapada, the tithi, Su. di. tṛtīya, and the week day, Wednesday are very clear. On consulting the estampage of this record with the kind permission of the superintendent of Epigraphy (Southern circle) the passage in the damaged portion containing the date is found to run thus "............... *nu saṁvatsara adhika Bhādrapada śu 3, Bhudhavāramunāṇḍu*......". The last letter in the word preceding the saṁavatsara furnishes the clue to find out the cyclic year. The name of the year is either Citrabhānu or Svabhānu, the only two years in the Jupiter's cycle of sixty years that end in *nu*. These two years occur only in the reigns of Prōlaya Vēma and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Each of these kings had the alias Anavēma. As there was no intercalary month of Bhādrapada either in Citrabhānu or in Svabhānu in the reign of Prōlaya Vēma the Taṅgeḍa record in question has naturally to be assigned to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. In the Saka years 1324 and 1325 (that is, in 1402 and 1403 A.D.) corresponding respectively to Citrabhānu and Svabhānu, there was an intercalary Bhādrapada in the former year and the astronomical details given in the Taṅgeḍa inscription work out correctly for that year and the equivalent English date is Wednesday, 2nd August, 1402 A.D. The foregoing facts, therefore, enable us to assign the Taṅgeḍa inscription (of Saka 1324) to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma which is the earliest record of his reign. His latest inscription, the Rudravaram grant bears the Saka date 1341 (1419 A.D.). After this date none of his records has come to light.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's son Rāca Vēma was the last ruler of Koṇḍavīḍu. Not even a single record of his reign has been discovered till now, though he is referred to in the Amīnābād inscription[29] of Saka 1337 as one who, in the reign of his father, had a channel dug as a feeder to the tank of Santāna Vāridhi, constructed by his mother.

Now, for convenient reference the earliest and the latest dates of the kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, together with the duration of their reigns as deduced from their inscriptions both published and unpublished, and their periods of rule, as furnished by *cāṭu* verse referred to before, are given here :

28. Ibid, No. 872 of 1926.

29. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 813; p. 320.

Name of the king.	Known dates. Earliest.	Latest.	Periods of rule. Deduced from inscriptions.	Assigned by *Cāṭu* verse.
1. Prōlaya Vēma	S'aka 1247	1275	28 years.	12 years.
2. Anavōta	„ 1275	1286	11 „	30 „
3. Anavēma	„ 1286	1304	18 „	15 & 17
4. Kumāragiri	„ 1308	1324	16 „	14
5. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma	„ 1324	1341	17 „	20, 25, 27
6. Rāca Vēma				4 „

The above table clearly shows the difference in the length of each individual reign as deduced from their records so far discovered and as furnished by the cāṭu verse referred to before. We seem, therefore, to be justified in refuting the period of rule given to each king by the *cāṭu* verse. The total duration of the Reḍḍi rule of one hundred years seems, however, to be correct.

We have now to fix the length of each individual reign with the available material. We may not be far wrong if we fix, with the help of the Mallavaram record, the initial year of Prōlaya Vēma's independent rule as S'aka 1247. His inscriptions stop with S'aka 1275. This date may be accepted as the last year of his rule. In other words, it is the initial year of rule of his son and successor, Anavōta. The early grants of Anavēma, noticed in the *Mackenzie manuscripts* show that he succeeded his brother Anavōta in S'aka 1286—87 Krōdhi. His reign may be said to have extended till almost S'aka 1308. Kumāragiri was alive till S'aka 1324 and this is also the date of the earliest record of his successor Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's reign extended from S'aka 1324 to about S'aka 1342. His son Rāca Vēma was the last Reḍḍi king of Koṇḍavīḍu. As stated already, he left no records of his rule. The *Cāṭu* verse and the *Local records* state that he ruled for four years. His reign may be, therefore, said to close in S'aka 1346 (1424 A.D.). Even during the reign of Rāca Vēma the kings of Vijayanagar occupied much of the Reḍḍi territory and advanced almost to the heart of Koṇḍavīḍu. By 1424 A D, the Vijayanagar conquest of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom was complete and the authority of Vijayanagar rulers was firmly established in the region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā.

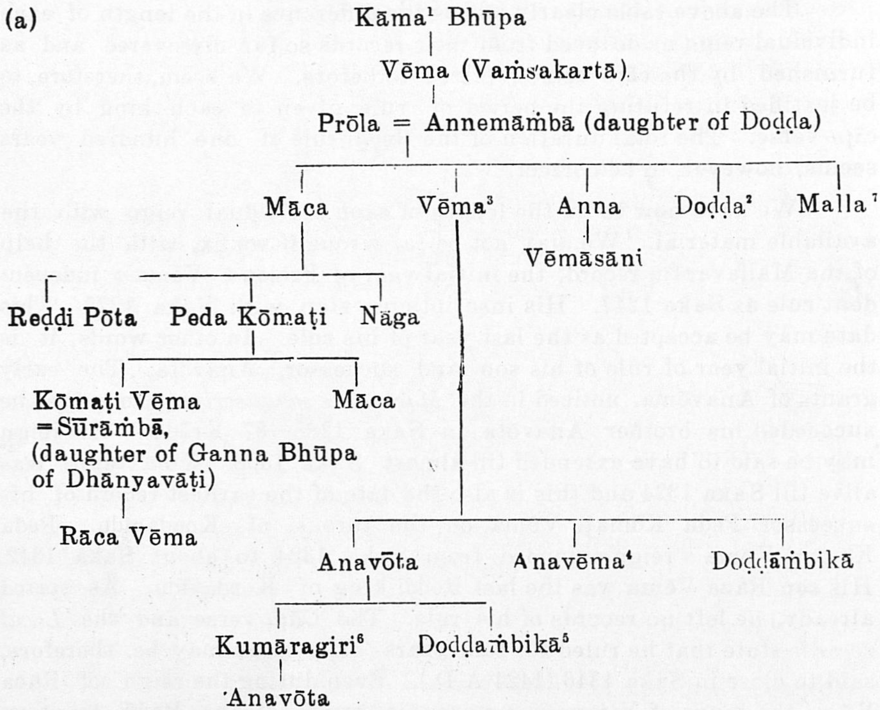
The dates of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, as determined above, are detailed below. These dates are only tentative.

1. Prōlaya Vēma	Śaka	1247 (1325 A.D.)	to	Śaka	1275(1353 A.D.)
2. Anavōta	Śaka	1275 (1353 A.D).	to	Śaka	1286 (1364 A.D.)
3. Anavēma	„	1286 (1364 A.D.)	to	„	1308 (1386 A.D.)
4. Kumāragiri	„	1308 (1386 A.D)	to	„	1324 (1402 A.D.)
5. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma	„	1324 (1402 A. D.)	to	„	1342 (1420 A.D.)
6. Rāca Vēma	„	1342 (1420 A.D.)	to	„	1346 (1424 A.D.)

APPENDIX.

GENEOLOGY OE THE REḌḌI KINGS OF KOṆḌAVĪḌU AND OF THEIR ALLIED FAMILIES.

(a)



1. Mentioned in the *Vēmabhūpālacaritam*.
2. He was not mentioned in the *Harivaṁs'am* and in N.I.D, II. Kr. 35, p. 549.
3. Kr. 15 (N.D.I., I, pp. 490 ff) states that Vēma was the son of Alla and that he had eleven sons, of whom Malla was one. The date of this record is Raktākṣi. We are not able to make out who these Alla, Vēma and Malla were. The record is very faulty. The cyclic year Raktākṣi corresponds to either S'aka 1246 or to S'aka 1306 during this period.
4. His Drujjavaram grant says that he was the son of Prōlamaṁba ("*Sa-Prōlam=aṁbā-tānayah kṛt=ārtho......*).
5. There is some difference of opinion about the name of the daughter of Anavōta Reḍḍi, and the wife of Kāṭaya Vēma. Along with Pandit Prabhakara S'astri gāru I hold the opinion that her name is Doḍḍāṁbikā.
6. His mother was Manumāṁbikā.
7. See, chapter XII for his lineal descent.

b)

Dodda[1] = Gundāmbikā

- Pōta
- Citta m. Vasāmbikā
  - Nūmka m. Narāmbikā
    - Nalla Nūmka m. Vēmāmbā (daughter of Anna, brother of Prōlaya Vēma)
- Nāga
- Annemāmbā[2] (wife of Kōmaṭi Prōla)

(c)

Kāṭa I

- Māra
  - Kāṭa II m. Doḍḍāmbikā (daughter of Prōlaya Vēma)
    - Vēma[3] (or Kāṭaya Vēma) m. Doḍḍāmbikā (daughter of Anavōta)
  - Rāma

1. He was the father-in-law of Kōmaṭi Prōla. His name is not given in the *Vēmabhūpālacharitam*.
2. According to the *Vēmabhūpālacharitam* her name is Anantāmbā. Anyamāmbā or Annemāmba appears to be the tadbhava of Anantāmbā.
3. For further particulars, see chapters VIII, IX and XI.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY HISTORY OF THE KOṆḌAVĪḌU FAMILY.

The origin and development of the term 'Reḍḍi' makes a most interesting study not only in history but also in language. It is fully dealt with in an appendix at the end of this chapter.

Reḍḍis are even to-day one of the cheif agricultural classes of the Telugu country. They are noted for their industry, perseverance and attachment to agriculture. All Reḍḍis are Kāpus but all Kāpus may not be Reḍḍis.

Divisions of the Paṇṭa clan.

There are many divisions among the Kāpus of the Telugu country, of which that of the Paṇṭa Kāpus or Paṇṭa Reḍḍis is one. Poet Śrīnātha refers to this section as 'Paṇṭamah=ānvaya' in his *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇūm.*[1] Inscriptions[2] also mention this Paṇṭa vaṁśa.

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1. "కైలాసహార ఘంటాపథంబైన పంటమహాన్వయాంబు..."— Bh. Pr., I, pr. 31

2. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 208 – 09; p. 212; Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 322 :

"तत्र पण्टकुलंनाम प्रसूतं बहुशाखिनि ", v. 6.

Ep. Ind., Vol, V, p. 57.

"पदाब्जजानां वंशेष्वभूज्जगति पण्टकुलं प्रतीतम् "–v. 4.

Śrīnātha mentions in his *Bhimēśvaram Purāṇam* the different communities comprising the *Caturtha varṇa.* They are Padma nāyakas, Velamas, Kammas, Sarisarlas (?) and Oṇṭaris etc. It is interesting to note here the omission of the Reḍḍi community in this list. There is reason to believe that there was little difference between the Reḍḍis and Velamas during this period; for, Ananta, the author of the Telugu work, *Bhōjarājīyam* of this period (See part II, under Telugu literature) mentions in his work the terms Velama and Reḍḍi as synonyms. I quote the Verses below :

అనయము వేశ్య యాతరుణి గాంతఁడు క్షత్రియుఁ డేను విప్రుఁడన్
విను వణిజుండు వాఁ డతఁడు వెల్మయు నల్వురు దొల్లి దీనిఁ గ
న్కొనఁ జరియించుచుండుదురు కొండొక కాలము చెల్ల నింతి నా
మనములఁ గల్గు ప్రేమపరిమాణ మెఱుంగఁ దలంచి యిట్లనన్.

— VII, v. 66,

The Same Velama is spoken of as Reḍḍi-koḍuku in the following verse :

ఇట్టిద యగు కార్యం బని
గట్టిగ నింతిఁ గొనిపోయి కతిపయతిథులం
బట్టణము సొరఁగఁ గోమటి
సెట్టియు నీరెడ్డికొడుకుఁ జెలియొకవలనన్.

— VII, v. 77.

These Panṭa Kāpus or Panṭa Reḍḍis are said to have again been subdivided into fourteen sects.[3] The adage Panṭa of fourteen sects is an old one. The names of these fourteen subdivisions are given below as stated in a *Cāṭu* verse[4] of the fifteenth century, ascribed to a Bhaṭṭu rāju of the time of Bukkabhūpāla, son of Pinnamarāja of the Āravīḍu family.

1.	Pākanāṭi	Kāpus.	8.	Nēreṭi	Kāpus.
2.	Velanāṭi	„	9.	Bhūmañci	„
3.	Mōṭāṭi	„	10.	Dēsaṭi	„
4.	Morasa	„	11.	Ayōdhya	„
5.	Poṅgali nāṭi	„	12.	Ōrugaṇṭi	„
6.	Munnūṭi	„	13.	Kuricēṭi	„
7.	Panṭa	„	14.	Gaṇḍikōṭa	„

Another list was given by Edgar Thurston in his *Castes and tribes of Southern India*. There are some differences between that list

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3. Panṭa is generally said to be a "Fourteen community", that is, it is said to consist of fourteen sects. Different numbers like fourteen were added on in ancient days to agricultural and industrial communities. It is unknown why they were added, and what the real significance of those numbers could be. For instance, old records discovered in our country inform us that the Oil-mongers were a "one thousand community" (*Teliki vēvuru*); that the Velmas were a "one thousand community" (*Velamu Vēyi*), that the Visvakarmas were a "eighty four community", that the Nagaras were a 'one hundred and two community" and that the Dēvāṅgas were a "ten thousand community."

"పరగిన కశ్యపబ్రహ్మగోత్రజులు
సిరలీలఁ బడవీటి దేవాంగ ఘనులు
పరమ సమ్మోదముతోఁ బదివేలకులము"—Dv. Pr., D.C.T.M. (Madras), Vol IV, p1251.

Even the Dommaras was a 'twenty four sect'.
"ఇరువైనాలుగుకులాల దొమ్మర్లకు"—N. D. I., Vol. II, Kr. 41. p. 566

4. పంటాన్వయమునను పదునాల్గుశాఖలఁ
జక్కఁగా వివరింతు సత్యమరసి
మోటాటి వెల్నాటి మొరస నేరె డయోధ్య
పంట పొంగలినాటి పాకనాటి
భూమంచి కురిచేటి మున్నూటి దేసటి
యొనర గండికోట యోరుగంటి
యనఁ బరగుచునుండు నంధ్రావనీస్థలి
గౌరవాధిష్ఠిత కాపుకులము
పంట పదునాల్గు కులములం చంట జగతిఁ
దర తరంబుల నుండియు వరలెడినుడి
నీని కుపజాతు లున్నవి వివిధములుగ
భుజబలాటోప! పిన్నసు బుక్కభూప!

and this.[5] In fact, some more lists are also available in the country. All of them agree with one another except over two or three subdivisions.

A glance at the list given before will show that many subdivisions of the Kāpus took their names after the territories and towns in which they settled. The first eight of the foregoing list derive their names from Pākanāḍu, Velanāḍu, Mōṭāṭi (a corruption of Moṭṭavāḍi), Morasa, Pongalināḍu, Munnūṟu, Paṇṭa and Nērāṭi (a corruption of Naḷavaḍi or Neravāḍi) territorial divisions[6] of the ancient Andhra country and the last four were named after the towns, Ayōdhya, Ōrugallu (Warangal),

5. "The Kāpus or Reḍḍis are the largest caste in the Madras Presidency numbering more than two millions, and the great caste of cultivators, farmers, and squireens in the Telugu country........................It is a common saying among the Kapus that they can easily enumerate all the varieties of rice, but it is impossible to give the names of all the sections into which the caste is split up. Some say that there are only fourteen of these, and use the phrase *Paṇṭa Padnālugu kulālu*" or Paṇṭa fourteen sections.

" The following sub-divisions are recorded by Mr. Stuart as being the most importan. "Ayōdhya, Balija, Bhūmañci, Dēsūru, Gaṇḍikoṭṭai, Gazula, Kammapuri, Morasa, Nēraṭi (or Nēraḍu or Nēravaḷi), Ōrugaṇṭi, Pakanāṭi, Palle, Peḍakaṇṭi and Paṇṭa...

"As examples of exogamous sects among Kāpus, the following may be cited:

Avula	Gudise	Nagali
Alla	Guntaka	Tangēḍu
Baṇḍi	Kōḍla	Uḍumala
Barreu	Mēkala	Varige
Daṇḍu	Kanugula	Yeddulu
Gorre	Mungaru	Yēnuga

"At Conjeevaram, some Paṇṭa Reḍḍis have true totemistic septs of which the following are examples.

"Mogili (*Pandanus fascicularis*)-Women do not, like women of other castes, use the flower-bracts for the purpose of adorning themselves. A man has been known to refuse to purchase some bamboo mats, because they were tied with the fibre of this tree.

"Ippi (*Bassia longfolia*)- The tree, and its products, must not be used as food. Mancham (cot) They avoid sleeping on cots.

Arigala (*Paspalam Scrobiculatum*)- The grain is not used as food.

Chintagiñjalu (Tamarind seeds)- The seeds may not be touched, or used.

Pucc ha (*citrullus Vulgaris*)-Water melon. The fruit may not be eaten."

The extract given above is from the third volume (s. v Kāpu). I ommitted explanations and meanings. (Vide, also E. R. E., Vol. XII, p. 402, s. v. Totemism -India).

6. The territory extending along the sea-board from the Pennar to the Guṇḍalakamma was called Pakanāḍu in ancient times. Velanaḍu was the northern half of Guṇṭur district. Moṭṭavāḍi and Nērēḍu, a corruption of Naḷavaḍi or Neravaḍi corresponded roughly to Markapuram and its adjacent taluk on the Southern bank of the Kṛṣṇa and the Tungabhadra. Pongalinaḍu is unidentifiable. Munnuru is Muliki-three hundred country. Morasa is the Kolar country in the Mysore state. Paṇṭa will be discussed later on in the text.

Kurucēḍu (in Nellore district) and Gaṇḍikōṭa (in Cuddapah district). Of the other two, Bhūmañci is inexplicable. Probably it is the name of a village which gave its name to the Sect. Paṇṭa and Dēsaṭi will be discussed in a later context.

In course of time, some of the Reḍḍis gave up their plough for the sword and took to military service under their rulers. They distinguished themselves in that service and held posts as generals and commanders. They gained the favour of their rulers by their valour and loyalty and gradually rose to political power and prominence.

During the Kākatīya period they became chiefs of some *niyōgas* and by their administrative capacity, they gained the favour of their overlords and grew very powerful. They wielded much influence in the state. Under the Kākatīya monarchs of Warangal Reḍḍi chieftains like Ceṛaku Jagadāḷu Bollaya Raḍḍi, and others[7] flourshed as *mahāsāmantas* ruling over certain tracts of the Telugu country. But it is interesting to note that none of the inscriptions of the time of Prātaparudra which have so far been discovered, refer to any of the ancestors of Vēma Reḍḍi, the founder of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom. Yet, as will be shown later on, there is sufficient reason to believe that their political life began during the rule of the Kākatīya monarchs of Warangal.

Donti and Dēsaṭi :

The *Koṇḍavīṭi daṇḍakavile* and the *kaifiyat* of Koṇḍavīḍu relate that some Reḍḍi families were living, since a long time, in the village of Chadaluvāḍa in the Ongole taluk of Guṇṭūr district, and that their tutelory deity was god Rāghava of that place. The two accounts give their family name as Donti and narrate a story that, in the course of tilling the ground, some members of the Donti family found a treasure-trove which they appropriated without much ado, and without the knowledge of the villagers. However, some days later, the matter became public and the villagers compelled them to hand over the treasure to them. Under the circumstances, it is said, their tutelory deity, god Rāghava appeared to them in a dream and advised them to migrate to some other place, and wherever they were, to worship him in the form of a golden idol, assuring them that they would become prosperous in course of time. Thereupon the Donti family migrated to Anumakoṇḍa near Warangal and stayed there for a long time, until a certain Allāḍa Reḍḍi of the same family came down with his friends and relations to the country of Koṇḍaviḍu. These are said to have been

7. Ep. Coll., Nos. 321 and 322 of 1937-38; Ins. Ced. Dts., No. 105, p. 450. Members of the Rēcerla Reḍḍi family of Pillalamaṛṛi held high posts under the Kākatīyas of Warangal.

the founders of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom. The date of their immigration to the Koṇḍavīḍu country is given as Śaka year (represented by Ṛṣis (7), Vārdhi (4), and Rudras (11), i.e., 1147, corresponding with the year Tāraṇa.[8]

Now, let us see if there is any truth in the account given above. Since the cyclic year correctly corresponds with the Śaka year it may appear as if there is some truth in this account. But it ought to be pointed out here that it is not corroborated by any other evidence, either by the inscriptions of the Reḍḍis or by the extant Telugu literature of the period.

The family name Donti is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the Reḍḍi kings. The Telugu works "*Kāśīkhaṇḍam*" and "*Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*" written under the direct patronage of the Reḍḍi rulers, refer to the family as Dēsaṭi, one of the subdivisions of the Paṇṭa community, and not as Dēsaṭi. Śrīnātha, the author of these two works describes the ruling Reḍḍi family as "the great Dēsaṭi family of the Paṇṭa clan which is the head-ornament of the fourth caste and the royal road of pleasure-ground for Fame"—(*Caturtha-kula-maṇḍanambai, kīrtivihāra – ghaṇṭā – pathambaina Paṇṭa – Dēsaṭiṁah ānvayambuna*"[9] —). Vēma's court-poet, Eṟṟā Preggaḍa addresses his patron as 'Dēsaṭi Vēma'[10] in his *Harivaṁśam*. Śrīnātha addresses Allaya Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi, the ruler of Rājamahēndravaram as '*Dēsaṭivaṁsa-grāmaṇi*'[11] (chief of the Dēsaṭi family). Another Telugu poet, Kommana, a contemporary of Vīrabhadra Reḍḍi calls the Reḍḍi rulers of Rājamahēndravaram as Dēsaṭis,[12] members of the Dēsaṭi family. These literary evidences prove beyond doubt that the Reḍḍi rulers were of the Paṇṭa clan, and of the Dēsaṭi family. But it has to be pointed out that none of their inscriptions allude to them as Dēsaṭis. They broadly state that they belonged to the fourth caste which is split up into many divisions, and to the Paṇṭa Vaṁśa. Some of their inscriptions like the Kaluvacēṟu grant[13] of Anitalli describe Vēma as *Paṇṭa vaṁśōdbhava*, one born in the Paṇṭa vaṁśa. But at the same time it may be noted that some of the stone records[14] of Anavema

8. Mack. Mss., Nos. 15-1-40; Loc. Rec., Vol. LXVII, pp. 7 ff. Sewell writes 'Native tradition at Koṇḍaviḍu states that Prolaya Vēma Reḍḍi was not connected with the family of Donti Allaḍa Reḍḍi, but was "a guest in his house." Allaḍa Reḍḍi is said to have lived at Dharaṇikoṭa near Amarāvati, and his family are stated to have "entered" that place in A. D. 1225"—Vide *Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 18).

9. Bh. Pr., prose passage, 31, p. 6.

10. Hr. Vm., I, ix, v. 1.

11. Ks. Kh., III, v. 1.

12. Sl. Vl., See Appendix to chapter, VII, part II.

13. A. S. P. P., Vol. II, pp. 93 ff;

14. Ep. Coll., Nos. 350, 353 and 367 of 1925; *Bharati*, Vol. XXI

and Komaragiri as well, refer to each of them as "the moon to the ocean of Manuma kula"—(*Manumakula-vārdhi-candra*). Some of the nāyaks and corporate bodies also of the Telugu country claim to belong to Manuma kula. One Marduḷi Māraya Nāyaka is styled in an inscription[15] of Saka 1275 as 'the Māndhāta of the Manuma kula'—*Manuma kula Māndhātā*) Members of the merchant corporation, the Vīrabalañjas claim to belong to Manuma kula.[16] A certain Malla Nāyaka of Śaka 1082 is praised as the "moon to the ocean of Manumakula"[17] (*Manuma-kula-vārdhi-vardhana-sudhākara*). Kōṭi Reḍḍi of Saka 1085 is stated to belong to Manuma kula[18]. Kālapa Nāyaka, an officer of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva was extolled as "the ornament of the Manuma kula[19]" (*Manma-kulābharaṇa*). What this Manuma kula is and how and why the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu claimed to belong to that *kula* are matters to be elucidated by future research. The evidence cited above shows that the Reḍḍi kings, besides being members of the Manuma kula, were Dēsaṭis also of the Panta clan. So, the statement in the *Local records* that the Reḍḍi kings were of the Donti[19a] family, has to be rejected.

Dēsaṭi Vaṁśa:

What does this Dēsaṭi signify? The term Dēsaṭi is found as a suffix to some proper names in early Telugu inscriptions of the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries A. D., especially in Kistna and Guntur districts. An early chief, the progenitor or the Vaṁśa-kartā of the Kōna-Kaṇḍravāḍi family is known as Koṇḍa Dēsaṭi.[20] An undated record[21] probably of the tenth or the early eleventh century at Inumeḷḷa (in the Vinukoṇḍa taluk of Guṇṭūr district) alludes to some *pratiṣṭhā* made by one Kāṭya (Kāṭaya) dēsaṭi. The local feudal chiefs or maṇḍalikas who held sway in times of yore over the territory called "Ōṅgēṟu mārga" or the region through which the river, Ōgēṟu in Guṇṭūr district flows, were known as the 'Dēsaṭi-mahāsāmantas'. An inscription[22] dated 1043 A. D., at Valivēru (in the Tenāli taluk of Guṇṭūr district) refers to maṇḍalika Guṇḍaya as the son of Dēsaṭṭi

15. Ibid, No. 181 of 1905.
16. Ibid, No. 180 of 1905.
17. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 649.
18. Ibid. No. 598.
19. Ibid, Nos. 602 and 608. *Manuma kula, Durjaya kula, Dinakara kula* and *Sōma kula* were the four chief ancient dynasties of the Andhra country, which gave rise to most of its ancient ruling families.
19 a. There was however a Reḍḍi family named Dontiparti (not Donti). Neither the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, nor of Rajamahendravaram seem to have had any connection with this family.
20. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1158.
21. Ep. Coll. No. 218 of 1930.
22. Ibid, No. 678 of 1920.

mahāsāmanta Naṁbaya of the Ōṁgēṟu mārga. Ēṟapa Nāyaka, the commander of the last Velanāṭi chief, Kulōttuṅga Pṛthivīśvara of the twelfth century A. D., is said to be the son of Ghaḍyana (Ghaḍiyana), and grandson of Ēṟapa dēsaṭi.[23] An inscription[24] at Bejavāḍa dated 1229 A. D., registers a gift made by Malli dēsaṭi, son of Prō i dēsaṭi of the fourth caste. The presence of the suffix *dēsaṭi* in the above instances and its absence in the case of the Reḍḍi kings is unaccountable.

The term Dēsaṭi seems to be the developed form of Dēśaraṭṭōḍi which occurs in a copper-plate grant of the Eastern Cāḷukyan king, Ammarāja Vijayāditya VI of his tenth regnal year, that is, of S'aka 877 (955 A.D.). Ammarāja grants the village of Ponduva grāma in Attilināṇḍu viṣaya along with the title mahāsāmanta to his subordinate, named Mādiya-Dēśaraṭṭōḍi, son of Kallikiya Dēśaraṭṭōḍi, and grandson of Māḍiya Raṭṭōḍi in appreciation of his services[25]. This is the earliest dated reference to the term Dēśaraṭṭōḍi in inscriptions of the Andhra country. Just as Raṭṭōḍi became Raṭṭaḍi, Raṭṭi and Raḍḍi, Dēśaraṭṭōḍi appears to have changed into Dēśaraṭṭaḍi, Dēśaraṭṭi and Dēśaṭṭi Had Dēsaṭṭi not been the contracted form of Dēśaraṭṭi it would not have the double ṭ;. Dēśaṭṭi in course of time might have become Dēsaṭi. The early form Dēśaraṭṭōḍi persisted till the thirteenth century A.D. It is found in an inscription[26] dated in Śaka 1152 (1230 A. D.) The form Dēsaṭṭi occurs in many records. As Dēsaṭi is the later and contracted form of Dēśaraṭṭōḍi, it may probably signify the indigenous section of the Reḍḍi tribe, as opposed to the foreign immigrants of a later period.

The Dēsaṭlas were mentioned in an inscription[27] dated in S'aka 1069 from Koṇiḍena in Guṇṭūr district, along with other nāyaks and kṣatriya princes. On the analogy of Bāpaṭla (a town in Guṇṭūr district) Dēsaṭla, a probable variant of Dēsaṭi might also be construed as the name of a town. Dēsaṭla is known to be a town from the *birudāvaḷi* or *praśasti* of the seventy two nāyaks of the court of Pratāparudra of Waraṅgal. The Dēsaṭlas, one of the seventy two nāyaks who served under Pratāparudra had the title "the lord of Dēsaṭlapura"[28] (*Dēsaṭla-puravar=āḍhīśvara*). This title clearly shows that Dēsaṭla is a town.

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23. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1338.
24. Ep. C oll., No; 321 of 1919.
25. C. P. No. 7 of 1937 – 38.
26. S. I, I., Vol. V, No. 1290; "*Bhōgāpuramuna Dēśaraṭṭoḍīūnu.*
27. Ibid, Vol, VI, No. 639"..............Moṭṭavāḍi Guṇḍikarta Racakoḍukulu, Dēsaṭlu ...."
28. Mac. Mss., No. 15-5-32; Dēsaṭlavari birudu. "Dēsaṭla-puravar=ādhīśvara, Dannalakōṭa-rāya-vēśyābhujaṅga..." etc.

The existence of a hill fort called Dēsaṭi is known from an inscription[29] dated in 1005 A.D., of Mahāsāmanta S'ōbhaṇarasa, a subordinate of the Western Cāḷukya king Iṛivabeḍaṅga Satyāsraya, wherein he was given the title *Dēsaṭi-giri-durga-malla*, the conqueror of the hill fort named Dēsaṭi. If this is accepted, then Dēsaṭi or Dēsaṭla might have been the early orginal habitat also of the Reḍḍis, just as Laṭṭalūr or Raṭṭalūr is said to have been the original habitat of the Raṭṭas or Rāṣṭrakūṭas who had the title "lords of the town of Raṭṭalūr or Laṭṭalūru" (*Raṭṭalūru-puravar -ādhīśvara*). Even granting that Dēsaṭi or Dēsaṭla is a town, it is difficult to locate it. The above evidence makes it clear that the Reḍḍi kings were Dēsaṭis (Dēsaṭlas). The statements regarding their surnames in the *kaifiyat* of Koṇḍavīḍu and the *Local records* have to be rejected as they are not based on facts.

Before the foundaton of the Reḍḍi principality the Reḍḍi nobles were living in Nellore district. We come to know from contemporary Telugu literature that towns like Siṁhavikramapuram (Nellore), Dūvūru, Gaṇḍavaram and others in the Nellore and Kōvūr taluks of the present Nellore district, were the original abodes of the members of the Paṅṭa vaṁs'a or Paṇṭa clan[30]. This is confirmed by another piece of evidence. The term Paṇṭa itself in Paṇṭa Kāpu or Panta Reḍḍi is capable of furnishing the clue.

'Paṇṭa' clan.

It is well-known that the ancient territorial divisions like Valanāḍu, Vēgināḍu, Pākanāḍu and Āṛuvēlu or Ṣaṭsahasradēs'a of the Telugu country have given rise to many communal divisions or a *śākhas* like Velanāṭi, Vēgināṭi, Pākanāṭi and Āṛuvēla sects among the brāhman community. Similarly, it is probable that some of the communities of the fourth caste also, as has been pointed out by the late K. V. Lakshmanarao[31], derived their names from these territorial divisions. Lakshmanarao opines that the Brāhmins and the Śūdras of the Teliṅgāna country formed into separate sects called Telagāṇyas and Telagas respectively. Similarly, the Velnāṭi sect of brāhmans, and the Velama community of the fourth caste derived their names from the territorial division of Velanāḍu. While the brāhmans of Kammanāḍu are known as Kamma brāhmans or Kammas, the S'ūdras of the same *nāḍu* came to be called Kammas. In the same way, there are Pākanāṭi sect of brāhmans and Pākanāṭi Kāpus. It follows from this that many of the sects of the fourth caste being local communities, owe their names to

29. S. I. I., Vol. XI, (Bk. 1-, Vol. I, Pt. 1), No. 50.
"*S'rīmat-Dēsaṭi-giridurga-mallam-*"
30. Bh. Pr., I, pr. 81.
31. Presidential address, A. P. M., Vth Annual conference, Pithapuram, p. 45.

the ancient territorial divisions of the Andhra country. In the same way, can it be said that the community or sect of Panta Kāpus or Panta Reḍḍis also derived their name from any territorial division? Was there an ancient territorial division by name Panṭanāḍu or Panṭarāṣṭra like Pākanāḍu or Pākarāṣṭra ?

The Aruḷāḷa-Perumāl inscription[32] at Kāñcī, of Tammusiddhi, son of Erasiddhi, one of the Telugu Cōḍa chiefs of Nellore, bring to our notice a district named Panṭarāṣṭra. This inscription records the gift of the village of Muṭṭiyampākkam, the head quarters of Panṭarāṣṭra (in Śaka 1127) to the lord of Hasti Śaila, by Tammusiddhi. Neither the village, Muṭṭiyampākkam, nor the Panṭarāṣṭra have yet been identified. Muṭṭiyampākkam may be identified with the present village of Muṭṭembāka in the Gūḍūr taluk of Nellore district. As it was the head-quarters of the Panṭarāṣṭra, this territorial division may be taken to correspond roughly to the Gūḍur taluq and its neighbourhood. Like the Kammas and Velamas who derived their names from Kammanāḍu and Velanāḍu respectively, the Śūdras of this Panṭarāṣṭra are called Panṭa Kāpus or Panṭa Reḍḍis.

Therefore, Panṭarāṣṭra and not the Anumakoṇḍadēśa, as stated in the *Local records* and the local *kaifiyats*, was the native country of the Panṭa Reḍḍis. They gradually spread to the west and to the east and along the coast to the north. About the time of the subversion of the Kākatīya power members of the Reḍḍi families which were instrumental in founding the kingdoms of Koṇḍavīḍu and of Rājamahēndravaram, were living, as stated before, in the Nellore and Kōvūr taluks of Nellore district.

In this connection, it is necessary to point out one interesting fact generally unnoticed. All the lithic and copper-plate records of the Reḍḍis and the works of Śrīnātha state, without exception, that they belong to *Caturtha-kula* or the fourth caste. The Telugu *kāvya Śivalīlā-vilāsam* by Kommanāmātya, while confirming this statement, alludes however to king Vīrabhadra, son of Allāḍa of Rājamahēndravaram as having been born in the Solar race.[33] While describing the family of the Dēsaṭis as having been born from the feet of god Viṣṇu along with the heavenly river Gaṅgā, Kommanāmātya compares Allaya Vīrabhadra with Rāmabhadra, son of the Ikṣvāku king, Daśaratha and states that both were born in the Solar race, skilled in archery and devoted to god Siva. He, thereby, suggests that Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi also was of the Solar race. Of course, the statement is

32. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 152 ff.
33. Vide, Appendix. Chapter VII, Pt. II.

self-contradictory, since one cannot be a member of the *Caturtha kula* and of the Solar race as well. Yet, it can be explained and justified in a way. Vīrabhadra may be said to have belonged to the Sūrya vaṁśa on his mother's side, as his father married the daughter of Bhīmaliṅga, son of the Ēruva chief, Cōḍa Bhaktīśa of the Solar race.

Were the Reḍḍis Pallavas?

The Reḍḍi rulers assumed the titles 'Pallavāditya' and 'Pallava-trinētra', the sun and Trinētra or Śiva of the Pallava dynasty. The sign manual of some of the Reḍḍi kings like Prōlaya Vēma and Anavēma is 'Pallava Trinētra'[34]. This naturally raises the question if they were Pallavas[35]. It is worth remembering in this connection that the early Pallava dynasties that once ruled the Nellore territory, disappeared from the political scene, centuries before the rise of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom. In the intervening period between the fall of the Pallava supremacy and the rise of the Reḍḍis some of the chiefs who traced their descent from Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi or Trilōcana Pallava or Trinayana Pallava, held sway, generally as feudatories of the Cōḷa emperors, and occasionally as independent rulers, over a great portion of Nellore district during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. After the subversion of their power, these Pallava chiefs gradually became merged in the lower Hindu social strata, and very soon lost their distinctive racial entity. Hence no identification is possible of the new royal dynasties that sprang forth into existence in the fourteenth century in terms of the old ones. One cannot, therefore, positively assert that the Reḍḍis were originally Pallavas for want of unimpeachable evidence The Reḍḍi nobles might have contracted matrimonial alliances with the Pallava feudatory chieftains of Nellore district of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Because of these family connections with the Pallavas or, because their country was Paṇṭa rāṣṭra which was a division of the original Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, the country of the Pallavas, the Reḍḍi kings felt probably justified in assuming such titles; for, during that period of Hindu revival everything old carried with it some awe and glamour. No other rational explanation can be offered to this question.

Reḍḍi Titles.

Very little is known about the early history of the Koṇḍavīḍu family before the foundation of the Reḍḍi kingdom. Yet, that it was sufficiently an important one is known from many of the titles of the

34. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff. The signature also of the donor Prolaya Vema is Pallava Trinetra · S. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 243; C. P. No. 15 of 1922-23.

Ep. 35 Rep. 1900, p. 20 para 57.

Reḍḍis which suggest some political activity. Telugu works like *Harivaṁśam*, the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* the *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* and the lithic and copper-plate records of this period give the Reḍḍi kings a long list of *birudas* or titles, some of which are of great historic interest. A careful study of some of them reveals to us some of the early achievements of this family. Those given below are of special historical significance.

Appaya-Goppaya diśāpaṭṭa
Jaganobbagaṇḍa
Daṇḍena gōva (gōpa)
Aḷagiyavarada-śiraḥ-khaṇḍana
Pāṇḍyarāyagajakēsari (siṁha)
Ceñcumala-cūrakāra
Gujjaritaṭṭuvibhāḷa
Rācūridurgavibhāḷa
Āneyamaṇḍalikaragaṇḍa

All these titles find mention in the records of the Reḍḍi kings giving their *praśasti* or eulogy. It is obvious that the exploits suggested by the aforesaid titles must have taken place prior to Śaka 1252/1330 A. D., since they are found in their records subsequent to that date. The early history of the Reḍḍis before the foundation of the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom has to be reconstructed with the help of these titles, which, in a way, make up for the deficiency of records of the early members of this family. Let us now study the titles.

Appaya-Goppaya diśāpaṭṭa: This title conveys the idea that the Reḍḍis won a victory over Appaya Goppaya (Gōpaya), that is, either over two separate individuals, viz., Appaya and Goppaya, or over Goppaya, son of Appaya. Who is this Appaya - Goppaya?

Inscriptions of the Hoyśaḷas of Dwārasamudra reveal that Appaya and Goppaya were the two able *daṇḍanāyakas* or generals of the Hoysala king, Vīra Narasiṁhadēva II (1220 1235 A. D.) and were related to each other as father and son. When the Kāḍava chieftain, Kōpperuñjiṅga imprisoned the Cōḷa emperor, Rājarāja III (1216 1257 A. D.) at Sēndamaṅgalam (South Arcot district) Vīra Narasiṁhadēva II espoused the latter's cause and sent his two generals Appana and Samudra Goppaya or Gōpaya with orders to chastise the Kāḍava chieftain, to release the Cōḷa emperor from prison and to reinstate him in power. The two generals were successful in this campaign and achieved their object. The achievements of these daṇḍanāyakas were recorded in the Tiruvēṇḍipuram record,[36] dated in the fifteenth year of Rajarāja III,

36. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 160 ff.

i. e., in Śaka 1153/1231 A. D. The same information is conveyed by another stone record[37] (in the Gubbi taluk of Tuṁkūr district, Mysore) dated Śaka 1155/1233 A. D., which registers the grant of a village by Vīra Narasiṁha II to his generals, Appaya daṇḍanāyaka and Gōpaya daṇḍanāyaka. We know from a record[38] of the Hoyśaḷa general, Goppaya daṇḍanāyaka at Conjeevaram, dated in the fifteenth year of Rājarāja III, that is, in Śaka 1153 / 1231 A. D., that he had the titles Daṇḍinagōpa and Jagadobbagaṇḍa (the sole hero of the world).

Madhurāntaka Pottapicōḍa Tirukkāḷattidēva alias Gaṇḍagōpāla better known as Cōḍa Tikka, the powerful Telugu Cōḍa feudatory of the weak Cōḷa emperor Rāja Raja III, also took part in these wars. He was a contemporary of Hoyśaḷa Vīra Narasiṁha and his son Sōmēśvara, also known as Karṇāṭa Sōmēśa. Tikkana Sōmayāji in his Telugu work, '*Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇa* states that Cōḍa Tikka subdued Karṇāṭa Sōmēśvara and reinstalled the Cōḍa emperor in his place and assumed the title 'Cōḷasthāpanācārya,' the 'establisher of the Cōḷa ruler[39]. He was in Kāñcīpura in the fifteenth year of Rājarāja III, i. e. in Saka 1153/1231 A. D., and instituted the service called the Gaṇḍagōpalanśandi in the temple of Varadarājaperumāḷ in that year[40]. These Telugu Cōḍa-Karṇāṭa wars continued for some years more; for, an inscription[41] in the Mysore State, dated in Saka 1162 / 1240 A. D., informs us that the Hoyśaḷa monarch, Vīra Sōmēśvara was marching against Gaṇḍagōpāla.

The ancestors of the Reḍḍi rulers of Koṇḍavīḍu who were in the service of Cōḍa Tikka of Nellore about this period, probably took an active part in routing the forces of Vīra Sōmēśvara. In Śaka 1162/ 1240 A. D. Goppaya daṇḍanāyaka was at Kāñcīpura. He made a gift for a perpetual lamp in the Aruḷāla Perumāḷ temple in the

37. Ep. Carn., Vol. XII, Gb. 45.

38. Ep. Coll., No. 404 of 1919. Members of this family of ministers of the Hoyśaḷa king, Vīra Narasiṁha seem to have the titles Daṇḍinagōpa and Jagadobbagaṇḍa (Vide, Ep. Coll., No. 617 of 1919). From the inscriptions at Conjeevaram (Nos. 404, 611, 612, 615 and, 617) the following geneology of these generals may be formulated.

Mahāpradhāni Daṇḍinagōpa — Appayya daṇḍanāyaka

Mahāpradhāni Daṇḍinagōpa
- Madappa daṇḍanāyaka

Appayya daṇḍanāyaka
- Mallaya daṇḍanāyaka
- Kēśava daṇḍanāyaka
- Goppaya daṇḍanāyaka

39. Ut. Rm., I, v. 84.

40. Ep. Coll., No. 446 of 1919.

41. Ep. Carn., Vol., VI, Kd. 100.

twenty-fourth year[42] of the Coḷa emperor, Rājarāja III, that is, in Saka 1162/1240 A. D. Evidently it was about this period that the Reḍḍi chieftains defeated Appaya Goppaya daṇḍanāyaka.

As a consequence of this defeat, the Hoysaḷa generals, in accordance with the custom of the age, had laid down their titles of *Daṇḍinagōpa* and *Jagadobbagaṇḍa* with their insignia at the feet of the victors, the Reḍḍi chieftains, which the latter assumed as a proud privilege. It was one of the customs prevalent in the mediaeval period for the victor to assume the titles of the vanquished to indicate the latter's complete subjection. The vanquished had generally no right to assume them until and unless he defeated his victor once again in the field of battle. In this manner many titles of merit, in ancient times, travelled from country to country and from family to family. The Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu got these titles, *Daṇḍinagōva* (mentioned in the Reḍḍi inscriptions and literature), *Jagadobbagaṇḍa* (Jaganobbagaṇḍa) and *Appaya-Goppaya diśāpaṭṭa* as a heritage from their forefathers who defeated the Hoysaḷa generals of Vīra Sōmēśvara.

Aḷagiya varada-śiraḥkhaṇḍana: This title implies that the Reḍḍis cut off the head of Aḷagiyavarada whose identity is unknown. The Kāḍava king Kōpperuñjiṅga and his father were called Aḷagiya Sīyan, and Aḷagiya Pallava respectively. The term Aḷagiya or Aḷagiya may probably indicate that Aḷagiyavarada also was a Pallava prince related to Kōpperuñjiṅga. If this surmise is correct, this exploit also has to be dated to the middle of the thirteenth century.

Pāṇḍyarāya-gajakēsari: This title suggests that the Reḍḍi chiefs gained a victory over the Pāṇḍya king or kings. When did this event take place ?

Madura, the Pāṇḍyan capital passed into the hands of the Mussalmans almost about the date of the fall of Waraṅgal. According to the recent researches made in South Indian History, we come to know that this event took place in 1323 A.D.[43] The Pāṇḍyan power was shaken to its foundations by internecine quarrels and Khusrū Khān's invasion of Ma'bar in 1319 A.D. The conquest, therefore, of the Pāṇḍyas by the Reḍḍi chieftains must have taken place some time before 1319 A.D., presumably during the southern campaign of Kākati Pratāparudra of Waraṅgal. Pratāparudra sent Muppiḍi Nāyaka, one of his able officers to the south "to restore his authority on the Southern frontier" by driving away the Pāṇḍyas from Kāñci, and to make it a military outpost to ward off enemy invasions from the southern region. The Kākatīya general set

42. Ep. Coll., No. 615 of 1919.
43. J. O. R.V.o, LXII, p. 212.

out with a huge army accompanied by able officers like Dēvari Nāyaka, Bāl Nāyaka, his own son, Pedda Rudra and several other chiefs belonging to Rēcerla and other families. The five Pāṇḍyas, Sundara Pāṇḍya, Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Vīra Pāṇḍya, Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Kulas'ekhara Pāṇḍya who were in possession of Kāñcī mustered their forces and offered stout resistance to the armies of Pratāparudra. A terrible fight ensued, in which Muppiḍi Nāyaka and his forces came out victorious. They captured Kāñcī in S'aka 1238 / 1316 A.D. and expelled the five Pāṇḍyas [44] from that place. The title *Pāṇḍyarāyagajakēsari* was conferred on the Rēcerla chiefs and others who distinguished themselves in this battle. Since the Reḍḍis also had this title it is likely that they had also taken part in this campaign. It is not unlikely that Prōla, and his son Vēma, the young warrior aspiring to fame, accompanied the Kākatīya general to Kāñcī.

Cencumala-cūrakāra: 'Cencumala' is also referred to in inscriptions and literature as Ceñjimala' which seems to be the correct name. The meaning of this title is "the plunderer of 'Ceñjimala', the fortress of Gingee. This refers to some victory gained at Gingee by Vēma Reḍḍi himself or by his forefathers.

Vēma's dominions never extended so far as Gingee in South Arcot district. Since this title is mentioned in the earliest grant of Prōlaya Vēma, the exploit justifying that title must have taken place prior to the establishment of the Reḍḍi power, most probably during the southern campaign of Kākati Pratāparudra when the Reḍḍi nobles followed Muppiḍi Nāyaka to Kāñcī. The Dākshāram inscription[45] of Peda Rudra, son of Muppiḍi Nāyaka dated in Saka 1243/1321 A. D., furnishes many details of this campaign. From this record we understand that Nārāyaṇavanam in Chittūr District and many other strongholds in its neighbouring country were reduced, the Śambuvarāyans were brought under subjection, and the territory of the Hoysaḷa emperor, Baḷḷāḷa III in the Tamil country was overrun. After capturing Kāñcī, Muppiḍi Nāyaka pursued the Pāṇḍyas further south as far as Jambukēs'varam in Trichinopoly district[46]. An inscription[47] of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva at Vriddhāchalam, south of Gingee, the details of the date of which work out correctly for 1315 A.D., praises the Kākatīya minister, Muppiḍi Nāyaka, and refers to a service instituted in his name. It was probably during their march to the south that Gingee was plundered by

44. Ibid, p. 199.
45. Ibid. pp. 213 to 216; also, see page 204; f. n.
46. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 430.
47. Ep. Coll., No. 72 of 1918.

the Reḍḍi chieftains, some of the leading nobles in the army of Muppiḍi Nāyaka.

Gujjaritaṭṭu-vibhāḷa" (the destroyer of Gujjara or Gūrjara Cavalry): The only clear instance when the army of Gujarat is known to have been in action in the Deccan country about this period was during the famous siege of Kampili by the Imperial forces when Kampilirāya gave shelter to Bahā-al-Dīn Gushtāsp who rebelled against the authority of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq. "The king (Muhmmad-bin-Tughlaq) having intelligence of the revolt" writes Ferishta, "commanded Khwāja Jehān, with many other officers and the whole of the Gujarat forces, to chastise the rebel chief.[48]" Bahā-al-Dīn Gushtāsp met the invading armies at Dēvagiri but was defeated, owing to the defection of one of his principal commanders, but fled to Sāgar. The Imperialists followed him thither. He then fled to the rājah of Kampili with his family and all his belongings and took shelter with them. The Imperial forces still pursued the rebel and laid siege to Kummaṭa in the kingdom of Kampili. Here they were defeated twice by the Hindus.[49] This was probably the occasion when the Reḍḍi nobles, joining hands with the king of Kampili, defeated the Imperial Gujarāt forces and assumed the title "Gujjaritaṭṭuvibhāḷa" Vēma himself with his brothers and relatives might have co-operated with the king of Kampili in this war against the common enemy, Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq. This event took place in A.H. 727 or 1326-27 A.D.

Rācūridurgavibhāḷa and Āneyamaṇḍalikaragaṇḍa:— These two titles have to be considered now. '*Rācūridurgavibhāḷa*' means the destroyer of the fortress of Rācūru or Raichūr and *Āneyamaṇḍalikaragaṇḍa*, the hero, or the conqueror of the Āneyamaṇḍalikas, or the feudatory chiefs of Ānegondi. The exploit suggested by the first title must have taken place between Saka 1216/ 1294 A. D., the date of the construction of the fort[50] of Raicūr and Śaka 1258/1336-37 A.D., the date of the foundation of the Vijaynagar kingdom, the capital of which was at first Ānegondi. There is reason to believe that the Reḍḍi chiefs secured the above two titles in the course of a single campaign during the independence movement in the Andhra country in the post-Kākatīya period.

Encouraged by the victory of the nobles in the Coastal region the Āraviṭi chief, Sōmadēvarāja rose against the local Muslim chiefs about Śaka 1251/ 1329 A. D., and re-conquered the country lying to the north and south of the Tuṅgabhadrā. In the course of this successful

48. Ferishta, Vol. I. pp. 418—19.
49. *History of Qaraunah Turks in India*, p. 65.
50. A. S. P. P., Vol. VI, pp., 33 ff.

campaign he conquered many forts like Ānegondi, Rācūru and so on. It is not unlikely that the Reḍḍi chieftains, Vēma and his followers lent their whole-hearted support to Sōmadēvarāja, the leader of the revolt. The above two titles suggest that the Reḍḍis played an important part in reducing the fortress of Rācūru and subjugating the Āneyamandalikas.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the ancestors of the Reḍḍi's of Koṇḍavīḍu entered into military service sometime about the first quarter of the thirteenth century, if not earlier. They first served the Telugu Cōḍas of Nellore or Vikramasiṁhapura and later on, the Kākatīyas of Waraṅgal. They slowly rose to prominence by gaining influence in the state through the favour of their immediate superiors and the Kākatīya provincial governors.

Ghōḍerāya Gaṁgayadēva :

The members of the Ghōḍerāya family were the gurus and spiritual guides of the Reḍḍi kings from the beginning of their political career. Eṟṟā Pregaḍa addresses his patron Vēma in his work '*Harivaṁśam*' as one who established his kingdom by the mercy of his preceptor, Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva (*Ghōḍeyarāya Gaṅga - guru - kṛpā - sthāpita - sāmrājya samuddīpita - Vema - narēndra*).[51] Vēma is also described in the Madras Museum plates,[52] as the bee at the lotus feet of his *guru* named Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgaya. Members of the Ghōḍerāya family exercised over the Reḍḍi kings much influence as their *gurus* throughout their political career.

The identity of Vēma's *guru* Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva has not yet been established. There was one Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva or Gaṅgidēva, the minister of Aṁbadēva, one of the powerful Kāyastha feudatories of Rudramadēvi, queen of Waraṅgal. Ambadēva ruled the districts of Ghaṇḍikōṭa, Mulikināḍu, Rēnāḍu, Peḍakallu, Sakili, Ēṟuva, Pottapi and others from 1272 A D to about 1304 A.D. His inscriptions dated Śaka 1194, 1212 and 1213 or 1272, 1290 and 1291 A.D, are found at Tripurāntakam in the Mārkāpur taluk of Kurnool District. His minister,

51. "శ్రీ పర్వతేశ భక్తి
ఖ్యాతిగుణ ఘోడేరాయ గంగగురు కృపా
స్థాపిత సామ్రాజ్యసము
ద్దీపిత వేమక్షితీంద్ర దీప్తదినేంద్రా" — Hr. Vm., II. iv, v. 1.

This verse stated to be found in some of the manuscripts, is given as *Pathantara* in the Vavilla edition.

52. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 15.

Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva [53] was an able and upright administrator and carried out many charitable works. Himself being a great devotee of Śiva, he made several gifts to Śaiva temples, dug canals, constructed tanks, and set up feeding houses to Māhēśvaras or Śaiva devotees. He got the land surveyed and assessed after measuring it with a standard rod. This Gaṅgayadēva may be the same as the *guru* of Vēma, referred to in the Madras Museum plates and in the *Harivaṁśam*. If this identity is accepted, and there is nothing to go against it, it may be presumed that it was he who took the forefathers of Vēma into the service of Aṁbadēva and appointed them to responsible posts in the region of Tripurāntakam in Kurnool District.

Vēma's family:

The early members of the Koṇḍavīṭi family did not leave behind any records, even though their titles bespeak of their long and brilliant military career in the past. The reason for the absence of their early records cannot be easily explained. In fact, the inscriptions of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu refer only to two earlier generations of Vēma and Prōla, grandfather and father of Vēma respectively. Of these Vēma, the grandfather is described as *vaṁśakartā*.[54] The Mutlūru copper-plate record[55] of Prōlaya Vēma furnishes some interesting information about them. The original plates of this record are lost; but a copy of this grant is preserved in the *Mackenzie manuscripts*. Besides stating that Vēma's grandfather Vēma was the 'vaṁśakartā, this record informs us that he was a powerful '*sainya nāyaka*', commandant of forces. It is evident from this that Vēma, unlike his predecessors, rose to the position of a commander, presumably under the Kāyastha chief, Aṁbadēva. The statement that the family owed its rise to the favour of

53. Loc. Rec, Vol. XV, and XLV, Kaifiyats of Gaṇḍikōṭa, and Andaluru- Ep., Coll. No. 406 of 1911. The Drujjavaram grant (*Reḍḍi Rāṇi.*, vol. III, pp. 157 ff.) of Anavēma also states that his father Vema ruled the land by the favour of the great guru, Ghōḍerāya.

तेषां प्रशस्तमहिमापरपारिजातः
श्रीवेमभूमिरमणो जगतोऽवगाढः ।
श्रीघोड्रायगुरुवर्यदयाविशेषा
त्पृथ्वीं प्रशास्ति सकलामकलङ्कवृत्तिः ॥

54. According to the *Vemabhūpalacaritam* (canto, I) of Vamanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa Kama Bhūpati was the founder of this Reḍḍi family of Koṇḍavīḍu and Prola, father of Vema was his descendant.
Could this Kama be identical with Kama, a descendant of Brahma of the Recerla Reḍḍi family of Pillalamarri and the general of Kakati Prola II ?

55. Pandit V. Prabhākara Sastri gāru published this copy in the Telugu journal, *Reḍḍi Rāṇi.*, Vol. III, (1926, Sept.). No. 12.

Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva seems to be the bare truth. The same record informs us that Prōla was a *kṣamānātha*, a term connoting probably a higher rank and position in the state than that of his father. Another inscription [56] at Kandukūr in Nellore district extols him in hyperbolical terms as the crest-jewel of kings, and as having an army consisting of elephants. The Mallavaram record [57] of Vēma I calls him Kōmaṭi Prōla and describes him as 'a garuḍa to the serpents which are hostile kings'. These statements are mere hyperboles. At the most, they suggest that he was a nāyaka or a noble of some importance. *The birudāvaḷis* of the seventy two nāyaks confirm this opinion in a way. As stated before, the Dēsaṭlas, members of the Dēsaṭi family were one of the seventy two nāyaks that served the Kākatīya monarch, Pratāparudra. It is likely that Prōla, father of Vēma I was connected with the administration of the Triṛurāntakam region or its vicinity during the second decade of the fourteenth century A. D. It was probably because they were holding sway in this region that the lord of Kumāragiri or Kumāraśaila became their tutelory deity [58].

Though the kings of Koṇḍavīḍu and Rajamahēndravaram were of the same Panṭa clan their families and gōtras were entirely different. The former trace their descent from Vēma and the latter from Dūvūri Perumāṇḍi Reḍḍi. The kings of Koṇḍavīḍu belong to the Vellacēri gōtra, and those of Rājamahēndravaram to Pōlvōla gōtra.

As stated already, the first member of the Koṇḍavīḍu family known to us is Vēma. His son Prōla, Kōmaṭi Prōla as he is also called, married Annemāmba, daughter of Doḍḍā Reḍḍi, a commander of note. He had by her five sons, named Māca, Vēma, Doḍḍa, Annaya and Malla, of whom Māca and Malla were the eldest and the youngest respectively. Eṟṟa Preggaḍa does not mention Doḍḍa in his work *Harivaṁśam* while describing his patron's family, the reason for which might be his premature death.

Like their father Prōla, his sons Māca and Vēma also have the prefix Kōmaṭi to their names. Vēma was also called Kōmaṭīndra, Kōmaṭi Vēma, Anavēma and Prōlaya Vēma (son of Prōla). It is not known how and why some of the members of this Reḍḍi family had come to bear the name Kōmaṭi signifying a Vaiśya or a member of the third caste, both as a prefix and a proper name. Whether true or not, a story current in the Telugu country for many generations and

56. N. D. I., II, Kr. 34, pp. 516 ff.
57. Ibid, III, O. 73, pp. 1022 ff.
58. The Reḍḍis even regarded that the kingdom over which they ruled, was offered them by god Tripurantaka [illegible]

preserved in the *Koṇḍavīṭi daṇḍakavile* and the *kaifiyat* of Koṇḍavīḍu furnishes the clue to this puzzle. It also tells us how the Reḍḍis were able to establish their independent power within such a short time.

In brief, the story is this. There was one Allāḍa Reḍḍi of the Donti family. A merchant (Kōmaṭi) by name Vēmana or Vēmu who had spent a number of years in forests with Siddhas and Yōgis and acquired a piece of philosopher's stone that transformed iron into gold, came as a guest to his house. The merchant Vēma took enough care to hide and protect his precious treasure in utmost secrecy. However, in course of time Allāḍa came to know of this and waited for an opportunity to rob it from him. He bethought himself of an ingenious plan and put it into execution. When Vēma was once absent from the house, Allāḍa took possession of the philosopher's stone and in order to be above suspicion, set the house on fire. Poor Vēmana, after returning home, became mad with dismay to find the house on fire. He asked Allāḍa about his stone, when the latter pleaded ignorance and replied that it might have probably shared the same fate as his own dear house, if ever there were any such thing on earth. Overpowered with grief and disappointment for the loss of such an invaluable treasure which cost him the labour of his whole life, Vēmana leapt into the fire and committed suicide.

Sometime after this, the story goes on to say that Komaṭi Vēma, once making his appearance in Allāḍa's dream, told him that he had come to know the truth of the affair and held out a threat that he would ruin his family, in case the money thus obtainted was not utilised for charitable purposes. He also asked him to name his descendants after him. Tradition asserts that Allāḍa and his sons raising a large army with the money obtained by the philosopher's stone, defeated the local chiefs and rose to power.

This is the story and neither Allāda, nor the Donti family are historically true. However, we have to note this fact that many of the kings of Koṇḍavīḍu had the names Vēma and Kōmaṭi, names rarely found among the other Reḍḍi families. It might be that the records wrongly give the names of Allāḍa and Donti for Prōla and Dēsaṭi; for, the Mañchaḷḷa copper-plate grant [59] of Prōlaya Vēma credits him with having known the art of alchemy (*Svarṇakaraprasiddhiṁ labdhavā*). This might be a mild and covert allusion to the story recorded in the *Koṇḍavīṭi daṇḍokavile* and the *Mackenzie manuscripts*.

59. Mack. Mss. Nos. 15-16-17 and 15-3-64; Loc. Rec., XLVIII, pp. 180 ff., XII, pp. 16 ff.

Anyhow, in those dark days of misrule and anarchy consequent on the fall of Warangal, when there was no recognised central government in the country, Prōla, like every other potentate, might have also tried for the acquisition of political power. He did not, probably, live long enough to achieve his object. Nevertheless, his political ambitions were fulfilled and his dreams realised only in his second son, Vēma, the founder of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu.

CHAPTER IV.

APPENDIX, 'A'

The term Reḍḍi has long been in use in the Telugu country as a suffix to the names of the members of the Kāpu community. It furnishes to some extent the clue to the origin and history of this community. No word in the Telugu language has undergone so many changes in its evolution as the term Reḍḍi. Reḍḍi is the final form in the course of centuries of development, its immediate predecessor being Raḍḍi. The form Raḍḍi was in vogue till the seventeenth century along with its present form of Reḍḍi which came into use even as early as the fourteenth century. The word Raḍḍi was used by the Telugu poets, Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa[1] of the sixteenth century and Malla Reḍḍi[2] of the seventeenth century in their works. Inscriptions[3] of the fourteenth century bear evidence to the fact that the term Reḍḍi was also in use then. Raḍḍi was the developed form of the term, Raṭṭaḍi which had been in use earlier than Raḍḍi. This form is found freely used in classical Telugu works a, as that was evidently the form current at the time of their composition. The word, Raṭṭaḷḷu, plural of Raṭṭaḍi finds mention in the *Śivatattvasāram*[4], a Telugu work by Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya of the early twelfth century. Inscriptions[5] show that the form Raṭṭaḍi was in use even from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Raṭṭaḍi evolved from Raṭṭōḍi of the inscriptions of the Eastern Cālukyan period. '*Raṭṭōḍi cēnu*' (the field of Raṭṭōḍi), *Roṭṭōḍi lōnṭu*

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1. "ఎడ్డెతనమ్ముఁ గైకొని
   రడ్డులు నడచిరి పురస్సరత్వాభ్యర్గ్యముగా..." Pn. Mh., III, v. 75.
2. "రడ్డిపేటలు తిప్పాపురంబు సిరులఁ
   బోకలు లింగాపురంబును బోతసాని..." Sv. Dh., I, v. 60.
3. N.D.I., Nol. II, O. 58, p. 994: Ep. Coll., No. 810 of 1920.
   For the term Raḍḍi, See, N. D. I., Vol. III, O. 79: II, Kv. 229; Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 814; N. D. I., I, A, 24 etc..
4. "...మా। రోజుకొని నడకుండుఁడు
   రాజులు రట్టళ్లు నగుట రాజిల్లెటికి."—v. 200.
5. N. D. I., Vol. III, P. 88, p. 1208; P. 22, p. 1180; Ep. Coll., Nos. 868 and 864 o, 1905; A. S. P. P., Vol. II, p. 899; N. D. I., Kr, Vol. II, 67, p. 607; Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 189.
   Raṭṭoḍi, Roḍḍoḍi, Raḍḍōḍi, and Raṭṭaḍi are the variants of the same term Raṭṭaḍi *Raṭṭōḍi cēnu* (Ep. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 189 ff, Masulipatam plates), *Raṭṭōḍi tōnṭa* (C.P., No. 6 of 1918 – 14); Ep. Coll. No. 675 of 1917; *Raṭṭōḍi Kaṁpulu kacuvāru* N.D.I., Vol, II, Kr. 67, p. 607).

(the garden of Raṭṭōḍi), *Dīnini Raṭṭōḍi Kāmulu kācuvāru'* (May *Raṭṭōḍi Kāpus* protect this), -passages like these occur in the records of the Eastern Cāḷukyan period. These show that the form Raṭṭōḍi was in currency from about the end of the seventh century to the tenth or eleventh century.

Even 'Raṭṭōḍi' was not the original term. It was the corrupt or the developed form of Raṭṭakuḍi which finds mention in inscriptions of the early seventh, and of the late sixth century. The term Raṭṭaguḍi, another variant of Raṭṭakuḍi finds mention in the early Telugu inscriptions discovered in Guṇṭūr, Cuddapah and Kurnool districts.

1. Raṭṭōḍi - (plural) Raṭṭoḍlu
2. Raṭṭaguḍi - („) Raṭṭaguḍlu
3. Raṭṭaguḍi
4. Māramma Calki Raṭṭaguḍi
5. Kuṟṟamma Vallava Raṭṭaguḍi
6. Uttamāditya Raṭṭaguḍlu
7. Cōḷiya Raṭṭaguḍlu
8. Gaṅga Raṭṭaguḍlu
9. Raṭṭakuḍi

The above forms are found in the Telugu inscriptions[6] discovered in the Proddaṭūru, Jammalamaḍugu and Kamalāpuram taluks of Cuddapah district and in the Palnād taluk of Guṇṭūr district. From the evidence cited above it is clear that the term Reḍḍi evolved from Raṭṭakuḍi of the Telugu inscriptions of the seventh and probably of earlier centuries

In an inscription at Dīkshāram[7] dated in the 34th year of Kullōttuṅga Cōḷadēva I the terms *Raṭṭaḍamu* (the office of Raṭṭaḍi, one of the forms derived from Raṭṭakuḍi) and Rāṣṭrakūṭam are used as synonyms in the Telugu and Sanskrit passages respectively. This makes it clear that the term Rāṣṭrakūṭa was used as an equivalent in meaning to Raṭṭaḍi, the later form of Raṭṭakuḍi. Rāṣṭrakūṭa therefore can safely be taken to be the Sanskrit form of Raṭṭakuḍi (the components Rāṣṭra being equal to Raṭṭa and kūṭa to kuḍi). The Dēśi word Raṭṭakuḍi and the Sanskrit term, Rāṣṭrakūṭa being synonymous, are philologically the same. These terms were co-existent from very early times from about the seventh century or even earlier.

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6. Ep. Coll., Nos., 384. 400, 400 b, 408, 408, 408 (a) of 1904; 798 of 1917; 387 of 1905; Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 342 - 48.

7. S. I. I., IV, No. 1281.
"........*Krundorgrame Raṣṭrakūṭam sa-bhōgam*.........."
"...గుద్దవాదివాంటి క్రుందుటం రట్టడము..."

In fact, there were some Rāṣṭrakūṭa families which held sway over a greater part of the Deccan from the seventh century. Their records were all in Sanskrit, so much so, only the term Rāṣṭrakūṭa finds mention therein. Some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Mālkhēḍ are described in the Kannaḍa passages in their copper-plate records as *Raṭṭa* Vidyādharas, *Raṭṭa* Kandarpas, *Raṭṭa* kulabhūṣaṇas and *Raṭṭa* vaṁśōdbhavas. The terms, *Raṭṭakulabhūṣaṇa* and *Raṭṭa vaṁśōdbhava* mean an ornament of the Raṭṭa family and one born of the Raṭṭa family respectively. They indicate that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were Raṭṭas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family was also called Raṭṭa kula or Raṭṭa vaṁśa.

Considerable difficulty is experienced in tracing the development of the term, Raṭṭakuḍi still further back owing to the absence of inscriptions written in South Indian languages during the early centuries of the Christian era. Even the term Rāṣṭrakūṭa is not met with in early incriptions. Only terms which are similar to Rāṣṭrakūṭa like Mahārāṣṭraka or Rāṣṭraka, find mention in records prior to the seventh century. We meet with the terms, Mahārāṣṭrakas in the Aihole inscription [8] of Pulakēśin II, dated in Śaka 556 (634—35 A. D.), Mahārathis in the Nānāghat, Kārli and Kanhēri inscriptions [9] of the Śātavāhana period, Raṭṭhikas in the Hāthigumpha inscription [10] of Khāravēla, king of Kaḷiṅga, and Rāṣṭrikas in the Aśōkan or edicts,[11] of which Rāsṭika (Shahabazgarhi), Rāṭraka (Mansera), and Risṭika (Girnar) are the variants. One can easily recognise some sort of philological relationship between Raṣṭrakūṭa and Rāṣṭrika of the Aśōkan edicts. Raṭṭa or Raṭṭika, a variant of Rasṭika, Rāṭraka or Rāṣṭraka may be recognised as the first member of the compound term, Raṭṭa-kuḍi.

Countries bearing names Āraṭṭa, Suraṭṭa, Maraṭṭa and Raṭṭapāḍi or Raṭṭavāḍi etc., are very well-known. It is an established principle that countries generally take their names after the tribes settling or inhabiting therein. From this axiom I am tempted to conclude that Āraṭṭa, Suraṭṭa, and Maraṭṭa were probably different clans of the same ethnic stock and belonged to the same tribe.

Rāṣṭra, the Sanskritised form of Raṭṭa means now a district or a province and Rāṣṭrika, Rāṣṭrīya or Rāṣṭrapāla was an official in charge of a Rāṣṭra. Even as early as the time of the Sātavāhanas raṭṭa or rāṣṭra came to mean a district or a province, e. g., Sātavāhanaraṭṭa. I hold the opinion that the term raṭṭa originally denoted the name of a tribe, and that it acquired the secondary meaning of a district or a province only at a later period.

8. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 6. –The country of the Mahārāṣṭrakas.
9. A.S.W.I., Vol. IV, p. 107; Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 61.
10. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 79, 1. 6.
11. A.S.S.I., Vol. I, p. 125; Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 458.

It is an admitted fact that the Indian population is a composite one, rather, an amalgamation of different tribes and races having their own respective culture and civilisation that had come and inhabited the Indian peninsula at some very remote period. The vocabulary of each tribal language consisted of words denoting their civilisation and institutions. As time rolled on, the different tribes and their vocabularies have got mixed up so thoroughly as to form a composite Indian nation and a composite Indian language (dialectical). The term raṭṭa or rāṣṭra which we now use to denote a province, probably acquired that meaning from the political constitution that had been in vogue among the Raṭṭas.

As stated before, the Sanskrit term Rāṣṭrakūṭa is equivalent to the *deśi* term Raṭṭa-kuḍi, *rāṣṭra* being the Sanskritised form of *Raṭṭa*. If such is the case the term *kūṭa* should correspond to *kuḍi*. Of the two forms raṭṭa-kuḍi and raṭṭa-guḍi the former is the correct and the early form and the latter, its variant and a late form; for, generally the initial gutteral letter *ka* of many of the *dēsi* terms in Telugu is now changed into *ga*. Then, what is meant by the term *kūṭa* or *kuḍi*?

While editing the Mālepāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra, the *ājñapti* of which was a certain Mārpiḍugu Raṭṭaguḍi, the late Rao Saheb Mr. H. Krishna Sastri made the following explanatory observations on the terms, Calki Raṭṭaguḍi (Salki Raṭṭaguḍi), Cōḷiya Raṭṭaguḍi, Vallava (Pallava) Raṭṭaguḍi etc., occurring in the Telugu inscriptions discovered in Cuddapah district. "Its (the term Raṭṭaguḍlu's) significance", says he, "as indicated by the context, appears to justify our connecting it with the later Sanskrit word, Rāṣṭrakūṭa which has been explained in the sense 'the headman of the village'...... . In some inscriptions Raṭṭaguḍi is found compounded wiht the name of a royal family as Salki-Raṭṭaguḍi, Gagga (Gaṅga) Raṭṭaguḍi, Cōḷiya-Raṭṭaguṭṭu etc. In these forms apparently the first part denotes the dynasty Salki or Calki, Gagga (Gaṅga), Vallava (Pallava, Vallabha or Rāṣṭrakūṭa), and Cōḷiya or Cōḷa under whose patronage the dignity (*Paṭṭamu*) of Raṭṭaguḍi was held by the individual or individuals who bore them. The familiar phrase 'Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhān kuṭumbinaḥ' which occurs in copper-plate inscriptions, shows also that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, were Kuṭumbins, cultivators (*kuḍi* in Tamil) who enjoy a higher social status than others of their community.[12]"

In the passage given above the late Mr. Krishna Sastri tried to explain the prefixes Salki, Vallava, Gaṅga, Cōḷiya etc., and opined that Raṭṭakuḍi like its equivalent, Rāṣṭrakūṭa was the name indicating the

12. Ep. Ind, Vol. XI, pp. 342 - 48.

dignity (*paṭṭapu pēru*). He did not attempt to explain the second component *kuḍi* or *guḍi* in Raṭṭaguḍi. He almost touched the point but did not account for it. It was the late Dr. Fleet who, while editing some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, was confronted with doubt as to how he should explain the term *kūṭa* in Rāṣṭrakūṭa.

"Now the word, *kūṭa*" writes Dr. Fleet, "has the meaning among others of 'the highest, most excellent, first' derived no doubt from its meanings of 'any prominence, a peak or summit of a mountain'. In literature it occurs in that meaning in the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, (2, 9, 19), where Bhagavat (Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa) is represented as addressing Brahman as '*kūṭayōginām*' — 'O Chief of ascetics'. In Epigraphic records it is used in the same meaning in the official title '*grāmakūṭa*', a 'chief or headman of a village,' and also in the word, Rāṣṭrakūṭa in an official title meaning the headman of a territorial division, technically known as a rāṣṭra. The word in the same meaning was plainly employed in making up the full family name, Rāṣṭrakūṭa. And the use of it to fill out and give sufficient pomp to that form of the name very probably suggested by the actual existence of the word Rāṣṭrakūṭa as an official title. But we need not think that the name is itself the official title or that, like the official title, it means a headman of rāṣṭra. It was plainly intended to mean 'highest, most excellent' chief or leader of the Raṭṭas".[18]

If, as Dr. Fleet contends, *kūṭa* in Rāṣṭrakūṭa means a chief it is unintelligible why another word *pramukha* denoting the same meaning had to be used as in '*Rāṣṭrakūṭa - pramukhān*' of the Eastern Cāḷukyan copper - plate grants. The second suffix having the same meaning as the first one is redundant and unnecessary. The very addition of *pramukha* to *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* connotes that *kūṭa* should have some meaning other than what was given by Dr. Fleet. When he edited the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions he does not seem to have consulted the Telugu inscriptions discovered in Cuddapah district containing the term Raṭṭakuḍi or Raṭṭaguḍi. Either they had not been discovered by that time, or if discovered, his attention was not drawn to them because of their very recent discovery. If he was aware of the term, Raṭṭaguḍi his remarks on Rāṣṭrakūṭa would have been probably different.

In Raṭṭakuḍi the second part *kuḍi* seems to be a *Dēśi* word, and the abbreviated form of *kuḍiyan* which means a cultivator, a ryot or a farmer (a *kāpu*). The term *kuḍi* in the above sense still obtains in the words *kuḍivāram* (the cultivator's share as against mēlvāram or the king's share) and in *kuḍitala* (meaning land). *Kuḍi* in Raṭṭakuḍi

18. Ibid, Vol. VII, p. 222.

therefore seems to connote that the Raṭṭas were mainly *Kuḍiyans* or *Kāpus*, that is, cultivators. Even to-day the usage *Reḍḍi-Kāpu* is in currency in the Telugu country.

The Raṭṭakuḍis of the Telugu inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries were a section of the Raṭṭas who spread over the whole of the Central Deccan in a very remote period and had their settlements both in the Canarese and the Telugu countries. The term *Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukha* finds mention in the copper-plate records of the coastal Andhra Country from about the seventh century. It is absent in the grants of the Pallavas, Bṛhatphalāyanas, Śālaṅkāyanas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins- the dynasties that ruled the coastal Andhra country before the seventh century. It was Jayasiṁhavallabha I, the Eastern Cāḷukya monarch, son of Viṣṇuvardhana I who addressed for the first time the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhas at the time of making a grant of some land or village to brāhmans. This shows that the Raṭṭakuḍis spread along the sea-board as far north as Kaḷiṅga, and that they became the leaders of the village communities by the time of Jayasiṁha Vallabha I. Ever since that time, they maintained their reputation as the chiefs of the cultivating class of the Telugu country. The kings therefore found it necessary, at the time of making grants of lands or villages to brāhmans, to inform and address the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhas* inhabiting a *nāḍu* (a territorial division) in which the land or village donated lay.

From the seventh century onwards some of the members of the Raṭṭkuḍi families held important posts also in the administration of the country. They were the *ājñaptis*, that is, executors of grants under the Telugu Cōḷa rulers of the Rēnāḍu country.

These leaders of the Raṭṭakuḍis in each village appear to have been responsible for the agricultural tax, either in kind or coin, to be paid to the king by the cultivators. This duty of collecting the king's share of produce from the village devolved in course of time on the chief leader of the Raṭṭakuḍis who eventually became a prominent officer of the state, the headman of the village, and the connecting link between the rulers and the ruled. His office was known as Raṭṭaḍamu, a term which came into vogue when the form of Raṭṭaḍi, a developed form of Raṭṭakuḍi was in currency. After the form Raḍḍi came into use, the office was known as Raḍḍikikamu. Now it goes by the name of Reḍḍikamu since Reḍḍi is the form now in currency. The office has been known as Raṭṭaḍamu, Raḍḍikamu or Reḍḍikamu in accordance with the duties originally performed by a Raṭṭaḍi (Raḍḍi or Reḍḍi) even if the office-holder were other than a Reḍḍi by caste.

CHAPTER V.

PRŌLAYA VĒMAREḌḌI.

(A. D. 1324-25 to Cir. A. D. 1353)

The facts and circumstances under which the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu took its birth, have not all come to light. The available material is scanty and not well sifted at that. The foundation of this kingdom, we may say, was the result of one of the several attempts made by nobles and statesmen of the mediaeval Andhra country to restore peace and order out of the political turmoil and anarchy which followed the expulsion of Muslims from the land. It came into existence as the custodian of Hindu *dharma* and culture, and to revive the old Vēdic traditions and ritual which suffered a death blow and became almost extinct under an alien rule The Mallavaram record[1] of Vēma dated in S'aka 1247 is a very important one in the history of the Andhras in general, and of the Reḍḍis in particular. In fact, it marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Telugu country. The coastal tract was liberated by the date of that record.

Vēmā Reḍḍi, son of Prōlaya Reḍḍi, a chieftain of *Pākanāḍu* or *Pūṅgi viṣaya* was the real founder of the *Reḍḍi* kingdom The Mallavaram record describes him as the virtual Agastya to the ocean of the Mlēchchas' *Mlēchch=ābdhi-Kumbh=ōdbhavaḥ*). It is clear from this that he had taken an active and almost the chief part in ejecting the Mussalmans. An ardent supporter of Hindu *dharma*, Prōlaya Vēma placed all his resources in men and material at the disposal of Prōlaya Nāyaka in the struggle for the liberation of his country and strove hard with the help of his brothers and relations to free it from the Muslim yoke. He knew that the strength of the Hindus lay in their union and so co-operated willingly with the other Hindu nobles. Their combined efforts bore fruit and their object was at last achieved. Hindu supremacy was firmly established in the coastal region.

The limits of Vēma's sphere of action during this troubulous period are in a way defined by the mention, in the Mallavaram inscription, of the three important rivers, the Brahmakuṇḍi or *Kuṇḍiprabhā (Guṇḍlakamma), the Kṛṣṇā and the Gautamī.* It was probably during this period that Vēma, as stated in the above

1. N. D. I., III, O. 79, p. 1022; *Forgotten chapter*, pp. 39—40, foot note, 7.

inscription, granted to brāhmans serveral *agrahāras* situated on the banks of the above-mentioned three rivers, - *agrahāras* which were probably in the enjoyment of the donees before the Pre-Muslim occupation of the country, - after rescuing them from the enemy. This is in a way borne out by two lithic records, one dated[2] Śaka 1237/1315 A.D., and the other undated,[3] at Mōgallu (Bhīmavaram taluk, West Godavari district) which register gifts of lands to a Śaiva poet and *ācārya* Pramathakavi Śirigiri (Śrīgiri) dēvayyanigāru. Anavēma is the grantor in the undated record. This Śaiva poet, as is evident from the dated record, was a contemporary of the last Kākatiya monarch, Pratāparudradēva who ruled till Śaka 1245/1323 A.D. Considering the nearness of time Anavēma, the donor in the undated record may be identified with Vēma, son of Kōmaṭi Prōlā Reḍḍi. This undated record supports the above contention that Vēma re-granted lands probably after freeing them from the possession of the Muslims and that his activities extended as far north as the Gōdāvarī.

We do not know about Vēma's political status and his relations with Prōlaya Nāyaka, the leader of the confederacy of nobles after the liberation of the country. It is however to be presumed that he was loyal and subordinate to Prōlaya Nayaka; for, one of the later Reḍḍi inscriptions, the Kaluvacēṛu grant[4] states that Vēma was one of the seventy five nayāks that served Kāpaya Nāyaka, the cousin and successor of Prōlaya Nayaka.

Prōlaya Vēma was ably aided in these wars by his powerful brothers and his maternal uncles, Pōtaya, Nāgaya, and Ciṭṭaya. MallāReḍḍi, the youngest brother of Vēma was, according to the Mallavaram inscription and the Telugu work *Harivaṁśam*, the commander of the Reḍḍi army. He warded off a Muslim invasion of the young Reḍḍi principality by defeating the hosts of Turuṣka-mallas like Alāvadīn and others.[5] This Alāvadīn was no other than Alā-ud-Dīn, the first Bahmanī Sultān of Gulbarga who ascended the throne in 1347 A. D. (Śaka 1269). The Muslims did not stop with invading Teliṅgānā

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2. EP. Coll., No. 753 of 1920.
3. Ibid, No. 754 of 1920.
4. A.S.P.P., Vol. II. pp. 93 to 112; *Bharati*, Vol. XXI, (1944), *June* and *July* numbers; *Forgotten Chapter*, Appendix, I . pp. 110–111.
5. Mack. Mss., No. 15-4-42; The Pedapūḍi grant of KōmaṭiReḍḍi.

   वेमाधिपस्यावरजोपिमल्लभूवल्लभोसौ जगदेकमल्ल:

   अल्लावदीनादितुरुष्कमल्लान् समुल्लसद्भङ्गगणान्विजिग्ये ॥

   The same verse is also found in the commentary on the *Girīśa śrtisūktimala* written by ŚivaliṅgaBhūpa of the Kandukūru branch of the Reḍḍis.

(Hyderabad state), the Warangal kingdom of Kāpaya Nāyaka, but seem to have crossed the Kṛṣṇā river and attacked the Reḍḍi dominion. Mallā Reḍḍi, the commander of the Reḍḍi forces drove them away after inflicting a severe defeat on the Bahmanī Sultan, Alā-ud-Dīn and protected the Reḍḍi kingdom. The date of this invasion cannot be fixed precisely. It must however have taken place some time after the coronation of Alā-ud-Dīn in 1347 A. D.[6] All the brothers of Vēma as well as his son, Anavōta, assisted him in his campaigns and contributed much to his success. Mallā Reḍḍi, the commander of the army, is particularly credited, according to the *Harivaṁśam*, to have put to flight a group of enemy kings by the prowess of his arms and captured the famous sea-port of Mōṭupalli[7] (in the Bāpaṭla taluk of Guṇṭūr district), the '*Caitravura*' (the summer resort) of the Kākatīya records. Though the date of the conquest of Mōṭupalli cannot be fixed definitely, it is not unlikely that Mallā Reḍḍi achieved this victory during the early campaigns of Prōlaya Vēma in the coastal region. The capture of Mōṭupalli did not, however, give Vēma the entire command of the east coast. A large part of it still remained outside the jurisdiction of his authority. However, as a result of their successful campaigns the Reḍḍis grew powerful, and their importance increased in the coastal tract.

The Reḍḍis regarded themselves as masters of the south-eastern portion of the Kākatīya dominion extending from Śrīśailam in the Nandikōṭkur taluk[8] of Kurnool district to the east coast. They continued to administer this region as usual, as in the time of Pratāparudra with Addanki on the river Kuṇḍiprabhā or Guṇḍlakamma (in the Ongole taluk, Guntur district) as their capital. With their strong arms they conquered the rebel chiefs in their neighbourhood and assumed the role of independent rulers.

Of the five sons of Prōlaya Reḍḍi of Pākanāḍu Vēma was easily the most important. None of his brothers had his military skill, and

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6. Vide. *Forgotten Chapter*. p. 80.

7. బాహాదర్పమునం బ్రతిప ధరణీపాలావలిం దోలి యు
త్సాహోదగ్రుఁడు మోటుపల్లిఁ గొని సప్తద్వీపసద్వస్తుసం
దోహంబుల్ దన కిచ్చు వచ్చెలి సముద్రుం బ్రీతిఁ గావించుమఱ్ఱ
మాహాత్మ్యంబు వహించె మల్లరథనీనాథుండు గోష్ఠీస్థలిన్॥

—Hr. Vm. I, i. v. 28.

8. Inscriptions of Reḍḍi nobles like Ceṟuku Jagadaḷu Bollaya Reḍḍi and his son Rudradēva who held the position of the Mahāsamantas during the Kakatīya rule, are found in the Nandikōṭkūr taluk (Vide, Rangachari - Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency, Vol. II.p. 948, No. 409 Loc. Rec. It was probably because of this fact that Prōlaya Vema regarded the territory as far as Śrīśailam as belonging to the Reḍḍis and brought it under his sway.

far-seeing statesmanship. In his love of Hindu religion and institutions he truly represented the spirit of the age and the soul of the movement for the revival of Hindu *dharma*. Along with Prōlaya Nāyaka he took a lead in organising the forces of the country and concerting measures for its defence against possible Muslim attacks. He built a large number of forts, tradition says it was eighty four, like Dhānyavāṭī or Dharaṇikōṭa (Amarāvati), Dhanadaprōlu (Tsandavol), Vinukoṇḍa, Koṇḍavīḍu, Koṇḍapalli and Bellaṁkoṇḍa and stationed garrisons in places of strategic importance.[9] His brothers and kinsmen who were attached to him and served him loyally, carried out his behests with unswerving devotion. They helped him in establishing law and order, and were mainly responsible in building a powerful Rēḍḍi principality south of the Kṛṣṇā.

Vēma I thus became the leader of the Paṇṭa Reḍḍis and master of the new kingdom, the principality of Addaṅki which has destined to play a notable part in the history of the Andhra country for over a century. Although this Reḍḍi principality came into existence as a result of the combined efforts of Prōla's family and his relations Vēma I is generally regarded as its founder, as it was under his direction that they worked. It is not, however, easy to explain how Vēma I was chosen king of the new principality in preference to his elder brother, Mācā Reḍḍi. From 1325 A.D., Reḍḍi inscriptions refer to Vēma as the ruler of the Reḍḍi territory and not to his brother. In the light of available evidence, it is reasonable to state that Vēma's brothers and kinsmen recognised him as their chief from the beginning of the Reḍḍi rule. The causes for this, of course, are not known, but that, however, is a different matter.

Mācā Reḍḍi loyally obeyed and assisted his brother in setting up an independent state of the Reḍḍis. The region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā at the end of its course was entrusted to his charge. He seems to have administered this region with Dhanadaprōlu, the modern Tsandavol (Rēpalli Taluk, Guṇṭūr district) as his headquarters. The Sanskrit prose work '*Vēmabhūpālacaritam*' written by poet Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa refers to Dhanadapura as one of the *Śākhānagaras*[10].

Vēma I ruled his dominion practically as an independent chief, though nominally acknowledging his allegiance to Prōlaya Nāyaka and his successor, Kapaya Nāyaka. This subordination did not, however,

9. *Koṇḍavīṭidaṇḍakavile.*

10. " ....धनदपुरप्रभृतीनि शाखानगराणि, बङ्कयाणानि द्वीपान्तराणि ....
भुजेन भूषणमिव भुवनभार मुद्वहन्, वन्द्यो बभूव माचभूपाल:"

—Vm. Cr., III, p. 101

last long. The first invasion of Telingānā by the Bahmanī Sultān, Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh shook the power of Kāpaya Nāyaka. The defeat he sustained at the hands of the Sultān greatly enfeebled his authority over the coastal region. He was not able to maintain his hold firmly either over the country above the Ghats or the region below. As a matter of fact, ever since the establishment of the Bahmanī kingdom in the neighbourhood of Warangal, Kāpaya Nāyaka was unable to turn his attention to the affairs of the coastal tract. His Gaṇapēśvaram inscription [11] dated in Śaka 1268, i.e., 1346 A. D., is his latest extant record. He seems to have appointed his cousin Toyyēṭi Anavōtā Nāyaka as his representative to carry on the administration of this region. His inscription [12] at Dākshāram is dated just the next year, that is, Śaka 1269 (1347 A. D.).

Vēma I was not slow to take advantage of this state of affairs. Kāpaya Nāyaka's cousin and representative, Anavōtā Nāyaka was not powerful enough to keep in check the growing power of the coastal chieftains. Vēma I realised Anavōta's weakness and incapacity to afford protection to people from external attacks either Muslim or Hindu. So he decided to carve out his own future and act independently. He broke his bonds of allegiance to the Musunūri chiefs and organised the defence of his dominion to ward off possible enemy-attack. He was now a full fledged independent ruler exercising authority in his own name.

The Kuluvacēṟu grant [13] of Anitalli, dated Śaka 1345 (1423 A. D.) gives a different account of Vēma's assumption of independent rule. It says that Vēma, originally one of the seventy five subordinate chiefs of Kāpaya Nāyaka, began to rule the territory independently only after the death of his overlord. This is the only record which indicates the political relationship that existed between the Musunūri chiefs and Vēmā Reḍḍi, and it is on the authority of this record that Vēma's allegiance to the Musunūri chiefs has been postulated above. However, there is an important discrepancy presented by this account. The statement made by the above record regarding Vēma's independent rule, is contrary to the known facts. Kāpaya Nāyaka was not only a contemporary of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Shān but also of his son, Muhammad Shāh I who ascended the throne in 1359 A.D. Excluding for argument's sake, even his early records, the Mallavaram and the Nekarikallu [14] inscriptions, Vēma was issuing grants in

11. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 950.
12. Ibid, No. 1294.
13. A. S. P. P., Vol. II, pp. 98 ff; *Bharati* (1914).
14. Ep. Coll., No. 240 of 1915.

his own independent capacity from Śaka 1254, that is 1332 A.D. This is the date of his Valivēṛu grant,[15] and of his Kuṅkalaguṇṭa inscription.[16] From that time onwards till Śaka 1275, i.e. 1353 A.D., the date of the latest record at Māṇikēśvaram[17] to refer to him, several inscriptions of his reign have come to light. In none of them is there any reference to his overlord Kāpaya Nāyaka, to conform with the usual custom observed in the inscriptions of other vassal chiefs. This shows that Vēma was independently ruling the country even while Kāpaya Nāyaka was alive. In fact, it was Kāpaya Nāyaka who outlived Vēma as is evident from the former's contemporaneity with Muhammad Shāh I. It is, therefore, wrong to say that Vēma assumed independence after the death of Kāpaya Nāyaka.[18] How this discrepancy arose and why such a wrong account was given in the Kaluvacēṟu grant is a mystery which is yet to be unravelled.

Vēma's records do not furnish any important historical information regarding his reign or his campaigns in different directions. They describe him in very general terms of customary hyperbole as 'a river with a great current to the trees of neighbouring kings,' as 'the full moon to the forest of water lilies of his friends,' and as 'a wind to the cotton of arrogant *manne* chieftains.' These statements do not help us in ascertaining Vēma's conquests or the extent of his dominion. The neighbouring kings and *manne* chiefs whom he conquered were probably the descendants of local nobles who held military fiefs under the Kākatīya monarchs. It is not unlikely that some of these were the chieftains of *bōyavihāradēśa* – country of the boyas, references to which are found in inscriptions[19] discovered in the Ātmakūr, Kanigiri and Udayagiri taluks in Nellore district, and the Telugu Cōḍa chiefs. From the time of the Western Cāḷukyas of Kaḷyāṇi these Cōḍa chiefs had become a formidable feudal power in the land and spread over great portions of Kammanāḍu[20] (comprising the present Narasāraopeṭa,

15. Loc. Rec., Vol. LVII, p. 181.
16. S.I.I., Vol. No. 589.
17. N.D.I., III, O. 78, p. 1037.
18. There must have been a strong reason for such an obviously incorrect statement in the Kaluvacēṟu grant. The political relations between the Musunūri chiefs and the Reḍḍis do not appear to have been smooth in the later period of the reign of Kāpā Nāyaka, or probably from the beginning of his reign. It seems certain that there was some rupture between the two houses as a result of the appointment of AnaVōta as the Viceroy of the coastal tract, or of some such question relating to administration.
19 Ibid, I,A. 37,p. 251; A. 38, p. 251; A. 39, p.255; Ibid, II, Kn. 4, p. 688; Kn. 10, p. 650; Ibid, III, U. 46, p. 1392.
20. A record (Ep. Coll. No. 402 of 1915) of Śaka 1327 at Appāpuram in the Narasāraopeṭa taluk, Guntur district states that Kammanāḍu formed part of "the Kōṭa province extending by the side of the sea along the river Ōṁkāra, overshadowed by the Śrīśailam hill" — Ep. Rep. 1916, p. 57.

Bāpaṭla and Ongole taluks in Guṇṭūr district) and Pākanāḍu (comprising the northern coastal taluks in Nellore district) in the coastal region. The country around Tripurāntakam (in the Mārkāpuram taluk of Kurnool district) was at one time under their sway. [21] Tripurāntakam is on the north-eastern side of the Nallamalai hills and served as the main outpost to control the region to its west and south, and to command the trade routes leading to the upland country. Vēma was not slow to realise its strategic importance. He conquered the Tripurāntakam region in the early years of his reign.

This region was the original abode of a branch of the Telugu Cōḍas who are called the Cōḍas of Ēṛuva or the Ēṛuva country. Of these Cōḍa chieftains, Kāmarāja. better known as Bhaktirāja, belongs to this period. According to his Madras Museum plates [22] he was at Śrīśailam or Śrīparvata (Nandikōṭkūr taluk, Kurnool district) in the course of a military campaign (*diśō jigīṣur = vicaran*) and made a gift of the village of Kaṇḍvakolnu to a bachelor Śaiva teacher, Śrī Viśvanātha [23] of the Kauśika gōtra, a resident of Śrīparvata in Śaka 1277[24]. It was probably at the same time he also granted the village of Ātukūru to the Lord of the Parvata (Parvatēśvara, that is, god Śrī Mallikārjuna of Śrīparvata) at the instance of a certain Pōlidēvayya, chief servant of the Saiva divine, Śānta Bhikṣāvṛtti yatīśvara of Śrīparvata, It was at the instance of the same Śaiva devotee Pōlidēvayya that he granted, probably about the same period, the village of Āmudālapalli [25] to god Tripurāntaka of Tripurāntakam (Mārkāpuram taluk, Kurnool district). Both Śrīparvata and Tripurāntakam were included, as we know, in the Reḍḍi dominion. Bhaktirāja

21. Ep. Coll., Nos. 190 and 280 of 1905
22. J. O. R. Vol. V, pp. 128. ff; *Bharati*, Vol. VIII, 1931, (July number), pp. 120 ff.
23. Viśvanātha or Viśvēśvara seems to have been one of the powerful Śaiva teachers who exercised great influence over the Telugu chiefs of this period. Kāpaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family, according to the Kaluvaceṛu grant (A. s, p. p. Vol. II, pp. 93 ff), assumed the reins of government after the death of his cousin Prōlaya Nayaka and ruled his kingdom at the behest of Viśvēśvara. This Viśvēśvara appears to be identical with Viśvanatha to whom Bhaktiraju granted the village of Kaṇḍvakolnu.
24. The English equivalent of the date is Monday, 7th November, 1356 A. D. (Vide *Bharati*, Vol. VIII, pp. 795 ff). The grant was made on Monday, on the 15th of the month of Kartika (Mahākārtikyam).
25. "భక్తిరాజాఖ్యుఁడేఁ బర్వతేశ్వరునకు
నర్పించెఁ జెలువాఁగు నాతుకూరు
ధరణిఁ ద్రిపురాంతకున కాముదాలపల్లె
రాయవేశ్యాభుజంగుఁడుల్లాసయిచ్చె
నిట్టి ... ...

must have been there either as a friend or as a foe of the Reḍḍis. The villages he donated to gods Tripurāntaka, Parvatēs'vara and to the Śaiva teacher Viśvanātha of Śrīparvata are enough to furnish the clue to locate his territory; but unfortunately, it is not possible to establish their identity as there are many villages bearing those names in different districts in the Telugu country. Though Bhaktirāja was an Ēṛuva chief he does not appear to have been ruling over that region. It is also not yet known if his father Gaṅgādhara and his grandfather Sōmarāja were ruling Ēṛuva; and if they were dispossessed of their principality by the Reḍḍi kings. These questions have to be solved by future research. There is however reason to believe that Bhaktirāja was a friend of the Reḍḍis in the beginning of their rule and that he was a younger contemporary of Anavēma[26] or Prōlaya Vēma. The Telugu works *Kāśīkhaṇḍam*[27] and *Śivalīlāvilāsam* inform us that

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26. Ep. Coll., No. 754 of 1920; He is also called AnnamaVēma and AnnayaVēma.

"శ్రీకంఠ బాహావిభవ
వ్యాకుంఠిత వైరిగణ యన్నయవేమా ! —Hr. Vm., II, iii.
... ... కీర్తి సుధా
సేకధవళీయమాన ను
హాకతుల భవాండభాను యన్నయవేమా ! —Ibid, I. vi.

27. "అనవేమక్షితిపాలు పౌత్రియగు వేమాంబా మహాదేవిఁ బ్రే
మునఁ దక్కల్లడ భూమిపాలనకు . . .. " – Ks. Kh., I.

"ధరిత్రీనిధి యమ్మహీరమణుఁ డొప్పన్ బోలభక్తిక్షితీ
శ్వరనామాంకుండు భీమలింగనృపు జేశేక్షత్రియున్ బుత్రి భా
స్వర కారుణ్యదరాజవాహనవిరాసంధాత్రి వేమాంబికన్
వరియించెన్ ఐతిభక్తి గౌరవవృధవ్యాపార నిత్యాంబికన్ " —Sv. Vl., I.

While describing the descent of Allaḍa in his *Kas'ikhaṇḍam* S'rīnātha informs us that Allāḍa's wife Vēmāmbikā was *pautri* (grand-daughter, of Anavēma whom the Telugu scholars and historians identified with his namesake, brother of Anavōta and second son of Prōlaya Vēma. As Anavēma, brother of Anavōta, is not known to have had any male issue, the late S'rī Chilukūri Vīrabhadra Rao, the author of the '*History of the Andhras*' (three Vols), interpreted the term *pautri* as *putryaḥputrī* (daughter's daughter). This interpretation was accepted by all. According to this interpretation Vēmaṁbikā, wife of Allāḍa, was the daughter of Bhimaliṅga or Bhīma Cōḍa by the daughter of Anavēma, son of Prōlaya Vēma. If this identification is accepted we have to take Bhīmaliṅga to a late date. As Allaḍa was already actively taking part in the political affairs of the kingdom during Kumāragiri's rule as will be shown later on, he was not much removed in time from Anavēma to be the husband of his grand-daughter. Moreover, Bhīmaliṅga was probably a step-brother of Annadeva Cōḍa, another son of Bhaktirāja. According to the Rajamahendravaram record (Mack Mss., Nos. 15-5-86 and 15-4-4) Annadeva Cōḍa's coronation took place in S'aka 1289 (see, J. A. H. C., Vol. I, p. 40 f. n. 8), and he was already contesting for his kingdom in S'aka 1310 during the reign of Komaragiri. In the light of all these facts I presume Bhimaliṅga to be Annadeva Coḍa's elder brother. To be consistent with this presumption I take Anavēma, grand-father of Vemaṁbika, to be no other than Prōlaya Vema. Like Doḍḍāmbikā he might have another daughter who was given in marriage to Bhīmaliṅga or Bhima Coḍa, son of Bhaktirāja.

Bhaktirāja's son, Bhīmaliṅga or BhīmaCōḍa, married the daughter (name not given) of Anavēma or PrōlayaVēma. Hence, it is not unreasonable to think that Bhaktirāja was not only a friend but also a relative of Vēma and probably helped the latter in his early conquests in the Tripurāntakam and Śrīśailam regions.

Inscriptions of the Reḍḍi chiefs in this region are found from Saka 1268, the date of Vēma's earliest record [28] at Tripurāntakam. A certain Rāma Nāyaka's subordinate, the lord of Ālakuṇṭala, and a noble of this period claims to have captured the forts belonging to Karikāla Cōḍa and cut off the head of one Manuma Mallidēva [29], a Cōḍa chief presumably of this region. These conquests, whether effected during Vēma's reign or not, indicate that there were Cōḍa chieftains in this region before or about the time of the Reḍḍi kings. It is likely that AnnamaReḍḍi [30] and Anavōta, Vema's brother and son respectively, took an active part in the conquest of this region and in its defence against enemies. Anavōta is referred to in a record [31] of Vēma at this place. His paternal uncle Annama Reḍḍi had his gifts to god Tripurāntaka registered in a record [32] dated in Saka 1269 (1347 A. D.). Anavōta, the heir-apparent and one of the chief commanders of the Reḍḍi forces, was probably the governor of Tripurāntakam.

Extent of Vēma's territory:

Vēma's authority extended far beyond Tripurāntakam, over the region including Śrīśailam and Ahōbalam, the places of pilgrimage for the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas respectively. Vēma earned the gratitude of thousands of pilgrims by building steps to facilitate the ascent to the great shrines of god Mallikārjuna on Śrīśailam and of god Nṛsiṁha on Ahōbalagiri, and for the descent to the Pātāḷagaṅgā of the Kṛṣṇā there. These places of pilgrimage indirectly suggest the limits of Vēma's authority in the western quarter. The date of Vēma's construction of these steps may be fixed with tolerable certainty. His Mallavaram and Madras Museum records [33] do not allude to this act of piety. The

28. Ep. Coll., No. 191 of 1905.
29. Ibid, No. 184 of 1905.
30. Vēma's brother Annā Reḍḍi was one of the commanders of the Reḍḍi forces. He is described in the *Harivaṁśam* as follows :
అన్నచమూవరుండు సకలాగ్రపమాన్యుఁడు పెన్నదానవు
పన్నుఁ డభిన్నబాహుబలభాసి ధరాంల్ల ఘీకరోగ్రూజనా
పన్నతి దిక్ప్రాంతుం డెదసన్న దరోత్ప్రసన్నభావుఁ
భ్యున్నతరాలి కీర్తిశుభోదయుఁ డూర్జితుఁడెయ్యెనెయ్యెడన్.
31. Ep. Coll., No. 191 of 1905.
32. Ibid, No. 250 of 1905.
33. Ep. Ind., Vol, VIII, pp. 9 ff.

earliest inscription to refer to it is his Muṭlūrū grant [84] dated Śaka 1265. All the Reḍḍi records subsequent to this grant allude to this work of merit of Vēma without fail. Hence, it seems reasonable to conclude that the building of steps at Śrīśailam and Ahōbalam was completed by March 1346, or a little earlier.

Now, the absence of Vēma's inscriptions in the region to the south of the Kandukūr taluk of Nellore district, makes it difficult to fix precisely the southern limit of his authority. A considerable portion of Pakanāḍu, the original habitat of the Reḍḍis, must have been liberated by Vēma very early in his reign. He was the earliest chief to take advantage of the defeat of the Mussalmans in the coastal region to extend his authority as far south as the Pennār. Nellore or Vikramasiṁhapura was the native place of his maternal grandfather. According to *Vēmabhūpālacaritam* his father, Prōla or Kōmaṭi Prōla, married Anantāmbā alias Annemāmbā, daughter of Doḍḍa Reḍḍi of Vikramasiṁhapura. [85] Ciṭi Peddana, grand-father of Peddana who was the minister of his son Anavēma Reḍḍi, was the governor of Vikramasiṁhapura [86] (*Vikramasiṁhapur-ādhyāsi*) evidently under Prōla or his son Vēma. Ciṭi Peddana's family rose to power and influence in the service of the Reḍḍi chieftains. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the territory as far as Nellore was under Vēma Reḍḍi in the beginning of his reign. Records of the Koṇḍavīṭi family are, however, conspicuous by their absence in the region to the south of Kandukūru.

It did not take much time for Vēma to discover that he was confronted with another rising Hindu kingdom, Vijayanagar, which was fast developing into a formidable power by the united efforts of Harihara I and his brothers of the Saṅgama dynasty. The Aṭakalaguṇḍu inscription, [87] dated in Śaka 1261, that is, 1339 A.D., and the

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84. *Reḍḍi Rāṇi*, Vol. III (Sept. 1926), No. 12.

In fact, the construction of steps to Śrīśailam is referred to in the prose passage (*Śrīśaila-śikhar=ākrāṁta-saupāna-racanā-śrēyas-saṁpādita*, etc.) in the Mañcaḷḷa record of Vēma dated Śaka 1262. This act of piety of Vēma is much praised in almost all the Reḍḍi charters without fail. If this work was already accomplished by the time of the Madras Museum plates, I think it would have certainly found mention therein. The original plates of the Mañcaḷḷa grant are lost. We cannot pin our faith too much on every title and passage in the prose portion containing the praśasti. I doubt if the passage referring to the act is genuine.

85. *Vēmabhūpālacaritam*, III p. 97. This work states that Prōla Reḍḍi's father-in-law had his daughter Anantāmbā or Annamāmbā by the favour of god Skanda(III, 17), and that he was a native of Vikramasiṁhapura. It gives him the title "*Udghaṭṭita-ripubalaluṇṭhakaraghaṭṭa*"; but does not mention his name.

86. Sr. Nd. I, v. 22

87. Mack. Mss., No. 15 - 4 - 27.

Akumaḷḷa copper plate grant [38] dated in Śaka 1262 (1340 A.D.) of Harihara I give him the title *pūrva-paścima-samudr-ādhīśvara*, lord of the eastern and western seas. This significant title suggests that by 1339 A.D., the dominions of Harihara I extended upto the coast both on the east and on the west. This fact is further attested by the provenance of inscriptions of Vijayanagar kings and nobles in the Kōvūr, Kāvali and Udayagiri taluks of Nellore district prior to 1346 A.D. The first Vijayanagar record [39] in Nellore district is that of Virūpaṇṇa Oḍeyar, son of Bukka I, brother of Harihara I, and was dated in Śaka 1265 or 1343 A.D. The next one is the Koḍavalūru (in the Kōvūr taluk, Nellore district) inscription [40] of Kampaṇa Oḍeyar, younger brother of Harihara I, dated Śaka 1268 or 1346 - 47 A.D. We understand from this record that Kampa I was in charge of the region to the north of the Pennār. The above records prove that the kings of Vijayanagar extended their authority along the Pennār valley and were already masters of the region to the south-west of Kanigiri and Kandukūr, which they must have wrested from the Reḍḍis some time before 1343 A.D. They consolidated their power in this region by fortifying Udayagiri [41], and making it their chief and important stronghold in the east. Udayagiri, lying as it did on the south-western flank of the Reḍḍi kingdom, became a standing menace to it ever threatening its existence. In this way, the two rising kingdoms of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu and of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, ever since the beginning of their rule, came into conflict with one another in their struggle for supremacy in the coastal region, and this fight lasted for over a century.

The northern limits of Vēma's kingdom do not appear to have extended beyond the Kṛṣṇā river. No doubt, the field of his early activities spread as far as the Gōdavarī; but it does not seem to have been the northern frontier of his kingdom. All the records of Vēma's reign are found to the south of the Kṛṣṇā which, therefore, may be regarded the northern boundary of the Reḍḍi principality during his rule.

The region to the north of the river, Kṛṣṇā was under the sway of the Musunūri chiefs and other local chieftains, probably their subordinates. The Musunūri chief Anavōta, popularly known as

38. Ibid, No. 15 - 4 - 80.

39. Ibid, No. 15 - 4 - 17.

40. N D.I. II, No. 28, p. 789.

41. Some of the later Vijayanagar records refer to Udayagiri as the first *durga* belonging to the throne of the Rāyas (of Vijayanagar). *Rayasimhasanamuniki modalidurgamaina Udayagiri*, thereby implying that it was the first important *durga* acquired and constituted after the foundation of the Vijayanagar kingdom - Vide, N.D.I., II, Kn. 80, p. 543; Kn. 77, p. 617.

Toyyēṭi Anavōta Bhūpāla, cousin and viceroy of Kāpaya Nāyaka, ruled the Vēṅgī country with Rājamahēndravaram[42] as his capital.

Again the same river Kṛṣṇā divided the Reḍḍi kingdom on its southern bank from that of the Rēcerla chiefs in the north-west, in the Teliṅgānā country with their capital at Rājukoṇḍa.

Vēma ruled his new principality very ably and justly. He strove hard to relieve the brāhman and the peasant from their miserable plight and to give them protection and every facility to follow their own pursuits and professions, unmolested by foreign aggression and internal disorders. He thereby rightly earned the title *dharmapratiṣṭhāguru*, the revered that established the *dharma*. He lavished his resources in supporting learned brāhmans, the repositeries of secular as well as spiritual knowledge, and the custodians of Hindu rites and rituals. In fact, it was to achieve the above objects that Vēma felt the need of building up an independent kingdom. Restoring to brāhmans their *agrahāras*, which were in their enjoyment prior to the Muslim invasion, became his first and primary duty. He granted to brāhmans many new *agrahāras* and thus earned the titles of *nissīmabhūdāna Paraśurāma* and *aparimitabhūdāna Paraśurāma*, frequently alluded to in the records of the Reḍḍi kings and in the Telugu works dedicated to them. A stray *Cāṭu* verse[43] current in the Telugu country states that Vēma granted as many as forty four *agrahāras* to brāhmans, of which he granted three to the brāhmans of the Vēgināṭi sect, thirty-six to those of the Velanāṭi sect and five to the Drāviḍas who were brāhmans of the Tamil country, domiciled in the Andhra dēśa. From his title *anēkanagar=ōpakaṇṭha-pratiṣṭhāpita-bahuvidh=ārāma* we come to know that he took special pleasure in planting different kinds of groves in the neighbourhood of many a town[44]. In fact, the planting of a

42. " ... ... వేఁగి దేశంబులో
నేలు రాజమహేంద్రపురిని
నధిపతి తొయ్యేటి యనవోత భూపాలుఁ ... "

—Vs. Rm., I. v. 88.

43. तेषां श्रेष्ठतमो राजा वेमभूपालसत्तम:
ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशद्ग्रामान् ददौ क्रमात्
त्रयोवेगिकुलीनेभ्यः द्राविलेभ्यश्च पञ्चमान्
वेलनांटिकुलेभ्यश्च षट्त्रिंशद्ग्रामसत्तमाः (?).

44. "The special administrative measure speaks highly of the cultured tastes of the ruler of the fourteenth century and of the sanitary principle which he inculcated nearly six hundred years ago, in laying out such gardens for the benefit of the citizens."—Ep., Rep. for 1920, p. 120, para 60.

garden was one of the age-old *Saptasantānas* that perpetuate one's name on earth, and hence it was regarded as an act of merit.

Vēma made zealous attempts to revive the Hindu ritual and institutions. He extended his liberal patronage to brāhmans to perform religious sacrifices and earned the title of *anavarata-purōhita-kṛta-sōmapāna*[45], one who made the *purōhits* take the Sōma juice incessantly. In fact, this title as well as the title "*nissīmabhūdāna-Paraśurāma*[46], a virtual Paraśurāma in granting limitless land, indicate the nature of his conquest which was in a way to revive the *dharma* of the land. Vēma also made several gifts of a religious character referred to and explained at length in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of Hēmādri's great work *Caturvargacintāmaṇi.*

Vēma's Political Status:

Though in the beginning of his reign Vēma acknowledged in a way the supremacy of the Musunūri chiefs, he was, as explained already, practically independent in his own territory. Subsequent to the invasions of Teliṅgāṇā by the Bahamanī Sultān, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shāh he appears to have assumed full independence and ever since that time, he was busy in consolidating his conquests and placing the new principality on a firm basis. At the time of his death his authority extended as far as or a little beyond the Kṛṣṇā in the north and beyond Kandukūr (Nellore district) in the south and Śrīśailam (Kurnool district) in the west. His principality thus extended over a fairly large area, equal in size to, if not actually bigger than, the feudal kingdoms that flourished in the coastal region of the Andhra country during the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era. Yet, it is noteworthy that Vēma did not assume the title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* borne by independent rulers like the Kākatīya monarchs and by many of the feudal chiefs, some of whose territory was comparatively smaller in size than his own. In the place of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* we find only the simple and plain term *Śrīmatu.* Vēma's descendants followed his example and avoided the use of the title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, so that it is

45. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 243,

46. A śloka in the Naḍupūru Grant of Anavēma (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 286) describes Prolaya Vēma thus:

हेमाद्रिणा सम्प्रतिपादितानां
दानव्रतानां विधिवद्विधाता
निस्सीममुर्वीं द्विजसात्सकृत्वा
तद्भुक्तशेषां व्यधात् वसुन्धराम्॥ v. 5.

not found in any of the records of the Reḍḍi kings, either of Koṇḍavīḍu or of Rājamahēndravaram, even after the growth of their principality into a big kingdom. It may, however, be noted here that in two stone records [47] of the last years of his reign Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the fifth king of Koṇḍavīḍu is styled as Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā *maṇḍalēśvaruḍu.* We do not know if *maṇḍalēśvara*, an ordinary title like *maṇḍolika* was less conventional than the orthodox *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was the only Reḍḍi king to assume even this ordinary title. This finds mention in a record of his subordinate, and not of his own.

It may be pointed out here that the Musunūri chiefs, Prōlaya Nāyaka and Kāpaya Nāyaka also, did not assume that title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, though the latter is described as *Andhra dēśādhīśvara* and *Andhra suratrāṇa* in some of his inscriptions. And mention should be made here that the kings of Vijayanagar, Harihara I and Bukka I, almost from the start of their independent rule, assumed the title of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara.* [48]

This omission of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* in the records of the Musunūri chiefs and the Reḍḍi kings is significant. The exact reason for the avoiding of this important title, the royal prerogative of the rulers of the middle ages, not only in the Andhra country but in the whole of Southern India, is not known; but it may be explained in one of two ways. Neither the Musunūri chiefs, nor the Reḍḍi kings received the royal insignia from an overlord in the same way as the feudatory chiefs from the Caḷukya Cōḷa emperor, Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I. Nor did they find sanction for any such title from mythological or religious sources as the Gaṅgas of Kaḷiṅga and the Caḷukyas of Vēṅgī, who are said to have received their royal insignia from god Gōkarṇēśvara on the Mahēndragiri and from goddess Nandābhagavatī on the Caḷukyagiri respectively. Nor were they the descendants of kings of either lunar or solar dynasties that ruled the country before. These were perhaps

47. Ep. Coll., Nos. 327 and 328 of 1936–37.

48. The *Sukraniti* enumerates as follows the titles of rulers of different gradations according to their incomes. *Samanta* is one who has an income from one to three lakhs; *Mandalika* from four to ten lakhs; *Rajan* from ten to twenty lakhs; and *Maharaja* from twenty to fifty lakhs.

सामन्तनृपः प्रोक्तो यावल्लक्षत्रयावधि
तदूर्ध्वं दशलक्षान्तो नृपो मण्डलिकस्मृतः ॥
तदूर्ध्वंतुभवेद्राजा यावत्विंशतिलक्षकः
पञ्चाशल्लक्षपर्यन्ते महाराजः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

—SK. Nt., iv. 184–185.

the reasons that influenced them to refrain from the use of the title of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. What actually seems to have prevented them from assuming the title was not the want of desire or the lack of opportunity, but the Hindu tradition which did not countenance the step. The Hindu *Dharma Śāstras* did not probably give them sanction to assume the title as they were not Kṣatriyas. They were not justified in laying claim to the royal prerogatives and exclusive privileges pertaining to the Kṣatriya caste, though they were undoubtedly the masters of the land, and lords of the country. While striving to revive and uphold *dharma* as envisaged by the *Śāstras* and age long custom, the Reḍḍis and the Musunūri chiefs could not well go against their injunctions. The titles of *Andhra dēśādhīśvara* and *Āndhra suratrāṇa* ascribed to Kāpaya Nāyaka stand altogether on a different basis. They are ordinary titles and do not connote more than they were intended to carry, the lord of the Andhra country, and the Āndhra Sultān. The kings of Vijayanagar, Harihara I and Bukka I of the Saṅgama dynasty, claim to be Candravaṁśa Kṣatriyas – Kṣatriyas of the lunar race; they, therefore, were justified in assuming the title of *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* from the beginning of their independent rule.

This seems to be the possible explanation for the omission of the important title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* in the records of the Reḍḍi kings. The omission did not, however, lessen their regal power or importance. They were the undisputed rulers of the country which was won by their valour and strength of arms. Their commands were implicitly obeyed and loyally carried out. By the time of Vēma's death about Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) the Reḍḍi principality, which he founded, was a power to be reckoned with in the coastal region.

Vēma I had three sons, Anavōta I, Anamāca, and Anavēma and two daughters. Of the two, Doḍḍāmbā was given in marriage to Kāṭā Reḍḍi II,[49] son of Māraya and grandson of Kātaya Reḍḍi I. The other daughter, whose name is not known was married to Cōḍa Bhima, son of Bhaktirāja. Anamāca appears to have died a premature death. Vēma's brother Anna had a daughter, named Vēmāmbā[50] who was married to Nalla Nūnka, son of Nūka and grandson of Citta. During his own life time Vēma made Anavōta, the eldest of his sons, *yuvarāja*, the king designate, and gave him sufficient training in the administration of the country. According to tradition recorded in the *Mackenzie manuscripts* Vēma, being disabled to govern the country owing to the severity of an asthmatic complaint, placed the burden of the kingdom on his son and took rest.

49. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff; Introduction, *Sṛṅgāra Śakuntalavyakhya* by Kāṭaya Vēma.

50. Ep. coll., No. 572 of 1925.

Vēma's court poet Eṟṟā Pregaḍa gives, in the introductory verses of his *Harivaṁśam*, an account of his patron as man and king. Vēma was an expert bow-man and a great warrior. He was humble, pious and god-fearing, and a true disciple of Ghōḍeyarāya Gaṅgayadēva. He was very liberal to brāhmans well-versed in Vēdic lore and gathered round him many Sanskrit scholars and Telugu poets. He acquired eternal merit by having *sapta-santānas*, the seven kinds of off-spring that continue one's name on earth. He bestowed *agrahāras* on brāhmans eminent in learing and *tapas*, and established them as the performers of sacrifices; built temples, and constructed tanks and made them worthy ones; he instituted *nidhis* (treasures), supported brāhman *agrahāras*, set up feeding houses and sheds for supplying drinking water, and planted flower and fruit gardens He performed all the *vratas* and *dānas* prescribed by Hēmādri. Such were the achievements of Vēma, according to Eṟṟā Pregaḍa and we may well accept this description as truthful, as Eṟṟā Pregaḍa is rarely given to exaggeration on such points.

APPENDIX.

A NOTE ON THE CĪMAKURTI PLATE OF ANAVĒMA.

This record incised on a single copper-plate was secured by the Government department for Epigraphy from the karaṇam of Cīmakurti in the year 1920, and was edited in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 276 ff.

The inscription registers the grant of the village, Rāmatīrtham in the Ammanabrōlu sīma or division, situated in the Śrīśailabhūmi (the province of Srīśailam) as a *sarvāgrahāram* to Ciṭṭamūri Timmana-Bhaṭṭa Sāstrulu, son of KoṇḍuBhaṭṭāraka, and grandson of Kāmēśwara Bhatta of the Kauṇḍinya gōtra, Yajus-śākhā, and Āpastamba Sūtra, in the Śaka year 1257 corresponding to the cyclic year Yuva, on the occasion of the *manvādimahāpuṇyakāla* on Thursday, the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight in the month of Kārtika. In addition to the above, the donee was granted, in the five villages of Cīmakurti, Bhīmēśvaram, Pulikoṇḍa, Mailavaram and Komarapuri, a fourth portion of the land in leaf (betel) gardens and sugarcane fields in the dry and wet lands below the tanks as *sarvamānya*, and a sixteenth portion of all kinds of produce raised in the remaining three fourths portion of that land, a fifth part of the income in coin *suvarṇādāya* (in the above villages), a tenth portion of the grain produce in the villages other than those (mentioned above), that were irrigated by the waters of the big tank, and lastly, 200 kuṇṭas of land in every big village and 100 kuṇṭas of land in every small village, measured by a pole of sixteen *bāra*, in the whole of the *sīma* as *sarvamānya*.

A careful study of this record in all its bearings made me suspect its genuineness. The points that gave rise to this doubt are noted below:—

(i) The language of all the copper-plate grants of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, particularly of Vēmā Reḍḍi, registering gifts of land or *agrahāras* to brāhmans, was Sanskrit with the exception of the passage enumerating the boundaries, which was always in Telugu. This is Vēma's second copper-plate record written completely in Telugu the first being his Koṇḍapalli grant (C. P. No. 5 of 1925-26), published in the Telugu journal (now extinct) *Śārada*, Vol. III (1925), No. 1. (May) pp. 89 ff. This is also a forgery like the grant under review.

(ii) Grants of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu generally bear the signature of the donors at the end -Pallava Trinētra, Anavēma, Vīra

Nārāyaṇa etc. This plate does not end with any sign-manual. During the post-Kākatiya period the sign-manual was the life-breath of a copper-plate document.

(iii) The term 'basava' instead of 'basuva', the correct form then in use in inscriptions, was used in one of the titles, namely '*arirāyabasava-Śaṅkara*'.

(iv) The date of the grant is irregular. The details furnished by this grant do not work out correctly; for, in the year Yuva, corresponding to Śaka 1257, Kārtika Śu. di. 12 falls on Sunday, and not on Thursday as stated in the grant.

(v) The *praśasti* recorded in this inscription is unusually long and is not furnished by any of the inscriptions of the Reḍḍi kings, either of Koṇḍavīḍu or of Rajamahēndravaram. It contains titles like *jala-durgajaladhi-baḍabānalu*, *sthaladurga-havana-Halayudha*, *Kaḷiṅgarāya-mānamardana*, *manniyarāyamṛgavēnṭakāra*, *Voḍḍiyarāyanirdhūmadhāma*, *Janturnāṭarāyahallakallōla* which do not find mention in the other records of the Reḍḍi kings. "*Saṅgrāma-samuddaṇḍa-caṇḍabhujāsivikhaṇ-ḍita - śatrukīlālaḷ lavamāna-piśācagaṇa-stūyamāna-yaśōmaṇḍana* of the Amarāvati record of Prōlaya Vēma is faultily written as "*Saṅgrāma-samuddaṇḍa-caṇḍabhujāsivikhaṇḍitakṛtakīlāla*."

The titles *Kaḷiṅgarāyamānamardana*, *Voḍḍiyarāyanirdhūmadhāma*, and *Janturnāṭarāyahallakallōla* suggesting the conquest of Kaḷiṅga, the defeat of the king of Orissa and the victory over the king of Janturnāḍu are very significant. If these important historic events suggested by these titles were really true, it is unintelligible why they did not find mention in other inscriptions of the Reḍḍi kings, either of Vēma I or of his descendants. This is the only Reḍḍi record which states that Vēma conquered Kaḷiṅga and Orissa. This is not corroborated by any other available evidence.

(vi) The unlikely event of Vēma I leading an expedition to Kaliṅga is another factor that strengthens the doubt regarding its genuineness.

Let us consider if there was any possibility for Vema I to invade Kaḷiṅga. The date of the grant under review is Śaka 1257. It is not known if the Musunūri chief, Prōlaya, leader of the Hindu confederacy and the acknowledged lord of the coastal region, was alive or dead by that time. If the Kaḷiṅga invasion is accepted to be a fact, one of the following two alternatives has to be postulated: (i) Vēma I, Prōlaya Nāyaka's subordinate ally, could not have invaded Kaḷiṅga without inflicting a defeat on his overlord; (ii) if Prōlaya Nāyaka

or his successor Kāpaya Nāyaka had undertaken the Kaḷiṅga invasion, Vēma must have followed them. Evidence is wanting to prove both the above propositions, that Vēma I defeated his overlord and that the Musunūri chiefs led an expedition to Kaḷiṅga. Even if Prōlaya Nāyaka was dead by that time, his successor Kāpaya Nāyaka was the paramount lord of the coastal country till Śaka 1268, the date of his Gaṇapavaram record, and his successor was Toyyēṭi Anavōta (Vs. Rm., I. v. 33; S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1294). The Musunūri chiefs could not have tolerated Vēma's expedition to Kaḷiṅga and Orissa through their territory. Moreover, it was not the time for either Vēma or any other noble in the coastal tract to undertake an expedition of that sort, in or before Śaka 1257, the date of the grant under review, as their whole energy was concentrated in re-conquering Waraṅgal, which was finally wrested from the Muslims in Śaka 1258-59.

Under these circumstances I am unable to believe in Vēma's expedition to Kaḷiṅga either independently or on behalf of the Musunūri chiefs. The above considerations throw a doubt on the genuineness of the plate under review.

I am, however, ready to concede that the contents of the record are true. It seems to me that the original plates were lost, and this plate was subsequently fabricated to prove their claim over the lands and other proceeds, either in kind or coin, granted. The fabrication must have been done about the end of the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century; for, the exploits suggested by the titles of *Kaḷiṅgarāyamānamardana*, *Janturnāṭarāyahallakallōla*, and *Voḍḍiyarāyanirdhūmadhāma* were effected in the reign of Kumāragiri, as will be shown later on.

I, therefore, believe that this Cīmakurti plate is a forged one, prepared sometime after the fourteenth century.

CHAPTER VI.

ANAVOTA.

(Cir. 1353 A.D. to Cir. 1364 A.D.)

When Prōlaya Vēma died, his son Anavōta assumed the reins of government in about 1353 A.D., and ruled the kingdom in his own right independently.

Anavōta of the Musunūri family died at Rājamahēndravaram sometime before S'aka 1275. The region on the eastern bank of the Gōdāvarī was devoid of a ruler. Anavōta's cousin Kāpaya Nāyaka was unable to turn his attention to the affairs of the coastal region, having been apprehensive then of an attack by the Bahmanī Sultān, 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Shāh. The Mañcikoṇḍa chief, Mummadi Nāyaka of Kōṛukoṇḍa assumed the role of a king in deference to the wishes of his father, and enforced his authority on the entire dominion previously ruled by the Musunūri chief, Anavōta.

Enthused by the inviting nature of the political situation in the coastal region, Narasiṁhadēva IV of Kaḷiṅga thought it to be a favourable opportunity to extend his authority towards the west. Accordingly, he led an expedition to the western country, and, crossing the Gōdāvarī, advanced as far as S'rīkākuḷam in Kistna district. His inscription [1] at that place dated in S'aka 1275, that is, 1353 A. D., bears evidence to his victorious campaign. This is the first clash that history records between the Reḍḍi kings and the Gaṅga monarchs of Kaḷiṅga. The inscription alluded to above records the gift of jewels and other things by Narasiṁhadēva's queen, Gaṅgamahādēvī, made to god S'rī Vallabharāya of S'rīkākuḷam. These presents are said to have been offered personally by the king's generals Kāḷidāsa Sēnāpati, Gōvinda Sēnāpati, and Gōpālajiyya on behalf of the queen. Narasiṁhadēva's further progress to the south of the Kṛṣṇā appears to have been arrested probably by the vigilance and valour of the Reḍḍi nobles who compelled him soon to retreat. Evidence is lacking to show that he crossed the Kṛṣṇā, and that the conquered region remained under his authority for a long time.

Very soon we find Anavōta launching his eastern campaign probably as a counter measure. He might have also realised the

1. S. I. I., Vol., IV, No. 975.

necessity of uniting the whole of the coastal region under one banner, for the better defence of the country from any kind of aggression, and for the maintenance of law and order. Anavōtā Reḍḍi appears to have been greatly aided in this undertaking by his friend and ally Cōḍa Bhaktirāja. He was related to Cōḍa Bhaktirāja as his sister was given in marriage to the latter's son, Cōḍa Bhīma or Bhīmaliṅga, as stated in the previous chapter. The title *Dvīpa-jētā* (the conqueror of Dvīpa or Dīvi, given to Anavōtā Reḍḍi in his Dākshāram inscription[2] dated in Śaka 1278 / 1356 A.D., was obviously assumed by him after his conquest of Dvīpa, effected early in the course of his eastern campaign against Kaḷiṅga soon after crossing the Kṛṣṇā.

'Dvīpa', which Anavōta conquered, has to be identified with the island mentioned in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription[3] of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva. This Dvīpa, or Peda Dīvipura as it was also called, is identical with the village of Talagaḍa dīvi[4] in the Bandar taluk, Kistna district. Dhanada or Kubēra is said to have formerly created this Dvīpa at the junction of the Kṛṣṇavēṇī and the sea. Some centuries later, during the reign of Cōḍa, the Durjaya chief of Velanāḍu who had his capital at Tsandavōlu, his officer Nārāyana developed it into a big city with palaces, towers, lofty ramparts and extensive gardens. After the conquest of the coastal country, the Kākatīyas of Warangal made it one of their outposts and further strengthened it. The reduction of such an impregnable *jaladurga* defended, by virtue of its location at the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the sea, by a vast sheet of water all around, gave Anavōtā Reḍḍi the coveted title of *Dvīpa-jētā*. The campaign, begun with such a brilliant victory, was no doubt assured of success throughout. Neither the records of Anavōta nor of his brother Anavēma furnish details of this eastern campaign; yet, they give us to understand that Anavōta, after the conquest of Dvīpa, advanced into the heart of Kaḷiṅga, relentlessly carrying fire and sword.

In the course of his eastern campaign Anavōta must have come into conflict with numerous petty chiefs who were ruling over the intervening region between the Kṛṣṇā and Kaḷiṅga. Of such chiefs Mummaḍi Nāyaka of the Mañcikoṇḍa family, the ruler of Kōṟukoṇḍa was the master of Kōna, Kuravāṭa, Pānāra and other territories lying on either side of the Gōdāvarī at the time of Anavōta's invasion.

2. Ibid, No. 1387.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 82 ff; vv. 21, and 23.

4. Ibid, p. 84, foot note 3.

According to his Kōṟukoṇḍa inscription [5] he conquered these countries about Saka 1275 and succeeded in establishing his authority over the entire dominion of the Musunūri chief, Toyyēṭi Anavōtā Nāyaka. AnavōtāReḍḍi must have met with great resistance from Mummaḍi Nāyaka, who appears to have ultimately yielded and become his vassal.

The date of the eastern campaign of Anavōta is almost definitely known to us from his Dākshāram inscription. [6] Anavōta made, in the course of this invasion, either during his march to or his return from Kaḷiṅga. a gift of five bells to lord Bhīmēs'vara of Dākshāram, in Śaka 1278, that is, 1356 A. D., on Friday, the fifteenth date of the bright half of the month of Vais'ākha.

The Ippugallu grant,[7] one of the early records of Anavōta's brother and successor Anavēma, alludes to the former's invasion of the S'abara (Savara) country. The Paccani Tāṇḍipaṟṟu grant [8] of the same king explicitly states that Anavōta's sway was recognised over the territory extending as far north as the Mēkhala range an off-shoot of the Vindhyas to the north-west of Kaḷiṅga. These are simple hyperbolical statements that have yet to be confirmed by unimpeachable evidence. The Kaḷiṅga country extending as far as the Mēkhala range never came under the sway of Anavōta Reḍḍi. If at all there is any truth in those statements, it might be that there were some predatory military raids into the Kaḷiṅga country by Anavōtā Reḍḍi with a view to subdue it.

5. Ep. Coll., 44 of 1912; Ep. Rep. 1912, p. 68.

6. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1387.

7. C.P., No. 9 of 1921-22; An, An, (1922).

रत्तानूनमसावशोकविटपीनीलस्तमाल: पुरा
गौरश्चम्पकभूरुह: कुसुमिन श्चूत श्शुकश्यामल:
एवं वेमयअन्नवोतनृपते: कीर्त्यासितानांवने
बालेभ्यो बहुधावदन्ति शबरप्राचीं दिशां शाखिनाम्॥

8. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 278.

शशास य: श्रीनगपूर्वभागा
दापूर्वरत्नाकरमन्ध्रदेशम्
आमेखलं मेखलभूधरस्य
जिताहितश्रीयनवोतभूप:॥

In spite of the successful nature of the campaign, the country north of the Kṛṣṇā does not seem to have come permanently under the sway of the Reḍḍi king, Anavōta. He was unable to exercise an effective control over the vanquished chieftains and nobles.

The passage *praty-abdaṁ pratipakṣa-dēśa-jayinaḥ* in a ślōka in the Kollūru grant [9] of Anavēma describes Anavōta rather in hyperbolic terms as conquering the countries every year; thereby it suggests that there were campaigns of Anavōta against his enemies almost every year. Whether this statement is true or not, there is reason to believe that he invaded the eastern country more than once. His Dākshāram record testifies to one of his successful campaigns led against the region lying to the east of the river Gōdāvarī. He was not invariably successful in all his campaigns against that eastern quarter, the number of which is not known. The Telugu Cōḍa chief, Bhaktirāja was, as we know, a contemporary (senior) of Anavōta. According to the Rajahmundry Museum plates [10] of his son, Anadēva Cōḍa he defeated a certain Vīr=Ānnavōta in a battle fought at Sūravaram. [11] During this period there were three kings bearing the name of Annavōta or Anavōta in the Telugu country, namely, Anavōta, the Padma Velama chief of Rājukoṇḍa in the Teliṅgānā country, whose date of accession to the throne is Śaka 1283/1361 A. D., Anavōta alias Toyyēṭi Anavōta, the Musunūri chief of Rājamahēndravaram, and lastly, Anavōta, the Reḍḍi king. There is no possibility for Cōḍa Bhaktirāja to come into conflict with Anavōtā Nāyaka of Rājukoṇḍa, as his dominion lay far away in Teliṅgānā. The only other chiefs were Anavōta of Rājamahēndravaram and the Reḍḍi king, Anavōta. The king defeated by Bhaktirāja has the prefix vīra attached to his name. The inscriptions of this period inform us that the Reḍḍi king had that epithet. The Dākshāram and other Reḍḍi records call him Vīr=Ānnavōta. Hence, it seems reasonable to think, on the authority of this evidence, though slender, that Vīr=Ānnavōta suffered defeat at the hands of Bhaktirāja in one of his campaigns to the east at Sūravaram. This town is now in the Nūjavīḍ taluk, Kistna district. Bhaktirāja, as we already know, was related to Anavōta. The reason for Bhaktirāja to oppose Vīr=Ānnavōta in battle is not stated in the Rajahmundry plates of Annadēva Cōda, mentioned before. But it may be possible to guess.

In his eastern campaign Vīr=Ānnavōta probably tried to subdue the chiefs of the solar line ruling in the country between the Kṛṣṇa and

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9. Elliots' Telugu inscriptions, No. 15-6-26. Vol. I. pp. 206 ff.

10. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI (1941-42), pp. 11 ff: J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.

11. "येनैव सूरवरपट्टणसंनिधाने वीरान्नवोतनृपतिर्विजितो विनोदात्".

the Gōdāvarī. The villages granted by them as *agrahāras* to brāhmans indicate the location of their dominion. Most of the villages granted by them are found in the eastern half of the modern West Godavari district. The capital of these chiefs of the solar line was Sūravaram. There can be no doubt as to the identity of Sūravaram, the place at which Bhaktirāja defeated Vīr=Ānnavōta, with the capital of these solar chiefs. As the Rāvulaparti grant[12] of Uṇḍirāja II of this line is dated S'aka 1304, he, or probably his father, Tammarāja must have been a contemporary of Anavōtā Reḍḍi. Bhaktirāja's son Annadēva Cōḍa married Irugāṁbikā, sister of Pina Uṇḍirāja and daughter of S'rī Cakravarti of the solar race. It seems likely that Pina Uṇḍirāja was one of the chiefs of the solar line of Sūravaram, some of whom had the names of Uṇḍīśa and Uṇḍirāja. It is however difficult to establish his identity; for, the father of Uṇḍirāja[13] of the Rāvulaparti grant was Tammarāja, and not Srī Cakravarti. We do not know if he had the alias S'rī Cakravarti. Anyhow it appears likely that Bhaktirāja was related to these chiefs. His capital Kāmapurī seems to be identical with the present Kāmavaram or Kāmavarapukōṭa (fort of Kāmavaram, modern form of Kāmapurī) in the Chintalapūḍi taluk of West Godavari district. If this identification is accepted to be correct, then it may be presumed that Cōḍa Bhaktirāja's dominion comprised the agency tract in the western half of the modern West Godavari district. The solar chiefs of Sūravaram probably did not submit themselves to the authority of Anavōta for a long time, and hence there was trouble. Apprehending danger to his principality also Bhaktirāja, their neighbour, allying himself with those chiefs, opposed the Reḍḍi king Anavōta at Sūravaram, and in the battle that ensued, defeated the latter and drove him back. Probably this was how Bhaktirāja came to defeat Vīr=Ānnavōta at Sūravaram.

Anavōtā Reḍḍi thus lost much, though not all, of his territory between the Kṛṣṇā and the Gautamī.

The inroads of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Shah of Gulbarga, the Rēcerla chiefs, and the Vīayanagara kings further weakened the strength of the Reḍḍi kingdom.

12. C. P. No. 16 of 1917–18.

13. Uṇḍiraja, the donor of the Ravulaparti grant, married a certain Rudramadevi of the Mānavyasa gōtra, the gotra of the Caḷukyas of Vēṅgi. It may be remembered in this connection that the Caḷukya king, Vīrabhadra, son of Indus'ēkhara Cakravarti, married Rudramadēvi, daughter of Kakati Gaṇapatidēva of Warangal. Rudramadēvi, wife of Uṇḍiraja of Sūravaram, was probably a descendant of Rudramadēvī and Vīrabhadra of the Caḷukya line. During this period Niravadyaprolu, the present Niḍadavōlu in West Godavari district, was a strong fortress of the Later Caḷukyas. It is likely that the Caḷukya chiefs of Niravadyaprolu co-operated with the chiefs of Suravaram and Coḍa Bhaktiraja in checking the advance of Anavota Reḍḍi and in inflicting a defeat on him.

During the early half of his independent reign the Bahmanī Sultān invaded Teliṅgānā again. During this invasion the Muslim armies ravaged the whole of the Andhra country in the present Hyderabad State extending as far south as the Kṛṣṇā. Anavōta's Amarāvati inscription[14], dated Saka 1283/ 1361 A. D., refers to this invasion of the yavanas or Mussalmans from the west, and states that, on merely hearing the news of the approach of the yavanas, many kings, struck with fear, left their forts garrisond with infantry and horse, and entered the forests with effort.[15] At this juncture Mallaya Vēma, the minister of Anavota Reḍḍi, rising equal to the occasion, opposed the Muslim cavalry from the west, and inflicting a crushing defeat on them in battle, drove them back and saved the Reḍḍi kingdom. During this invasion the Muslims desecrated the old temple at Amarāvati, as they had previously done at Pillalamarri[16] in the Nalgonda district in Telingānā. The Amarāvati record referred to above was set up to commemorate the re-consecration of god Amarēśvara of Dhānyavāṭi by Anavōta's minister Vema, sometime after the victory was won.

After the defeat of the Muslims and restoration of peace in the country, Anavōta betook himself to improve the internal and external trade, and to rehabilitate the ports in his kingdom, specially Mōṭupalli, the great emporium of marine trade in the Telugu country at this time. The sea-borne trade of the kingdom suffered heavily owing to the inequity of administrative laws governing commerce, and their rigorous application by officers of the state; consequently, the volume of trade diminished greatly. Though the port of Mōṭupalli came under Vēma's sway early in his reign, the country and the government did not derive much benefit from its trade. Anavōta inquired into the causes that had crippled the sea-borne trade and repealed the unjust laws. In Śaka 1280/1358 A.D., he issued a new charter to merchants engaged in over-seas trade, setting forth therein the terms for carrying on trade at Mōṭupalli, and fixing duties on articles of import and export. This gave a fresh impetus to the sea-borne trade of the country. By his order Sōmaya, the governor at Mōṭupalli, got the charter inscribed on one of the pillars of the local Vīrabhadra temple. It stands there even to-day

14. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 226.

15. " आयातायवना इतिक्षितिभुज[:*] श्रुत्वैव वार्त्तामहो
दुर्गाण्यश्वभटाकुलानि सभयास्त्यक्त्वा वनान्याविशन्
श्रीमन्मल्लयवेमशौरिरनवोतार्थीशबाहुर्जयी
पाश्चात्यान् जगतोऽश्वगान् विरुद्धो निर्जित्य संगाजने॥"

16. I. T. D. H., No. 40, p. 118 ff.

as a monument to the king's regard for justice and the welfare of his people.[17]

The *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* alludes to a war between Anavōta and the Rēcerla chiefs. According to that work Mādā Nāyaka and his brother's son, Kaṭhāri Nāgā Nāyaka, attacked Anavōtā Reḍḍi and defeated him in battle at Dannālakōṭa or Dharaṇikōṭa. This is the first clash in the struggle between the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu and the Velamas of Rājukoṇḍa which continued with unabated fury till the middle of the fifteenth century.

Curiously enough the inscriptions of the Rēcerla chiefs and those of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, so far known to us, are silent about the feud between the two houses. The Telugu and Sanskrit works also produced under their patronage, do not allude to any of the victories which either of them gained over the other. Yet, the *Cāṭu* verses in the *Vaṁśāvaḷi* may be accepted, with some caution, as evidence.

The fight between the Padma Velamas and the Reḍḍis seems to have begun in Śaka 1283 during the siege of Jallipalli, laid by Anavōta Nāyaka and his brother Mādā Nāyaka, to avenge the assassination of their father, Siṅgama Nāyaka. We are told that, in the garrison defending that fort, there were Reḍḍi nobles who aided the Kṣatriyas of the lunar race, who were probably related to the Āravīṭi chief, Sōmadēvarāja of the Cāḷukya family. The Padma Velama heroes, in their revengeful spite, tried to extirpate their enemies altogether. After massacring in cold blood the garrison defending the fort, they pursued their enemies, who had escaped alive. During this chase Anavōta and Māda crossed the Kṛṣṇā and conquered the region lying to the south of that river in Kurnool and Guṇṭur districts. All the forts of the Kṣatriyas in the taluks bordering on the Kṛṣṇā were reduced to submission, and the defenders, who happened to fall into their hands, were brutally murdered. The Reḍḍi dominion on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā from Śrīśailam in Kurnool district in the West

17. Ep. Coll, No. 601 of 1010; Ep. Rep. P. 61

This charter was inscribed on stone in three languages, namely, Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil. The coastal trade between the Telugu country and the Tamil land must have been very considerable during this period, and the number of traders from the Tamil country visiting Mōṭupalli must have been very large. Evidently, Mōṭupalli, ever since its rehabilitation by the Kakatiya emperor Gaṇapatideva of Warangal in the thirteenth century, usurped the place of Ghaṇṭasala (Divi taluk, Kistna district) in trade, which had the alias of Coḷa-Paṇḍyapura in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, owing to the extensive coastal trade carried on by merchants from the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries visiting that port.

lay prostrate at the feet of the advancing invaders,[18] and was annexed to the Rēcerla kingdom. This is indirectly corroborated by literary as well as epigraphical evidence. The statement, made in the *Rasārṇava-sudhākaram*, a Sanskrit work on Rhetoric, written by Siṅgama Nāyaka II of the Rēcerla family, that his father Anavōtā Nāyaka I constructed a flight of steps to the sacred mountain of Śrīśailam[19] and made it accessible to pilgrims, suggests indirectly that that holy place was included in their dominion.

Māda, brother of Anavōta, marched further east into the kingdom of the Reḍḍis, accompanied by his cousin Kaṭhāri Nāgā Nāyaka. Anavōta Reḍḍi was ready with his forces to give fight to the enemy. The *Vaṁśāvaḷi* states that Māda, after crossing the Kṛṣṇā, attacked the Reḍḍi king Anavōta at Dannālakōṭa, defeated him in battle, and put him to flight in the same manner as Arjuna drove away Duryōdhana while attempting to lift Virāṭa's cattle.[20] Anavōta abandoned his arms and war material, and took to his heels. He also appears to have fallen into the hands of the enemy; for, it is stated that Nāgā Nāyaka released the Reḍḍi king Anavōta, having imprinted, on his back, the marks of his own lāñchana[21] as a sign of defeat. Consequent on this victory, the Rēcerla chiefs assumed the characteristic Reḍḍi titles, such as Jagadobbagaṁḍa, Saṅgrāma-Dhanañjaya, Rāyavēśyābhujaṅga[22] etc., and made them their own.

18: Anna Reḍḍi, one of the brothers of Prolaya Vema and the uncle of Anavōta Reḍḍi, seems to have been slain in the fight with these Recerla princes in the course of this campaign. None of the *Caṭu* verses in the *Vaṁśāvaḷi* alludes to this event except the Ainavolu inscription of Anavōtā Nayaka. The portion containing the verse referring to this event, in the estampage in the epigraphical collection in the Andhra University, is damaged. It appears however from this verse that Anavota slew Anna-nṛpa or Anna Reḍḍi and ruled the region of the Kṛṣṇa and the Gōdavari. The reading of the verse in question is however doubtful, and has to be verified from a fresh estampage before accepting the statement about Anna Reḍḍi as a fact.

19. "यश्चारुसोपानपथेन चक्रे
श्रीपर्वतं सर्वजनप्रगम्यम्" ।

--Vide, Introd.—*Rasarṇavasudhākaram.*

His brother Māda Nāyaka also is credited with the construction of steps to Śrīśailam (Vide, VV. Or., p. 52).

20. Vl. Vn., Verse 81.

21. Ibid, verse 51.

22. Ibid, verse 80.

The Telugu poet, Vennelakaṇṭi Sūranna, in the introduction to his poem *Viṣṇu Purāṇam*, alludes to an incident which was probably connected with Annavōtā Reḍḍi's war with the Rācerla chiefs. Annavōta Reḍḍi, according to this work, met in battle near Amarāvati, a *rāhutu* (cavalier), Kēsabhūpa by name, inflicted a crushing defeat on him, and having spared his life, chased him away". The identity of this Kēsabhūpa is yet unknown. The above incident, if it had taken place during the struggle with the Rēcerla chiefs, as seems likely, since it was fought near Amarāvati (Dannālakōṭa or Dharaṇikōṭa), shows that Anavōta also was successful in some engagement, though the war finally terminated in his defeat.

The victories of the Rēcerla chiefs, Māda Nāyaka and his cousin Nāga Nāyaka over Anavōtā Reḍḍi, mentioned in the *Cāṭu* verses, appear to have been won by them in one and the same battle. In spite of success in battle Māda was not able to occupy any portion of the coastal territory of the Reḍḍi kingdom. Dharaṇikōṭa was evidently the objective of his attack; but the town did not even temporarily fall into his hands. It may be worth mentioning here that the course followed by the Rēcerla chiefs at Dharaṇikōṭa was quite contrary to the practice they usually adopted towards their vanquished enemies. The release of Anavōtā Reḍḍi was indeed a step unprecedented in the annals of the Rēcerla family. These considerations come in the way of our accepting the *Cāṭu* verses in the *Vaṁśāvaḷi* at their face value. It seems, however, true that the Reḍḍis lost a considerable slice of their territory in the west in the S'rīśailam province.

Anavōtā Reḍḍi was not allowed to reign in peace even after the war with the Padma Velamas. The rapid expansion of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the south and the south-west threatened the security of Koṇḍavīḍu. While Anavōta was involved in struggle with his enemies in the east and the west, the kings of Vijayanagar were consolidating their power in the coastal tract. The fort of Udayagiri had already become their stronghold in the east. It served as an excellent military base to carry on further their work of aggrandizement. Anavōta's entanglements with the Bahmanī Sultāns and the Rēcerla kings left his kingdom comparatively weaker than before, and provided

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28. ఈ నిఖిలంబు మెచ్చ నమరేశ్వరదేవుఁడు చూడఁ గృష్ణవే
ణీనది సాక్షిగా నని నిల్చిన రాహుతుఁ గేసభూవిభుం
గానకుఁ దోలి చెన్నుపడి గాచిన వేమయ యన్నవోతభూ
జానికి సత్ప్రబంధము లొసంగిన చెన్నలరంటివారిలోఁ.—

—Vn. Pr., I.

Vijayanagar an excellent opportunity to extend its power in the east. The Vijayanagar monarch Bukkaraya I did not let go this opportunity. He led an expedition into the eastern country [24] to the south of the Kṛṣṇā. The Vijayanagar records, found in the taluks in the eastern half of Kurnool district and in the northern-most divisions of Podili and Darśi of Nellore district, attest to this fact. As indicated by them Bukka I undertook this expedition about Saka 1285-86, that is, 1363-64 A. D., in the very last years of Anavōta's reign. The kaifiyat of Duvvapāḍu (Dūpāḍu) in the Mārkāpuram taluk of Kurnool district states that the Narapati kings of Ānegondi, by which term the kings of Vijayanagar are meant, became powerful, and conquered that region (around Duvvapāḍu) in Śaka 1286, corresponding to Krōdhi. [25] After its conquest, the Dūpāḍu province was entrusted to the charge of the chiefs of the Rāvela family.

The Vijayanagar kings, in the course of their eastern campaign, came into conflict with the Rēceṟla chiefs who were then in possession of the Srīśailam country and defeated them. Consequently, the Rēceṟla chiefs lost their possessions to the south of the Kṛṣṇā in Kurnool district.

Bukka I did not stop with the conquest of the Śrīśailam area. His advance towards the east made the position of the Reḍḍis critical and Anavōta was not unmindful of it. He apprehended danger not only to his kingdom but also to the town of Addaṅki, the chief seat of his Government. He, therefore, was forced to change his capital from Addaṅki to Koṇḍavīḍu, a more impregnable place than the former, in the Narasāraopet taluk of Guṇṭūr district. Even in the reign of Vēma I, when Addaṅki was the chief seat of Government, Kuṇḍinapura or Koṇḍavīḍu was the secondary capital of the Reḍḍi kings. Now Anavōta strengthened it further and made it his primary capital. The transfer of capital from Addaṅki to Koṇḍavīḍu is referred to in the Manyamīpuram record [26] of Anavēma, brother of Anavōta dated in Śaka 1286. Since then, Koṇḍavīḍu remained the capital of the Reḍḍis until its fall.

Anavōta lost heavily in his fight with the Rāvas of Vijayanagar. The limits of his kingdom in the west and south receded considerably

24. Mack. Mss. 15—3—56; Koṇḍūru kaifiyat.
From the kaifiyat of Koṇḍūru we learn that Bukkarāya, after his return from the eastern campaign, granted the village of Koṇḍūru, on the banks of the Pāpaghnī in the Mulikināḍu to his guru Candrabhūṣaṇācārya in Śaka 1292, corresponding to the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa.

25. Mack. Mack. 15—6—19. Duvvapāḍu kaifiyat.

26. Elliot's Collection, Vol. I, pp. 270 ff.

and the fortune of the Reḍḍi kings was at a low ebb. Anavōta's last years were thus clouded by defeat and disaster. They were quite in contrast with the early years of his reign, some of which were probably punctuated with victories in the north of the Kṛṣṇā. Just at a time when the armies of Vijayanagar were penetrating into the heart of the Reḍḍi kingdom, Anavōta appears to have passed away. His reign came to a close in the early months of 1364 A.D., i. e in Śaka 1286. His latest known record, the Kollūru grant, bears the date of Śaka 1286.

Anavōta was a great soldier and fought many battles during his reign as well as in his father's. By his prowess and bravery he earned the proud name of Vīr=Ānnavōta. He associated himself with his father in the administration of his kingdom even while he was young, and practically bore the whole burden of the state in the last years of his father's rule. He strove hard to establish order in the country and to revive the *dharma* of the land. He is described in the records of his brother Anavēma as one who, on succeeding to the throne, made the kingdom free from enemies, and ruled the earth virtuously. He is said to have granted many *agrahāras* to brāhmans, made several *dānas* or gifts described by Hēmādri, and instituted many *satras* or feeding houses in places of pilgrimage. He took great interest in the welfare of the people. Anavōta gave an impetus to trade by repealing the unjust laws bearing on it, and thereby not only earned the gratitude of merchants but also improved the wealth of the country.

The limits of the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu at the time of Anavōta's death cannot be well-defined. Some verses in the records of his successor Anavēma state that he ruled the Andhra country extending from the east of Śrīśailam to the sea and to the Mēkhala mountains [27] in the north. Kaḷiṅga, though conquered by Anavōta, was not, as stated before, under his firm grip. Another record [28] also of Anavēma states that Anavōta protected the country extending from the banks of the Kṛṣṇā to the banks of the Gōdāvarī after conquering it from his enemies. However, from the evidence available to us, it mav not be possible to accept even this statement. It does not therefore seem proper to say that Anavōta's dominion extended far beyond the Kṛṣṇā in the east at the time of his death.

27. Ep. Ind, Vol. XXI, p. 278.
28. C. P. No., 9 of 1921-22.

APPENDIX.

THE CŌḌA CHIEFS OF ĒṚUVA.

The ancient territorial division of Ēṛuva comprised portions of the present Nellore, Kurnool and Guntur districts. Ēṛuva seems to be the contracted form of the term *Ēṛu-vāyi*, which seems to mean a watershed region between two drainage areas. Ēṛuva was one of the important centres of the Telugu Cōḍa chiefs who spread to the north and the east, and established new principalities in several places both in Telingāna of the Hyderabad State and the coastal districts. There were extensive colonies of powerful Cōḍa chiefs who held sway from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries A. D.

The records which the Cōḍa chiefs of Ēṛuva have left behind are very scanty. They do not give us a full account of the Ēṛuva family. The few extant records furnish only the names of a few chiefs, and register the gifts they made to temples or brāhmans. They do not help us to reconstruct their history, or to determine what exactly their status was.

We are chiefly concerned here with the Telugu Cōḍa chiefs of the Ēṛuva family, contemporaneous with the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu. Their history is known only from two copper-plate grants, so far discovered, namely, the Madras Museum plates of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja and the Rajahmundry Museum plates of his son, Annadēva Cōḍa, and a few lithic records of the latter chief.

The Madras Museum plates[1] of Bhaktirāja record the grant of the village of Kāṇḍvakolanu at the holy place of S'rīs'aila in S'aka 1278 to Vis'vēsvara brahmacārin when the king had been there "in the course of his wanderings through the country, undertaken with a desire of conquering the four quarters." The object of the Rajahmundry Museum plates[2] is to register the grant of the village of Uttamagaṇḍa-Cōḍannadēvavaram situated at the confluence of the rivers, Gaṅgā and Pinnasāni in Visaṛināṇḍu to some brāhmans. Of the above two grants, the latter furnishes much historical information about the donor as well as his father. The former does not mention even a single historical fact regarding either the donor or his predecessors. In fact, these are our only sources to know something about these two Ēṛuva chiefs, Bhaktirāja and his son, Annadēva Cōḍa, who were contemporaneous

1. J. O. R., Vol. V, pp. 128–148; and pp. 888–886.
2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff; J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.

with the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu. Both the grants combined furnish the following genealogy of the donors.

Annemāmbā
|
Ēṟuva Bhīma alias Nalla Bhīma
m. Prōlāmbikā
|
Dāma m. Lakṣmī
|
Sōma m. Sūrāmbikā
|
Gaṅgādhara m. Irugambikā,
daughter of Kāmabhūpa of the Lunar
race and sister of Vēṅgabhūpa
|
Kāmarāja alias Bhaktirāja (S. 1278)
m. Annemāmbā.
|
Annadēva Cōḍa
m. Irugāmbikā
|
Vīrabhadra

According to the genealogy given above, Ēṟuva Bhīma or Nalla Bhīma is the first known chief of this branch. Since he was removed from Bhaktirāja by five generations he may be assigned to the middle of the thirteenth century. From what is known of him he appears to have been a powerful chief. An inscription[3] at Tāḷḷaprodduṭūru in Cuddapah district gives an account of his conquests. It states that he conquered Vīsaṟināḍu, Cakrakoṭṭam, Manniya, Vaḍḍe Tekkali, Manthena, Vēṅgī, Kaḷiṅgam and other countries. There are some Cāṭu verses extolling Ēṟuva Bhīma's military exploits, of which the conquest of Vīsaṟināḍu is one. He could not have made such extensive conquests by himself, a petty chieftain. He must have followed his suzerain lord who might have subjugated these countries. At the time of Ēuṟuva Bhīma the Andhra country was under the rule of Gaṇapatidēva, the Kākatīya monarch of Waraṅgal. Gaṇapatidēva, as we know, invaded the eastern country as far as Kaḷiṅga. Rāja Nāyaka's inscriptions both at Dākṣāram[4] in East Godavari district and at Upparapalli[5] in the Waraṅgal district bear evidence to the fact of Gaṇapati's conquest of Kaḷiṅga. Ēṟuva Bhīma, probably his subordinate, followed Gaṇapatidēva and distinguished himself in his eastern campaign.

3. *Bhārati*., Vol. XV. i pp. 147 ff.
4. S.I.I., Vol. No. 1117,
5. Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. III, pp. 10 ff,

We know nothing about his successors until we come to Kāmarāja, son of Gaṅgādhara. His great devotion to Śiva entitled Kāmarāja to the more popular name Bhaktirāja. He married Annemāṁbā and had by her a son named Annadēva Cōḍa. From the Telugu work, *Śivalīlāvilāsam*, we come to know that Bhaktirāja had another son named Cōḍa Bhīma or Bhīmaliṅga,[6] who married a daughter of king Anavēma of Koṇḍavīḍu. Annadēva Cōḍa and Cōḍa Bhīma were probably step-brothers. The former married princess Irugāṁbikā, sister of Pinnuṇḍirāja and daughter of Śrī Cakravarti of the Solar race belonging to the Haritasa-gotra.[7]

Bhaktirāja was a powerful chieftain. His exploits given below are recounted in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of his son Annadēva.

(i) Even while he was young, he defeated Boggara and other powerful *yavana* (Muslim) chieftains near Gulapūṇḍipura.

(ii) He overthrew the Gajapati monarch near Pañcadhārala in the east and installed Koppulapati on the throne.

(iii) He defeated Śiṅga in a battle fought near Bharaṇipāṭipura.

(iv) He won a victory over the demoniac forces of Dabaru Khān in the neighbourhood of Pedakoṇḍāpura.

(v) He overcame Vrī=Ānavōta near the town of Sūravaram.

It is likely that these events are not mentioned in chronological order. The first of the exploits of Bhaktirāja given above probably refers to the time of the Musunūri chief Prōlaya Nāyaka, the leader of the independence movement in the coastal Andhra country. It is probable that Bhaktirāja, even while he was young, took an active part in freeing the country from the Muslim yoke. The *yavana* chief Boggara was probably one of the subordinates of Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

Nothing definite is known about Bhaktirāja's victory over the Gajapati,[8] and the restoration of Koppulapati to the throne.

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6. Vide, Chapter, VII, Appendix.

7. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

8. The Gajapati king referred to in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Coḍa is in my opinion Vira Narasiṁha III. His reign came to a close in 1358 A. D, between the months of November and January corresponding to Kartika and Puṣya respectively. The last record of Vira Narasiṁha III and that of his son and successor, Vira Bhanudēva III, were both dated S'aka 1275 or 1858 A. D., the details of the former record being Kārtika S'u. di. 11, Tuesday and that of the latter, Pauṣya Paurṇami, Thursday. In S'. 1275 S'u. di. 11 in the month of Kartika does not fall on Tuesday, but on Friday. As the name of the week day is clear in the inscription the *tithi* must have been wrongly read or wrongly inscribed. It must be S'u. di. 8 instead of S'u. 11. Then the English date equivalent of the former is 1358 A. D., November, 5, and that of the latter is 1354 A. D., January 9, Thursday.

To identify the chief S'iṅga, the adversary of Bhaktirāja is a problem; for, there are two chiefs of this name known till now who were contemporaneous with Bhaktirāja. Of these, one was the Rēcerla chief, S'iṅgama Nāyaka of Rājukoṇḍa, son of Dācā Nāyaka, and the other S'iṅgaya Nāyaka, brother of Mummaḍi Nāyaka of Kōṛukoṇḍa. It is difficult to determine the opponent of Bhaktirāja who was defeated at Bharaṇipāṭipura, since this village is unidentifiable. The identity of Dabaru Khān also is unknown. Pedakoṇḍāpura, the place where Bhaktirāja defeated his foe, seems to be identical with the village of the same name, now uninhabited, in the Bhadrācalam taluk of East Godavari district.

Bhaktirāja's victory over Anavōta at Sūravaram has been already alluded to in the text of this Chapter.

Bhaktirāja's date of death is not known. The *Mackenzie manuscripts* and the *Local records* preserve a very faulty copy of Annadēva Cōḍa's Rājamahēndravaram stone inscription[9] which furnishes S'aka 1259 as the date of his coronation. The original stone, on which this inscription was incised, is now lost. The cyclic year corresponding to the S'aka year is given as Prabhava which is evidently a mistake; for, it corresponds to S'aka 1288 and not to Śaka 1259 as given in the copy. As the first two figures and the last one of the Śaka year in the copy are 1, 2 and 9 it is obvious that the Śaka year was 1289 (current) which appears to be the correct date of Annadēva's coronation. On the basis of this record Annadēva Cōḍa's father Bhaktirāja may be said to have been alive till Saka 1289 (1366 A.D.).

9. Mack. Mss. 15—5—36, p. 175 ; 15—4—4, p. 281.

CHAPTR VII.

ANAVĒMA

(Cir. 1364 A.D. to Cir. 1386 A. D.)

Anavōta had a son named Kumāragiri. As he was probably too young to hold the sceptre of the kingdom, Anavōta's brother Anavēma succeeded to the throne. The records [1] of Anavēma state that he was the self-chosen lord of the wealthy damsel of the kingdom, *Rājya-Śrīramaṇīsvayaṁvaratiḥ*, and that he bore its burden after the death of his brother. The term *Rājyaśrīramaṇīsvayaṁvarapatih* suggests that Anavēma came to the throne, not by his own right and just claim but, by the choice of the nobles of his kingdom. He was eulogised in his Śrīśailam record [2] as *Rājyaramāramaṇīsvayaṁvaralabdhanāyakasaubhāgya*, one who had the good fortune to be chosen king by the sweet goddess of the state. These passages make at least one thing clear, that he was chosen king in succession to his brother, Anavōta. It might be that the ministers, commanders, and nobles of the kingdom realised the bad plight to which the Reḍḍi kingdom was reduced at the time of Anavōta's death by the extension of the Vijayanagar power in the south-west and the Rēcerla kingdom in the north-west, and did not probably view with favour the accession of the young prince Kumāragiri at that critical juncture. Their sole aim and object must have been the protection of the kingdom at any cost, for, they had nurtured it from its inception. Anavēma was Anavōta's brother. He stood by his brother in his weal and woe, and took an active part in many of the battles which his brother had fought. He would be a very happy choice; for, he might retrieve the honour and glory of the Reḍḍi kingdom. It is likely that these considerations stood foremost in their minds, when they elected Anavēma as their king in succession to Anavōta.

Anavēma could have placed the young prince on the throne and ruled the kingdom as his regent. But he does not seem to have approved of this idea. He must have felt that those were times when the kingdom required a strong and independent ruler at the helm who

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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 269 B. Paccani Taṇḍiparru grant; C.P. No. 9 of 1922-23.

   सोयं भ्रातुरनन्तरं निजमहीभारं वहन् पैतृकम्

   राज्यश्रीरमणीस्वयंवरपतिः श्रीअन्नवेमप्रभुः ॥

2. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

ruled it as an absolute monarch in his own right, rather than as the prince's regent. His view prevailed and the ministers and nobles lent their full support to him. As a consequence, Anavēma ascended the throne and became king of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom.

It is likely there was a party favouring Prince Kumāragiri. They were evidently too weak to press their claims and fight out his cause. The circumstances of the Reḍḍi kingdom were none too propitious and probably the tender age of the young prince was not an encouraging factor. Though meek in early years of Anavēma's reign, the party of the prince gathered strength as years rolled by. Anavōta's brother-in-law, Kāṭaya Reḍḍi, and his nephew and son-in-law, Vēmā Reḍḍi, had to agree to Anavēma's succession under the existing circumstances and to extend their co-operation to him, though unwillingly. Anavēma's career of conquest and restoration of the prestige and glory of the Reḍḍis must have won him strong and powerful supporters and weakened the hostile section at home, even if it did not actually bring them over to his side.

When Anavēma came to the throne, most of the teritory which was conquered by his predecessors, Vēma I and Anavōta, through years of heroic fighting and able diplomacy, was lost to the Reḍḍis and passed into other hands. Vijayanagar became more powerful than before with her recent conquests, and was the mistress of the country extending from the eastern to the western seas and as far as Madura in the south. In the north the fertile valley of the Pennār and the Śrīśailam country to the south of the Kṛṣṇā were again hers.

This was the situation when Anavēma took the reins of the kingdom into his hands. His records and *Cāṭu* verses bear evidence to the fact that he proved himself worthy of the choice made by the nobles in electing him as their king, and that his reign was one of increasing success and prosperity.

Like those of his brother Anavōta, Anavēma's inscriptions,[3] so far discovered, are few in number, about a dozen and a quarter in all. Of these, his copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions, recording gifts of villages to brāhmans and his charities to temples, do not furnish any historical facts relating to his reign. They merely contain eulogies of Anavēma, and his predecessors Vēma and Anavōta, and allude to

3. Of these, eight are copper-plate records, namely, i. Dṛjjavaram, ii. Ippugallu, iii. Paccani Tāṇḍiparṛu, iv, Vānapalli, v. Naḍupūru, vi. Manyamāpuram, vii. Kollūru, and viii. Pedacceṛakūru. Copies of the last three records are preserved in the *Local records* and the Elliot's collection.

their religious works in general. A notable exception among these is his Śrīśailam record, an important document. This stone inscription does not, however, deviate from the conventional method of describing each reign as do the copper-plate records In addition, it furnishes a long list of titles or birudas of Anavēma, some of which are no doubt hereditary ones; but, there are some new ones also, which roughly indicate the events of his reign. Under this category come the titles *Rājamahēndra - Niravadyanagar = ādi - bahuvidha - sthaladurga - varga vidaḷaṇa - Balarāma* (a Balarāma in tearing asunder the many kinds of *sthaladurgas* like Rājamahēndra, Niravadya and other cities), and *Sāgara-Gautamī-salila-saṅgama-sakala-jaladurga-sādhana - Raghurāma* (a Raghurāma in subduing all the *jaladurgas* situated at the confluence of the sea and the waters of the Gautamī). These point out to Anavēma's successful expedition to the country north of the Kṛṣṇā, and to his victories won in many battles and forts captured in the Gōdāvarī region. The Reḍḍi kings, from the very beginning of their rule, were particularly desirous of bringing the whole of the coastal strip, extending from the Eastern ghats to the sea and as far as Siṁhachalam in the east under their domination. This tract, mainly watered by the rivers Gōdāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, is a fertile plain that constitutes itself into a geographical unit. The fight for the throne after the death of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja between his sons Cōḍa Bhīma and Annadēva seems to have afforded Anavēma an early opportunity to realise this old ambition.

As we know, Anavēma was related to Cōḍa Bhaktirāja. His sister was given in marriage to the latter's son, Cōḍa Bhīma. Cōḍa Bhaktirāja had another son, named Annadēva Cōḍa who was a powerful and ambitious prince. Both Cōḍa Bhīma and Annadēva Cōḍa aspired for the throne after the death of their father. In the internecine war which followed Bhaktirāja's death, Annadēva secured a measure of success. The extent of territory, to which Annadēva succeeded, is known from his Rajahmundry record.[4] It refers to the many districts of the kingdom over which Annadēva held sway. Prominent among these were the Bhīmavrōli Sīma (the district of Bhīmavrōlu, i e , Bhīmavaram, West Godavari district), and Vēṅginādu (the territory surrounding the ancient town of Vēṅgi). It is reasonable to suppose that during the last years of Anavōta Reḍḍi's reign these countries were under the rule of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja. After his death, Annadēva Cōḍa, probably ousting his brother Cōḍa Bhīma, usurped the throne for himself and ruled his paternal kingdom independently. The authority of the Reḍḍi kings ceased beyond the river Kṛṣṇā in the east. It does not seem improbable that Cōḍa Bhīma repaired to Koṇḍavīḍu to get

4. Mack, Mds., No. 15-4-4, p. 231, ond No. 15-5-36, p. 175.

Anavēma's help to recover his paternal kingdom. Anavema took this opportunity to re-conquer the coastal region beyond the Kṛṣṇā in the east which had slipped away from the control of the Reḍḍi kings. He set out with his army to reduce Vēṅgī and other districts in the Gōdāvarī region, and particulary to chastise Anna Dēva Cōḍa. By espousing the cause of Cōḍa Bhīma, Anavēma was able to secure the support and loyalty of some of the former's relatives, the local Reḍḍi nobles of the family of Doḍḍā Reḍḍi [5], which proved invaluable in reducing the forts of Rājamahēndravaram, Kōṛukoṇḍa and others in their neighbourhood.

Anavēma's campaigns :

The eastern campaign of Anavēma was more than a success. The Śrīśailam record throws much light on this campaign. It does not describe it in detail. Nevertheless, the long praśasti of Anavēma in this inscription contains, as stated already, some new titles indicative of his conquests presumably, in this campaign. A study of this record enables us to know that Anavēma, after crossing the river Kṛṣṇā, pushed on victoriously as far north as Kaḷiṅga.

Of all the titles of Anavēma in this record, the first that claims our attention is *Dīvidurgavibhāḷa*, the breaker of the fort of Dīvi, or Dvīpa. We do not know if Anavēma inherited this title from his brother Anavōta, or if he re-conquered Dīvi if it had slipped away from the Reḍḍi control after his brother's death, and was justified in laying claim to that title anew. As the whole of the eastern region conquered by Anavōta slipped away from the possession of the Reḍḍis, it seems reasonable to suppose that Anavēma re-conquered Dīvi also from the local chieftains who defied the Reḍḍi authority.

Anavēma, thereafter, subdued Vēṅgināḍu, or the district of Vēṅgi. Its eastern half, as noted in the previous chapter, was under the rule of a dynasty of princes who claimed descent from the Ikṣvākus of the solar race. Their capital was Sūravarapaṭṭaṇa, in the Nūjavīd taluk, Kistna district. Tammarāja and his son Uṇḍirāja or Uṇḍiśa, whose

5. Doḍḍā Reḍḍi, one of the five sons of Perumāṇḍi Reḍḍi of the Duvūri family, had three sons Annavrōla, Koṭa and Allāḍa. Allāḍa Reḍḍi married the daughter of Kōmaṭi Vēma's son-in-law, Cōḍa Bhīma.

grant [6] is dated in Saka 1304, were the contemporaries of Anavēma. After conquering these princes of the solar dynasty, Anavēma proceeded to the northern Vēṅgī which formed part of the dominion of Annadēva Cōḍa. The preamble in the Srīśailam record of Anavēma does not allude to his conquest of Vēṅgī. Yet, the reference therein to the capture of Niravadyaprōlu itself points out to his subjugation of that country, in which that fort lay.

Niravadyaprōlu, now known as Niḍadavōlu in West Godavari district, was a famous strong fort of the Eastern Cāḷukya times. After the shifting of the capital from the Andhra to the Draviḍa country by Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I, each of the later Cāḷukya princes became the governor of a local fort and held sway over its dependencies. Of such Cāḷukyan forts Niravadyaprōlu was one. Its rulers made their political position strong by contracting marriage alliances with the neighbouring feudatory families, like the Haihaya princes of Kōnamaṇḍala [7]. These Cāḷukya princes were reduced to vassalage by Gaṇapatidēva of the Kākatīya family during his eastern campaign. Yet, in accordance with the general policy followed in respect of the conquered princes, Gaṇapatidēva gave his daughter Rudramadēvi in marriage to prince Vīrabhadra [8] of the Cāḷukya family of Niravadyaprōlu, and secured

6. C. P., No. 16 of 1917 - 18.

This grant furnishes the following genealogy of these chiefs of the solar line belonging to the Haritasa gōtra.

Dēvarāja
|
Uṇḍiśa (I) m. Bimmidēvi
|
Tammarāja m. Vīramadēvi
|
Uṇḍirāja (II) m. Rudramadēvi (of the Mānavyasa gotra)
(donor)

Uṇḍirāja II granted the village of Ravulaparti consisting of eighty shares to brāhmans in Saka 1304, corresponding to the cyclic year Duṁdubhi, on Thursday, the tenth tithi of the bright half of the month of Māgha. The village was, on this occasion, surnamed Uṇḍiśapuram, probably after the king. The English equivalent of the date is 28th January, 1383 A.D. The other villages, which Uṇḍiraja is stated to have granted as *agrahāras* to brahmans, are Gopavaram, Tvoṁkapalli, Cervukanma-Kāśapaḍu, Cintapalli, Vipparru, Kaṭlaparru, Bhaṇḍarupalli, Karikarlapalli, Uṅguṭūru, Koṇḍruprōlu, Keḍakaṭlu, Niḍumranūru, Pallivāḍa, Paruṁballi, Gūḍaparru, Tāṇḍiparru and the *khēṭaka* Tāṇḍipalli. Most of these villages are found in the West Godavari district. The record closes with the signature of Peda Uṇḍiraja and Vēṅgu. The former seems to be the popular name of the donor. There is no reference to any of the Reḍḍi kings in this record.

7. S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 124 and 125.

8. A. S. P. P., Vol. XXII, (1933), No. 4; Ep. Coll., No. 343 of 1921.

their friendship and co-operation in his further political endeavours and in the administration of the country. Niravadyaprōlu remained a Kākatīya stronghold until the subjugation of the Telugu country by the Muslims. Anavōta Reḍḍi also must have subjugated the fort of Niravadyaprōlu in the course of his Kaḷiṅga campaign, though this fact is not noticed in any of his records, or those of his descendants. After northern Vēṅgī came under the control of Annadēva Cōḍa, Niravadyaprōlu became one of his chief strongholds.

Annadēva Cōḍa must have fought here desperately with Anavēma, as the loss of this fort meant practically the loss of his kingdom. Anavēma, however, succeeded in capturing the fort ultimately. With the fall of Niravadyaprōlu the principality of Annadēva Cōḍa fell into the hands of the invader. The paucity of Annadēva Cōḍa's records, virtually until Śaka 1326, leads us to conclude that he was dispossessed of his kingdom and driven away. It is likely that Anavēma declared Cōḍa Bhīma chief of that principality, and installed him in that office.

The capture of the strong fort of Niravadyaprōlu facilitated the conquest not only of the dominion of Annadēva Cōḍa but also of the fertile deltaic tract, comprising districts like Pānāra and Kōna which lay between, or in the vicinity of, the Vaśiṣṭha and the Gautamī, the two main branches of the Gōdāvarī. This region consisting of some strong *jaladurgas*, situated at the confluence of the waters of the Gautamī with the sea, was included in the dominion of the Mañcikoṇḍa chief, Mummaḍi Nāyaka and his brothers who must have opposed in vain the invading Reḍḍi armies.

Anavēma succeeded in occupying Pānāra, Kōna and other countries in the lower Gōdāvarī region. His Naḍupūru grant[9] dated in 1374 A.D., his Palivela[10] and Dākshāram[11] inscriptions dated in 1377 and 1381 A. D. respectively, and his Vānapalli plates[12] dated in 1381 A.D.,—all attest to the fact of his complete conquest of this deltaic area.

The route followed by Anavēma Reḍḍi in this triumphal march may probably be traced with the help of the records mentioned above. After capturing the fort of Niravadyaprōlu and the upper region lying along the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī, Anavēma appears to have

9. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 286 ff.
10. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 115.
11. Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 1379.
12. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 59 ff.

gone to the eastern low country where it was easy, as is even to-day, to cross the Vaśiṣṭha and the Gautamī and to get at Rājamahēndravaram. Subduing the Pānāra country he crossed the Vaśiṣṭha. and overran the Kōnamaṇḍala. This tract at the end of the course of the Gōdāvarī, which was, by nature, the region of the *jaladurgas*, or forts whose strength lay in the deep expanse of water around, submitted to the Reḍḍi rule again. Anavēma secured, in this campaign, the co-operation of some of the Reḍḍi nobles like Kāṭaya Reḍḍi II and Māraya Reḍḍi II, sons of Māraya I and grandsons of Kāṭaya I, and Doḍḍa Reḍḍi and his brothers of the Duvuri family, some of whom were his close relatives. Of these Kāṭaya Reḍḍi II had the significant title of *jaladurgamalla*[18] because of his special skill in reducing the *jaladurgas*.

Anavēma, after crossing the Gōdāvarī, laid siege to Rājamahēndravaram, the strongest fort on the eastern bank of that river. It was the chief stronghold of Mummaḍi Nāyaka, though Kōṛukoṇḍa was his formal capital. After a severe struggle between the contending armies the fort of Rājamahēndravaram capitulated, and the Mañcikoṇḍa chiefs tendered their submission to the Reḍḍi monarch. The reduction of the *jaladurgas* in the deltaic region and the capture of the *sthaladurgas*, like Rājamahēndranagara and Niravadvanagara, is indicated by his titles in the Śrīsailam record, alluded to before.

The fall of Rājamahēndranagara paved the way for the reduction of the country further east. The victorious Reḍḍi armies overran the eastern country up to Siṁhāchalam in Southern Kaliṅga. This part of the country was rough and wild, and the impenetrable forests and inaccessible mountains afforded excellent protection for the *manne* chiefs or Virasāmantas who ruled the primitive folk of that region. These *manne* chiefs were a fierce and uncontrollable lot, and a constant terror to the frontiers of the more settled kingdoms round about. Their pillaging expeditions were many into the peaceful dominions of their neighbours But they could not be got at, in their mountain lairs and so escaped all chastisement. It was held a great feat of valour in those days for a king to have reduced any one of these wild chieftains. It was their country, the whole of it, that Anavēma overran in his eastern campaign after the capture of Rājamahēndranagara.

Piṭhāpuram was once the capital of a line of Vīrasāmantas called Koppulas, whose territory, known as *Andhrakhaṇḍamaṇḍala*, extended from the banks of the Gautamī to Kaliṅga in the north. Later on, these princes were driven to the north by the Mañcikoṇḍa chiefs of Kōṛukoṇḍa, and they settled finally in the region around Tuni

18. A. S. P, P., Vol. X, No. i; Ep. Ind. Vol. IV (Appendix to the Totaramūḍi plates)

Contiguous with the dominion of the Koppula chiefs lay another kingdom, the territory of the descendants of the Eastern Caḷukya prince, Bēta Vijayāditya, who was expelled from Vēṅgī by his cousin Tāḷaparāja during the tenth century A. D. Later on, these Caḷukya princes set up a small kingdom, of which Elamañci (Yellamanchili in Vizagapatam district) was the capital. Their inscriptions recording their benefactions are mostly found in the Dharmaliṅgēśvara temple at Pañcadhārala and its neighbouring villages. Of these Caḷukya princes,[14] Upēndra IV, son of Cennēśvara whose inscription[15] is dated in Śaka 1294, and probably his paternal uncle, Upēndra V, son of Upēndra III, were the contemporaries of Anavēma.

Like the Calukyas of Elamañci there were other local chiefs, *the Matsya princes*[16] *of Oḍḍādi who flourished in the southern* Kaḷiṅga region during this period. Oḍḍādi in the Vīravalli taluk of Vizagapatam district was their captital. From a study of their records so far discovered, we and that Vīra Arjunadēva of this line, son of Jayanta, was a contemporary of Anavēma, and that his dates range from Ś. 1279 to Ś. 1303.

It seems certain that the contemporary chiefs of the above dynasties also shared the same fate as the chiefs of Kōrukoṇḍa, and became Anavēma's tributaries. Even though Anavēma's records do not refer either to these princes, or to his conquest of their territories, their subjugation is a fact, since his Śrīśailam record describes him as *Siṁhācalādi-Vindhyapāda-pratiṣṭhāpita-kīrti-staṁbha*, one who planted pillars of fame at Siṁhāchalam and other places at the foot of the Vindhya mountains. This fact is further confirmed by Anavēma's inscription[17] at Siṁhāchalam, which registers the grant of the village of Goṭṭivāḍa, obtained from the Matsya prince Vīra Arjundadēva of Oḍḍādi, to god Nṛsiṁha of Siṁhāchalam in the Śaka year 1297 or 1375 A. D. The donor was Anavēma's brāhman general and minister Cennama Nāyaka, son of Nāraṇadāsa (Nārāyaṇadāsa). King Anavēma also made a gift of some coins, called *gaṇḍa māḍas*, to God Siṁhādrinātha for providing some services in the temple. This record enables us to know that the eastern or the Kaḷiṅga campaign of Anavēma came to an end by Śaka 1297 or 1375 A. D.[18] Anavēma's Kaḷiṅga campaign

14. See, Appendix to Ch. VIII for a brief account of these chiefs.
15. S.I.I., Vol, VI, No, 921.
16. Vide, Appendix to Ch, VIII.
17. S. I. I., Vol, VI, No. 785,
18. King Anavema seems to have constructed a building also to Siṁhādrinātha in the precincts of the Siṁhachalam templ: and named it Anavēmanagaru after himself. This building is referred to in a record (S. I. I., Vol VI. No. 806), dated in Śaka 1303, at Siṁhachalam.

was a thorough success. He brought the country as far as Siṁhāchalam under subjection, and made the ruling chiefs subordinate to the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu.

After his return from this campaign Anavēma was obliged to turn his attention to the west. The Vijayanagar power was gradually encroaching upon the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom. The limit of this penetration is borne out by two Vijayanagar inscriptions, one, the Mahānandi record [19], dated in Śaka 1332, of the Velugōṭi chief Tipparāja, a subordinate of Vijayanagar, and the other, an inscription at Chāngalavīḍu in the Ēruva country dated in Śaka 1294, corresponding to the cyclic year, Parīdhāvi. The former record confers, on Tippa's grandfather Gaṅgaīrāju Cennarāju, the title of "the hero of the battle of Kottacerlakōṭa" (the village of Koccerlakōṭa in the Darśi division of Nellore district). The latter inscription [20] registers the grant of the village of Viñjanampāḍu (Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district) in the Vinukoṇḍa-sīma to god Pāpavināśanadēva by one of the Vijayanagar generals. These two records, of which one refers to the scene of battle in the Darśi division, and the other, to the gift of a village in the Narasaraopet taluk, prove beyond doubt that the Vijayanagar monarch Bukka I extended his territory almost right into the heart of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom.

Besides the Vijayanagar kings, the princes of Rajukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa also were forging ahead. They captured Waraṅgal and became the undisputed lords of Teliṅgānā between the Kṛṣṇā and the Gōdāvarī above the Ghats.

Anavēma did not forget the humiliation his brother Anavōta had suffered during the Rēcerla raid against Dharaṇikōṭa. Since the coastal region as far as Siṁhāchalam in southern Kaliṅga in the east was secure under loyal and strong officers of state, Anavēma now launched an expedition to the west to recover his lost possessions.

The *Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi* states that Māda Nāyaka, son of Siṅgama Nāyaka I, and brother of Anavōta Nāyaka defeated Anavēma when the latter attacked him. [21] Contrary to the general practice of

19. Ep. Coll., No. 178 of 1918.

20. Mack. Mss., No. 15—3—11.

21 "సింగయమాధవుఁ జేసిన (? జేసిన) ఐనవేముఁ
[illegible] "— v. 108.

In Vl. Vm. this is the only reference to king Anavema, son of Prolaya Vema. It should however be remembered that king Peda Komaṭi Vema also is referred to in this work as Anavēma.

describing this exploit in more than one verse, this so called victory was casually noticed in a lone foot of a verse, which gives rise to the doubt that Māda may not, after all, be the real victor. This suspicion is strengthened by Anavēma's inscription [22] at Wazīrābād Vāḍapalli (in Nalgoṇḍa district of the Hyderabad State) in the dominion of the Rēceṛla chiefs. This inscription, dated in S'aka 1299 corresponding to the cyclic year Piṅgaḷa, records the building of a tower to the temple of god Agastyēs'vara Mahādēva and the construction of a *candraśāla*, and the granting of some gifts, for services in the temple, to that god by Kaḍiyaṁ Pōti Nāyaka for the merit of his lord Anamāca Reḍḍi, a brother of Anavēma Reḍḍi. This record proves that Anavēma scored a decisive victory over the Rēceṛla chiefs, and annexed to the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom, at least a portion of their dominion lying to the north of the Kṛṣṇa. This fact seems to be further supported in a way by another inscription[23] of Annama Nāyaka, son of Cilukūri Ana Bhīmā Nāyaka of the Dēsaṭla gōtra at Boorugugaḍḍa (in the same Nalgoṇḍa district). As the gōtra of the chief Annama Nāyaka is Dēsaṭla he seems to have been a member of the Dēsaṭla community. Like the S'rīs'ailam and Vāḍapalli inscriptions this record also is dated in Piṅgaḷa. Though this inscription does not refer to king Anavēma, yet it is likely that Annama Nāyaka was one of his subordinate nobles. If this surmise is correct, the Boorugugaḍḍa inscription marks the western limit of Anavēma's conquests in the Rēceṛla territory. On the authority of the two inscriptions cited above, it may therefore safely be assumed, in spite of the version in the *Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi*, that Anavēma was the victor and the Rēceṛla chiefs were the vanquished. Anavēma also succeeded in recovering the country as far as Śrīśailam from the Vijayanagara rulers during this campaign. His Śrīśailam record [24] dated in Saka 1299 bears testimony to this fact. He succeeded not only in recovering almost all the original Reḍḍi possessions that were lost before, but in extending also the authority of the Reḍḍi kings as far as Simhāchalam in Southern Kaḷiṅga. He made new conquests, and maintained the whole territory intact,

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22. A. R. H. S., 1934 – 35 (1844 F), Appendix.

23. I. T. D. H., No. 19 pp..71–72.

In the facsimile impression the name of the *gōtra* is clear. The reading Ḍēsasa given in the text (l. 2) is wrong. The grant, registered in this inscription, was made on Thursday, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyēṣṭham, in the year Piṅgaḷa. The S'aka year is lost. In *Telaṅgāṇa S'āsanamulu* the S'aka year also is given as 1300 (Vide, p. 167).

24. The date of this record is Piṅgaḷa, Māgha S'u. di. 7, Wednesday (6th January 1378 A.D.)

almost until the end of his reign. His Manyamāpuram grant[25], dated in Śaka 1304, corresponding to the cyclic year Duṁdubhi, states that Anavēma ruled justly the country extending from Śrīśailam (in Kurnool district) to Siṁhāchalam (in Vizagapatam district).

Anavema's Titles:

Anavēma's titles *paricitānēkagativiśēṣavāraṇamāraṇōpāyo*, he who is acquainted with the different kinds of gait of elephants and the means of killing them, and *Prajāparicitacaturvidhōpaya*, he who is versed in the four expedients (namely, negotiation, bribery, sowing dissension, and open assault in overcoming enemies) unknown to people, furnish the clue to the success he had in his campaigns, and to the fact that he was master of a large elephant force, tho chief of the four components of the army. The titles, *kṣurikākali-Vētāḷa*, he who resembles in strife a Bētāḷa with his dagger, *kṣurikāsahāya*, he who has the dagger for his help, *karavāla-Vainatēya*, a veritable Garuḍa with the sword. *Kaliyuga-Bētāḷa*, a veritable Bētāḷa of the Kali age, suggest his high qualities of daring courage and valour. By the series of victories he had won, he felt justified in assuming the titles (recorded in his Śrīśailam inscription) *vikramapañjaranigṛhītaripurājasiṁha*, he who held down the lions of his enemy kings in the cage of his valour, and *Vijayakuñjarālānanijabhujastambhasambhṛtayaśōmaṇḍana*, he who was adorned with fame gained by chaining the elephant of Victory to the pillar-post of his shoulder. After these conquests Anavēma made, probably in grateful devotion, a gift of bells, surmounted by elephants (*gaja-ghaṇṭā*), to the five holy places of Pañcārāmas, namely, Amarārāma (Amarāvati) Dākshāram, Kṣīrārāma (Pālakol), Kumārrāma (Bhīmvaram near Sāmalkot), and Bhīmārāma[26] (Guḍipūḍi near Bhīmavaram).

King Anavēma was the greatest of the Reḍḍi rulers of Koṇḍavīḍu. He came to the throne by the choice of the ministers and nobles of the state at a time when its fortune was at a low ebb. He assumed the title *mahanīyandhradēśapaṭṭābhiṣēkasamvṛtamahābhāgya*, he who had the great good fortune of being crowned king of the glorious Andhra country. He repaired the loss sustained by the kingdom prior to his coronation, and enhanced its glory by his conquests. In his time, the power of Koṇḍavīḍu reached its zenith. It extended from Śrīśailam to the sea, and from Kandukur to Siṁhāchalam.

25. No. 15-6-26, Vol. I, pp. 270 ff.

The original plates of this grant are now lost. A copy of this inscription is preserved in the Elliot's collection.

26. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

ɩnavēma was a just and righteous ruler. He maintained and ɔd the *agrahāras* granted previously to brāhmans besides giving ɔw ones. His Īppugallu, Dṛjjavaram, Nadupūru, Vānapalli, ı, Manyamāpuram and Pedacheṛakūru grants bear evidence to ɔt. He was famed for his liberality and munificence. He his wealth chiefly for the encouragement of learned men and in their eloquence and scholarship.[26] He took delight in the ɩy of great poets and pleased them with gifts of many thousands coins[27] (*bahusahasra-suvarṇadāna santōṣita-mahākavīśvora*). He ɩed many kinds of *dānas* like *brahmāṇḍadāna*, *kalpatarudāna*, *dharādāna* and *gōsahasradāna*[28]. He set up *satras*, feeding in many holy places and provided for four kinds of food. He ɔed the festival of Vasantamahōtsava or Madanamahōtsava, and by an active part in it he came to be called Vasantarāya, 'the king ɔpring.' It was in Anavēma that the dreams of his father and ' to bring all the coastal region under one sceptre were finally ɩ. He was a Śaivite by religion and devoutly worshipped God There are many *Cāṭu* verses extant that were composed in his ', and many traditional stories which speak of his liberality. The poet, Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrana, author of *Viṣṇu Purāṇam* extols ma as one who gave his support to brāhmans, his birudas to the of the Paṇṭa clan, and his *naya* or political wisdom to his people[29]. ɔults of his just rule are epitomised in a *Cāṭu* verse in Sanskrit t in the Telugu country which states that people got good food, ɩthes, musk, gold and chowries while he was the king of the

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Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 62, v, 20.

Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

Ibid.

"తన బ్రాహ్మణ భూమిసురులకుఁ
దన బిరుదులు పంటకుల ధరణీశులకున్
దన నయము భూమి ప్రజలకు
నన వేమన యిచ్చెఁ గీర్తి నధికం బగుచున్"—Vn. Pr., (Introd.).

" ...... भूमीशे चिरमन्नवेमनृपतौ भूयोलभन्ते जना
मृष्टान्नं मृदुलाम्बरं मृगमदं चामीकरं चामरम्" —Sr. Su., p. 55.

CHAPTER VIII.

KUMĀRAGIRI.

(Cir. 1386 A. D. to Cir. 1402 A. D.)

Kumāragiri succeeded to the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu after the death of his uncle, Anavēma, some time about S. 1308 / 1386 A.D. The Anaparti grant[1], his earliest extant record, dated in S. 1312 / 1390 A.D., says that he had, by that year, friendly relations with the kings of the north, east, south and west. The next record of his reign, the Gōpavaram grant[2] contains a verse which states "that Kāṭaya Vēma, exalting king Kumāragiri to the throne even as S'rī Kṛṣṇa exalted Dharmarāja, caused him to shine", that is, made him rule. This statement suggests that Kumāragiri's succession to the throne was not a smooth and peaceful one and that he had to fight for it.

The records of the Reḍḍi kings, neither of Koṇḍavīḍu nor of Rājamahēndravaram, furnish us any clue to identify the opponents of Kumāragiri. As already known, Prōlaya Vēma had three sons, Anavōta, Anamāca, and Anavēma. Kumāragiri was the son of Anavōta. Anamāca's records[3] have not yet come to light. He is referred

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1. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 91 ff. The date of the grant is 22 April, 1390 A. D.
2. Ibid., pp. 211 f. The s'lōka containing the date reads as follows:

शाकेश्वे(ष्वे)न्दुगुणक्षितौ युवशरद्यर्केयने चोत्तरे
कृत्वा गोपवरं नमेवशुकसद्योगिप्रतिष्ठापिते
ग्रामं राजमहेन्द्रनामनगरीप्रान्तरे गोपिका
नाथायार्पितकाटयेन्द्रतनयः श्रीवेमपृथ्वीपतिः॥

The date of record is 27 December, 1395 A.D. The comparison between Kṛṣṇā and Kaṭaya Vēma and Yudhiṣṭhira and Kumāragiri seems to be significant, and not meaningless as some scholars are inclined to think. The writer of the grant, who must have composed the *Sāsana kavya* under the direction of Kāṭaya Vēma, himself a great Sanskrit scholar, would not have aimlessly used these comparisons in vain, merely figuratively.

3. There is an inscription of Māca Reḍḍi at Uṇḍavilli. It is not clear, if the record belongs to this Māca.

to in the Vāḍapalli inscription [1] of Anavēma dated in Śaka 1299. He probably died in the last years of Anavēma's rule. Anavēma appears to have had no male issue. Therefore, the rival claimants to the throne who opposed Kumāragiri's succession might have been his cousins, Vēma and Māca, sons of Peda Kōmaṭi, and grandsons of Māca I, brother of Prōlaya Vēma.

Kumāragiri's position and difficulties:

When Prōlaya Vēma founded the Reḍḍi kingdom at Addaṅki, it was really a small principality. It was left to his son Anavōta to elevate it to the dignity of a kingdom. In his efforts as well as those of his father in founding the kingdom, the whole family worked in a spirit of kinship and close co-operation. A like spirit permeated their administration as well; for, Vēma's elder brother, Māca, was posted as governor at Tsandavōlu, and his younger brother Malla at Kandukūru. Thus, the reins of government were in the hands of the three cousins, though Anavōta, who had his seat of government at Koṇḍavīḍu and was the more powerful among them, was looked up to for guidance and help by the other two. This difference in estate and power was transformed into one of kingship and fief, when Anavēma in the next generation secured great power and prestige for Koṇḍavīḍu by his statesmanship and conquering zeal. Tsandavōlu and Kandukūru, though relegated to the position of petty principalities, had still some kind of a claim to Koṇḍavīḍu and what protection and glory they could secure through its more powerful arms. It was in these circumstances, when the claims to the throne were vague and undetermined that Anavēma died childless. Peda Kōmaṭi's son Vēma must have thought that he bad as good a right for the throne as Kumāragiri, son of Anavōta; and any way, he made a bid for power, and perhaps made use of arms as well in his behalf.

Kumāragiri made his brother-in-law, Kāṭaya Vēma, his chief adviser in all matters. Owing to their near kinship with the ruling branch, Kāṭaya's family was gaining great importance. The power and prestige enjoyed by the members of that family was not wrought in a day or two. It grew gradually over the past two generations as a consequence of matrimonial alliances they had with the ruling family. Kāṭaya, father of Vēma under reference, married Kumāragiri's aunt, Doḍḍāṁbikā, daughter of Prōlaya Vēma. Their son was Vēma, better known as Kāṭaya Vēma. He married Anavōta's daughter and

1. A. R. H. S., 1934–35 (1344 F.), Appendix.

Kumāragiri's sister.[5] It is but natural for Peda Kōmaṭi's sons, Vēma and Māca, members of the royal line, to resent Kāṭaya Vēma's familiarity with the young king Kumāragiri, and the influence which he wielded in the State. To the chagrin of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, Kumāragiri made his brother-in-law his chief political adviser.

In seeking the advice of Kāṭaya Vēma on all important political matters, and treating him as his virtual minister, Kumāragiri really deviated from the traditional policy of the Reḍḍi kings, who invariably appointed brāhmans as their prime-ministers. During the reign of Prōlaya Vēma, Rāmā Preggaḍa and Mallinātha were his ministers.[6] In conducting the affairs of the state Anavōta was also assisted by the same Mallinātha, son of Rāmāraja, and Sōmaya Preggaḍa.[7] In the reign of Anavēma also there were brāhmans acting as ministers and prime ministers. Immaḍīndra,[8] son of Mallayamantri was the political adviser of Anavēma. Another minister and commander of

5. The name of the sister of king Kumāragiri is not definitely known either from inscriptions or literature. According to the late Srī K. V. Lakshmanarao, she was Mallambikā (A. V. S., Vol. II, p. 25). His authority is Kāṭaya Vēma's Dakshāram inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 328). This record, however, does not explicitly state that she was the daughter of Anavōta I. While editing the Kaluvacheṛu grant (A.S.P.P., Vol. III, pp. 108 ff) the late S'rī J. Ramayya Pantulu also writes that, of Doḍḍāmbikā, and Mallambika, the two wives of Kāṭaya Vēma, the latter was the sister of Kumaragiri. Even the Tottaramuḍi plates of Kāṭaya Vēma do not make the relationship between Mallamba and Kumaragiri or Anavōta I clear (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.). Hence there is no definite proof to say that Mallasani or Mallambika was the daughter of king Anavōta I, and the sister of *Kumaragiri*.

Following Lakshmanarao and Ramayya Pantulu the late S'rī C. Virabhadrarao also wrote that Mallambikā was the sister of Kumaragiri (An. Cr., III. p. 171, and p. 256). Mallasānmma was the daughter of a certain Kanniboraya (?) (S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 108), and the sister of Mukkanṭirāya. We do not know who this Kanniborāya was. There seems to be some mistake in the reading of the name as such a name is unusual and strange. However, it is certain that Mallasani was not the daughter of Anavota, and the sister of Kumaragiri.

6. N. D. I. Vol. III, O. 78, p. 1087.

7. Ep. Coll., No. 602 of 1909.

8. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 59 f.

"नीतौ मन्त्रीश्वरो विद्यागोष्ठीषु विबुधाग्रणीः :

मित्रं हितोपदेशेषु भूभुजामिम्मडीश्वरः ॥"

Anavēma was Peddana,[9] son of Māmiḍanna of the Bhāradvāja gōtra. Kumāragiri had implicit confidence in his brother-in-law Kāṭaya Vēma, and overlooked the claims of the hereditary brāhman ministers, probably on his advice, retaining only those officers in whom the latter, had confidence.[10] This perhaps was due to his anxiety to secure the kingdom for himself. While some of the nobles supported the claims of Kumāragiri, others loyally stood by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his brother, Māca. There was civil war in the kingdom between the rival claimants to the throne.

It is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to trace the course of events of the war. The material at our disposal is very scanty. Only one or two inscriptions of Kumāragiri and of Kāṭaya Vēma have so far been discovered between the years, S'aka 1308 (1386-87 A. D.) and S'aka 1312 (1390 A.D.). The scarcity of records may be presumed to be due to the unsettled state of affairs in the country; for, the ruler of the land is not mentioned, as was the general custom, in any of the inscriptions of this period, which register gifts to temples by private individuals.

The term "kings of the south", in the Anaparti grant alluded to before, may probably refer to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his party. Kumāragiri appears to have come to an understanding with Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, who was allowed full liberty and independence in his own affairs in his fief, so long as his activities were not prejudicial to the larger interests of the Reḍḍi kingdom. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was probably acknowledged heir to the throne after Kumāragiri, in case the latter had no issue

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9. According to the Telugu Work, *Sṛṅgāra Naiṣadham* his geneology is given below.

Peda Tūrkana
|
Ciṭi Peddana
|
Māmiḍanna = Akkāṁbā
|
Peddana (Minister of Anavēma) — Vīrabhadra — Mārana — Nāmana

Peddana had three sons, Viz., Vema, Pregaḍa and Siṅgana. Peddana's brothers and sons sided Peda Komaṭi Vēma.

"అనవేమ వసుంధరారమణ సప్తాంగాపహారక్రియా
ధురసంరంభ విజృంభమాణపటునిర్ఘుష్టాద్వితీయాగ్రణిం
ఘనతేజోధన రాజ్యభారధరణవ్యాపారదక్షుండు పె
ద్దన మంత్రీశుఁడు మామిడన్నసుతుఁడై దేశస్థ్యుఁడై చెప్పఁగన్." —Sr. Nd.

10. Kaṭaya Vema had a brahman minister, named, Peddi, son of Appaya (S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 226).

This is suggested by the Amīnābād record [12] which states that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma gained the throne of the kingdom in due course (*krama-pariprāpta-sāmrājya-siṁhāsanādhyāsiyai*). Hostilities ceased with the conclusion of this understanding, and Kumāragiri ascended the throne. It is not known when the civil war came to an end, and when Kumāragiri was anointed to the kingdom. This must have been before S'aka 1312, the date of the Anaparti record alluded to before. The first inscription to refer to Kāṭaya Vēma as the *pradhāni* of Kumāragiri comes from Siṁhāchalam.[13] It is dated in the S'aka year 1308 (expired). A still earlier record of Kāṭaya Vēma dated in the month of Ās'āḍha of the same year is found at Amarāvati[14] in Guṇṭūr district. It registers a gift by Appana Peddi, the chief executive officer of Kāṭaya Vēma for the latter's merit. The gift, registered in this record, was, no doubt, made to god Amarēs'vara in grateful thanks for the successful termination of the civil war resulting in the enthronement of Kumāragiri. The termination of the civil war as well as the coronation of Kumāragiri must, therefore, have taken place just in the beginning of the S'aka year 1308 (1386 A. D.).

During the period between S'aka 1308 (1386 A. D.) and Saka 1312 (1390 A. D.) Kumāragiri fought successful wars with the kings of the west, north and east, that is, probably with Vijayanagar, Rājakoṇḍa, and Kaḷiṅga respectively.

Vijayanagar Aggression :

When there was civil war in the kingdom, Harihara II, king of Vijayanagar, marched as far as Tripurāntakam and captured that stronghold. This fact is borne out by two of his inscriptions at Tripurāntakam dated Śaka 1307[15] and Śaka 1308[16], corresponding to the cyclic years Krōdhana and Akṣaya respectively. Of these the first inscription registers a gift of land for the merit of Vīra Dēvarāya, son of Harihara II, and the other, another grant of land by the *mahāpradhāni* Bhavadūra Oḍeya, son or minister of Bukka I. The Vijayanagar armies advanced even still further as far as Vinukoṇḍa in Guntur

12. A. S. P. P., Vol. IX. pp. 319-325.

13. S. I I. Vol. VI, No. 781. The gift recorded in this inscription was made on Sunday on the 7th tithi of the bright half of the month of Kartika. The s'aka date is expired. The details work out correctly for s'aka 1309. The English date equivalent is Sunday, 20 October, 1387 A. D.

14. Ibid, No. 226. The gift registered in this inscription was made on Wednesday, the second tithi of the lunar half of Adhika Āṣāḍha. The corresponding English date is Wednesday, 30th May, 1386 A. D.

15. Ep. Coll., No. 270 of 1905.

16. Ibid, No. 257 of 1905.

district as attested by the Telugu drama *Krīḍābhirāmam* written by Vallabhamatya. The author's father, Tippana, the superintendent of the *ratnabhāṇḍāra* (the royal treasury consisting of precious gems) of Harihara II is stated to have been *Śrutaparvata-durga-mahāpradhāna-rāḍ-gandhagajambu*, the mast elephant of the chief minister of *Śruta-parvatadurga* or the mountain-fort of Vinukoṇḍa. These acquisitions were made by the Vijayanagar king, Harihara II about the Saka year 1306-07 when a campaign was launched against the Reḍḍi kingdom as well as the kingdom of the Rācerla kings. In the course of this campaign Harihara II was able to recover again from the Reḍḍi kings the Śrīśailam area [17], which remained, thereafter, under the rule of Vijayanagar.

King Kumāragiri, soon after the conclusion of the civil war, sent his generalissimo, Kāṭaya Vēma with a large army against Harihara II to recover the Tripurāntakam and Śrīśailam districts. Kāṭaya Vēma succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat on the Vijayanagar forces. Harihara II's armies, which were sent against Warangal, already suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the combined forces of the Hindu Rēcerla kings and the Muslim Bahmanī Sultāns at Kottakoṇḍa [18] in the present Mahaboobnagar district of the Hyderabad State. He, therefore, realised the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with the neighbouring Reḍḍi kings in order to strengthen himself against the growing power of the Bahmanī Sultāns and of the Rēcerla kings. Hence, he thought it prudent to come to terms with Kumāragiri.

17. This country was first conquered by Anavōta I and his brother, Māda I, some time after S'aka 1283 (See, VV. Vm, p. 17), then by Bukk I, and afterwards by Anavēma. I quote all the verses that bear testimony to the Rēcerla rule over this region.

"एकोयं भाग्यलक्ष्मीं प्रथयति जगति ज्यायसीमन्ध्रदेश:
देव: श्रीशैलनाथस्त्रिभुवनतिलको यत्रचाहोबलेन्द्र:
वाहिन्यौयत्र ...... हरिहरतनूगौतमीकृष्णवेण्यौ
यंचायावन्नवोतप्रभुरवतिममं माधवेनानुजेन"

V. 19. --Ainavolu inscription.

"प्रत्यर्थिगायिगोवाळस्सोयं समरसात्यकि:
श्रीशैलविन्ध्यमध्योर्वीमण्डलं परिपालयन्"

—V. 26.—Umāmahēs'varam inscription.

"विन्ध्यश्रीशैलमध्यक्ष्मामण्डलं पालयन्मुदै:
वंशप्रवर्धकै रवान् भुङ्क्ते भोगपुरन्दर:"

- V. 40 – *Rasarṇavasudhakaram.*

18. Ep. Carn., Vol. XII, Ck. 15; V. O., p. 121.

Kāṭaya Vēma also was anxious to come to an agreement with the Vijayanagar king, as it would be to the advantage of Koṇḍavīḍu to have the Vijayanagar power on its side against both its external and internal enemies. Accordingly, a treaty appears to have been concluded between Kāṭaya Vēma on behalf of Kumāragiri and Harihara II, by which Tripurāntakam was ceded to Kumāragiri. The provenance of the Vijayanagar records at S'rīs'ailam subsequent to S'aka 1307 makes it clear that Kāṭaya Vēma consented to give away a major portion of the S'rīs'ailam country to Harihara II. Tripurāntakam and the stronghold of Vinukoṇḍa once again came into the possession of king Kumāragiri. The marriage alliance, alluded to in the Vēmavaram plates[19] of Allaya Vēmā Reḍḍi, refers to this period. Harihara II cemented this political alliance by giving his daughter Hariharāṁbā in marriage to Kāṭaya Vēma himself.[20]

Relations between the Rēcerla Chiefs and the Reḍḍis:

The Rēcerla princes also were busy in extending their territory. The *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁs'āvaḷi* states that Kumāragiri was defeated in battle by Siṅgama Nāyaka's son, Māda Nāyaka.[21] Contrary to the usual method, followed in describing the victories of the Rēcerla kings elaborately in one or more verses, this event is noticed very briefly in one or two verses in that work, and dispensed with very lightly. If at all this was true, it must have taken place in the course of the Kaliṅga campaign of Anavōta I at the fag end of his reign. It took place subsequent to Ś. 1302, the date of his inscription[22] at Siṁhāchalam. Vēdagiri I or Peda Vēdagiri, son of Māda Nāyaka I and Siṅga's son Māda Nāyaka II appear to have taken part in this campaign.

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19. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII, v. 22. p. 242.

20. I accept the S'lōka relating to this alliance as emended by Pandit V. Prabhākara S'āstri Garu.

21. "కొమరగిరిరెడ్డికిఁ గోరి సింగయమాదు
తవరఁ బెట్టిన బొమ్మ్రఁ దలఁపవైరి." v. 108, p. 39.
"తవర మీపెదతండ్రి దాచభూపాలుండు
కొమరగిరికి బొమ్మ్ర గోరి పెట్టె." v. 121, p. 43.

It may be noted here that, other than Dāca, father of Anavōta I and Mādhava I, there was no other king bearing the same name in the Rēcerla line. Dāca was not a contemporary of Kumāragiri. The very mention of Dāca makes this event doubtful.

22. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 1081.
The reading *gayinirvāḷuḷaina* is wrong. The correct reading should be *gayagōvaḷuḍaina*.

According to the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* Vēdagiri reduced the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi[23] in the Tuni division of East Godavari district. If the defeat of Kumāragiri by Siṅgaya Māda is a fact, it must have been achieved in the region to the north of the Gōdāvarī in the course of this raid. From the way in which this event is reported it certainly was not a resounding victory for the Rēceṟlas. It must have been a mere skirmish at some outpost with neither party worsted. It is interesting to note that Kāṭaya Vēma, the most redoubtable soldier of Koṇḍavīḍu is not mentioned even once in the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* as having been defeated by the Rēceṟla kings.

Sometime after his accession to the throne Kumāragiri deputed Kāṭaya Vēma along with prince Annavōta II to conquer the eastern region as gathered from the Anaparti grant.

Annadēva Cōḍa:

Now, a solitary inscription[24] of Annadēva Cōḍa, son of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja at Tripurāntakam which registers the grant of the village of Kañcanapalli to god Tripurāntakadēva, has to be taken into consideration. It does not mention any Reḍḍi king of the period. It is not known in what capacity, whether as a friend or as a foe of the Reḍḍis, he was there at that time. None of his records, prior to Saka 1326 with the exception of this solitary inscription, has been discovered. Hence this record is really a riddle. It is likely that, since his dispossession of kingdom by Anavēma, he had been wandering from State to State in search of a supporter, who would espouse his cause and help him in recovering his territory. Probably, he vainly tried to take advantage of the civil war and joined one of the parties in the hope of gaining some help to fulfil his desire. It might be, during these peregrinations, that Annadēva Cōḍa chanced to be at Tripurāntakam. This is, however, a conjecture. It is even possible that his presence at Tripurāntakam might have some connection with the incursion of the Rēceṟla kings in the north.

Kumāragiri's eastern campaign:

Anyhow, by Śaka 1312 (1390 A. D.), the date of the Anaparti grant, king Kumāragiri was ruling the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom peacefully, either having already come to a settlement with his enemies, or after conquering them. His copper-plate grants do not furnish any details of the

23. VV. Vm., p 37. Pedda Vēdagiri Nāḍu had the title *Beṇḍapūḍidurgavibhāḷa*: See per contra, VV. Vm. Introd., p. 20.

24. Ep. Coll. No. 254 of 1905.

wars he waged with the neighbouring powers. Only the Anaparti grant furnishes the information that Kāṭaya Vēma, his minister and generalissimo, conquered the Gajapati king and other chieftains between the Vindhya and the Siṁhādri mountains during his invasion of the eastern country, undertaken at the bidding of his sovereign. As stated already, this expedition to the eastern country was launched subsequent to the military raid of Anavōta Nāyaka II of the Rēcerla family subsequent to Śaka 1302, the date of his Siṁhāchalam record, and prior to S'aka 1312, the date of the Ana parti grant. Kāṭaya Vēma's Sarpavaram inscription[25], dated in S'aka 1310, might probably serve to indicate the date of the Kaḷiṅga invasion, which was probably undertaken in the autumn of that year.

Kāṭaya Vēma's conquests in the eastern quarter are not detailed either in the Anaparti or the Gōpavaram grants of Kumāragiri. The commentaries on Kāḷidāsa's dramas, written by Kaṭaya Vēma, however, mention some of his conquests in this region, evidently during this campaign. From the introductory verses[26] in his commentary on the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* he is known to have conquered (1) Mollēṭi durgam or the fort of Mollēru; (2) Kimmūru-durgam or the fort of Kimmūru (3) Beṇḍapūḍi; (4) Vajrakūṭam; (5) Rāmagiri and (6) Vīrakūṭam. An account of these places given below will show that they are all in Kaḷiṅga.

Identification of places conquered:

(i) *Mollēṭi - durgam:* The fort Mollēru is in the Yellavaram division of Godavari district. An undated inscription[27] at that place records the construction of Vēmasamudram (tank) by a certain Vuppula Hanmaya for the merit of Kāṭama Reḍḍi Vēmā Reḍḍi, evidently after the conquest of this place by the latter.

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25. S. I. I. Vol. V. No. 7, The English date equivalent is Friday, 7th August, 1388. A.D.

26. These verses are given as appendix to the paper on the Tottaramūḍi plates published by the late S'rī J. Ramayya Pantulu Ep. Ind., vol. IV. and by Pandit Pendyala Subrahmanya S'astri Garu in A S. P. P. Vol. X.

धाटीघाटीषु गाढत्रुटितगिरितटे यत्रमोल्लेटिदुर्गं
दुर्गं किम्मूरुसंज्ञं दलितरिपुबलं दुर्गमं बेण्डपूडि
दुर्भेद्यं वज्रकूटं जितवति रभसा रामगिर्याख्यदुर्गं
विख्यातं वीरघोट्टं गलितमनुहृदां वीरसन्नाहभाग्यम् ॥

Pandit Prabhakara Sastri Garu has also given the above verses in his *Sṛṅgāra Srīnātham*. In some of the copies of the Commentary, instead of Mollēṭi-durgam we find the reading of Maskedi-durgam which seems to be wrong (Vide. A. S. P. P Vol. X, p. 52.

27 Ep. Coll., No. 238 of 1924.

(ii) *Kimmūru durgam*: According to the *Local records*,[28] there was in times of yore a Kirāta chief, Kimmīra, who built a town named Kimmūru after his own name in the neighbourhood of the mountains, some fourteen krōs distant from the holy place of Dākshāram, and the country around this town comprising fifty four villages, like Tamire (the ancient name of Peddāpuram), Kaṭṭamūru, Kāṭrāvulapalli, Guḍivāḍa, Ulimēśvaram, Kāṇḍrakōṭa, Jaggampēṭa and Maṟṟipāka was called Kimmūru *Sīma*. Since all the villages, said to have been situated in this *Sīma*, are now found in the Peddāpuram taluk of the East Godavari district, the old Kimmūru *Sīma* may be roughly said to correspond to the present Peddāpuram taluk, in East Godavari district. Kāṇḍrakōṭa, now a village situated on the bank of the river Ēlēṟu, six miles north of the present town of Peddāpuram, is traditionally known to be the ancient town of Kimmūru, where ruins of an old fort are still to be seen. The *Local records* furnish the interesting information that, after the time of Vēma Reḍḍi (probably Kāṭaya Vēma), a noble named Reḍḍi Peda Veṅkappa held sway over Kimmūru, Prōlunāḍu, Kottapalli, Garugumilli, Kovvāḍa and Kūṭāla (Gūṭāla) *Sīmas*, and that he gave Kimmūru *Sīma* as a military fief to one Isukapalli Peddāpatra[29], on condition of payment of the revenue derived from that *Sīma* to him, after defraying the expenses incurred for maintaining his army. It seems likely that Reḍḍi Peda Veṅkappa was appointed to rule over that region by Kāṭaya Vēma, after his conquest of the eastern country.

(iii) *Beṇḍapūḍi*: This is now a small village in the Tuni division of East Godavari district. It was once a great stronghold and the capital of a province. The *Local records* ascribe the building of the fort to the Kākatīya monarchs of Waraṅgal. Local people point out to the ruins of what must, at one time, have been a very large fort. Old coins are said to be found here occasionally.[30] Many dilapidated temples are found among the ruins. After the conquest of this fort, Ariyēṭi Annayamantri, brother of Ariyēṭi Liṅganamantri, appears to have been apointed as its governor. Since then his family came to be known as the Beṇḍapūḍi family.

(iv) *Vajrakūṭam*: This appears to be identical with present Vajragaḍa or Vajraghar (Diamond fort), "lying six miles from Narsapatam off the road to Anakāpalli" in the Golgonda taluk of Vizagapatam district. According to the Vizagapatam District Gazetteer,[31] "the

28. Kf, Km.

29. Ibid. pp. 3 1.

30. DG., Gd., 234.

31. Pp. 255-56.

ruins of a very large fortress, built at the base of two hills and now cultivated, are still to be seen in it, and local tradition gives the names of seven forts with which it was once defended...... Small gold coins of two kinds, neither of which have yet been satisfactorily identified, are found round about the fort after heavy rain, and a small square stone with old Telugu inscriptions on all four sides is to be seen near the middle of its eastern wall."

(v) *Rāmagiri*: This is Rāmagiri, one of the *ṭhānas* [32] in the upper division of the Jeypore estate. It is said that there was an old fort here, on the site of which "a victim was sacrificed here - (Meriah sacrifice.)" [33]

(vi) *Vīrakūṭam*: This is identical with the present Vīraghaṭṭam in the Pālakoṇḍa taluk of Vizagapatam district. It "contains the remains of a considerable mud fort in which are now located" according to Vizagapatam District Gazetteer, "the dispensary and the police lines. [34]

During the period under review Vīrakūṭam was ruled by a dynasty of Pallava chiefs belonging to the Bhāradvāja gōtra and to the Kāḍuveṭṭi vaṁśa. The kings of this dynasty appear to have come into prominence from the beginning of the twelfth century during the rule of Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I (1070 A.D.,-1120 A.D.). A brief account of this Pallava dynasty is given in an appendix to this chapter. Puruṣōttama II and his son, Saubhāgyadēvarāja were the contemporaries of Anavōta Reḍḍi and his son, Kumāragiri. Saubhāgyadēva ruled from S'aka 1322 to S'aka 1346. His records bearing S'aka dates 1322, 1342, and 1346 have come to light at Siṁhāchalam. His predecessor Puruṣōttama must have been the Pallava king of Vīrakūṭam who was defeated by Kāṭaya Vēma in his eastern campaign, and is represented by only two records dated in S'aka 1278 and 1279 at Siṁhāchalam.

The exploits of Kāṭaya Vēma, described in the commentary on the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, are not the only conquests effected during this eastern campaign. A *Cāṭu* verse[35] in Telugu, given in the

32. DG., Vj. p. 271.
33. Ibid, p. 202.
34. Ibid., p. 292.
35. Ct. Mm., II, p. 66.

కాటనృపతి వేమఁ డవఘాటు మహో[illegible]
కాటము జేసి కోటఁ గొని గౌతమనామహిని దాటి సా/గు యా
కోటల నన్ను రాసుతులఁ [illegible] దన్నెఁబో
ఘోటక హాటక ప్రకరం [illegible] .

Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjari states that Kāṭama Reḍḍi Vēma crossing the river Gautamī, reduced Kāṭmaṟēnikōṭa, the fort of Kāṭamaṟēḍu, and brought from that place Kṣatriya princes and maidens as captives to Kondavidu. This must have been effected in the beginning of the campaign, soon after crossing the Gautamī. The location of this Kāṭamaṟenikōṭa[36] is, however, not known.

Besides this, another of his important and noteworthy victory is revealed by his title, recorded in the Gōpavaram grant of Kumāragiri, dated in S'aka 1317 (1395 A.D.). This grant gives Kāṭaya Vēma the significant title of *Kaṭakacūṟakāra*,[37] the plunderer of Cuttack, the capital of the Gajapati monarchs of Kaḷiṅga and Orissa. This title suggests that his conquests did not stop with Siṁhāchalam and its surroundings but extended as far as Cuttack in Puri district of Orissa.

In the light of the above facts there is reason to believe that the Reḍḍi princes of Rājamahēndravaram also accompanied Kāṭaya Vēma in this eastern campaign, and were instrumental in extending the authority of Kumāragiri over the whole of the Kaḷiṅga country. The conquest of the eastern country as far as Cuttack or Puruṣōttam is also claimed by Allāḍa Reḍḍi's sons, Vēma and his brother, Doḍḍā Reḍḍi, the Reḍḍi princes of Rājamahēndravaram. The Vēmavaram plates[38] of Allaya Vēma, dated in S'aka 1356, state that he overran Kaḷiṅga, conquered the kings of the Sapta-Māḍiyas and set up pillars of victory at Simhāchalam and Puruṣōttam. Two contemporaenous Telugu works, named *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam* and *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* written by Srīnātha, while mentioning in detail the countries subjugated by Allaya Vēmā Reḍḍi, state further that he defeated the Gajapati,[39] the king of the Oḍḍe land ("*Oḍḍe-dhātrīnātha*") or Orissa, and the Sultān of Paṇḍua[40] The latter

36. This may be identical with any one of the two villages Kāṭrēnikōna (Amalāpuram taluk), and Kāṭrenipaḍu (Rajole taluk) in East Godavari district.

37. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, p. 213, l. 42.

यः कटकचूरकारः प्रख्यातः पाणड्यराजगजसिंहः'

38. Ep. Ind, Vol. XIII, p. 242, v. 17.

जित्वा य पटुसप्तमाडियनृपान् क्रान्त्वा कलिङ्गक्षितिम्
सिंहाद्रौ पुरुषोत्तमे पटुजयस्तम्भान् सजृंभन्यधात्॥

39. Ks., Kh., I, 69.

40. "పండువా సురత్రాణి పొసఁడ ఁ జొచ్చిన
ధాత్రీధవములు వీకఁ జాల ముంచు
నొడ్డ ధాత్రీనాథుఁ దూపడఁ బుత్తెంచిన
దండనాథుం డొప్పి సంచిత నహించు".—Bh. Pr., I, v. 37.

Telugu work states that Doḍḍā Reḍḍi planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Chilaka lake. According to Śivalīlāvilāsam it was Allāḍa Reḍḍi, father of Vēmā Reḍḍi, who defeated Gauḍādhipati (king of the Gauḍa country), that is, the Gajapati monarch, and thereby earned the title *Gajapatidaḷavibhāḷa.*[41] The references given above clearly prove that Allāḍa Reḍḍi and his sons, the princes of Rājamahēndravaram, led a successful expedition as far as Puruṣōttam (Cuttack). It has to be decided now if this expedition was the same as that undertaken by Kāṭaya Vēma, or a different one altogether. To get a satisfatory answer to this question, it is necessary to know in detail the conquests of Allāḍa Reḍḍi and his sons. The Telugu works *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* and *Śivalīlāvilāsam* are the only sources that furnish a full and detailed list of their conquests. Of these three, the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* was dedicated to Ariyēṭi Annamantri, youngest brother of Liṅganamantri, and *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* to Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi, brother of Vēmā Reḍḍi and son of Allāḍa Reḍḍi. Similarly, the work *Śivalīlāvilāsam*, dedicated to Allāḍa Reḍḍi's son, Doddā Reḍḍi, was also of the same period.

According to the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* Ariyēti Liṅgana, the minister of Allāḍa Reḍḍi conquered the lords of Jhāḍēśavana, Sapta-Māḍe, Bārahadonti, and Jantaṛunāḍu, exacted tribute from Uday= Arjuna of the Mastsya family of Oḍḍādi, offered protection to the Puḷinda kings of the Nāga family of Rambha in the middle of the Daṇḍaka forest, and maintaining friendly terms with the Yavana, Karṇāṭa, and the Kaṭaka kings caused his master Allāḍa Reḍḍi to rule the Telugu land.[42] Liṅganamantri effected these conquests on behalf of

41. Vide, Appendix to Chapter, VII, Pt. II, v. 42.

42 "ఝాడేశవన సప్తమాడె బారహాదొంటి
జంతురునాడిఁ ?) [illegible] గెలిచి
ఒడ్డాది మత్స్యకులోదయార్జునుచేతఁ
ఒల్లవాధిపుచేతఁ బలచమంది
దండకారణ్యమధ్య పుళిందరాజరం
భాహిఁవంశజులకు నభయ మొసఁగి
భానుమత్స్యుల కిరభ్రదాన్న దేశేంద్ర
కర్యసంరక్షణముఁ గట్టిపెట్టి
యశః [illegible] ధూర్దపులతోడఁ
జెలిమి నాటి చ యేలించెఁ దెలుఁగుభూమి
దః నిజస్వామి నల్లాడ ధరణినాథు
ధీర యరియేటి లింగన ప్రభువరుండు".

—Bh. Pr., I, v. 62.

his master Allāḍa Reḍḍi; hence, they are virtually the conquests of Allāḍa Reḍḍi himself. The subjugation of Jhāḍē, Jantaṛunāḍu, Sapta-Māḍe, Bārahadonti, and Oḍḍādi are also ascribed to Allaya Vēma in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* and the *Śivalīlāvilāsam*.[48] The latter work informs us that Allaya Vēma brought into subjection, the countries of Sapta-Māḍe and Oḍḍādi, and defeated the Pallava king and the kings of Nandāpura and Rampa.

In addition to the above conquests, the *Kāśikhaṇḍam* and the *Śivalīlāvilāsam* mention some more places in the Kaḷinga country reduced to submission by Allaya Vēma and his brother, Allaya Vīrabhadra. They are not helpful to our discussion. A list of all the conquests of Allāḍa Reḍḍi and his sons, as indicated in the contemporary Telugu literature and the Vēmavaram plates cited before, is given below in a tabular form for the easy grasp of the problem. The table also includes the conquests that have not been referred to in the discussion above.

TABLE

(on the next page)

48. Vide, Appendix to chapter. VII, Pt. II.

Conquests of Allāḍa		Conquests of Allya Vēma.					Conquests of Allya Vīra	Conquests of Allaya Doḍḍa
According to *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, or *Bhīmakhaṇḍam*.	According to *Śivalīlā-vilāsam*.	According to *Śivalīlāvilāsam*.	According to *Kāśi-khaṇḍam*.	According to *Bhīma-khaṇḍam*	According to a *Cāṭu* verse	According to the Vēma-varam pts	According to *Kāśikhaṇ-ḍam*	According to *Kāśikhaṇ-ḍam*.
Offered protection to Nāga chiefs of Rambha		Rampa Immadi-rāja						
Protected the Pulinda chiefs of Daṇḍaka								
			Cīdikāḍa, Kañcuka-mulu (Sōmpēṭa), Kaluva-palli,					Lōtugędda
Conquered: Arjuna of the Matsya family of Oḍḍādi	Oḍḍādi	Mastsyas	Oḍḍādi			Simhādri	Kasimkōṭa	Oḍḍādi
Jhāḍēśavana		Nandāpurēśa	Jhāḍe					
Pallava Chief		Pallava Puru-ṣōttama (Māka-varam.)	Māka-varam	Pallvā-dhipa	Pāla-konda			
Jantaṛunāḍu		Saṅgavarāja (Sruṅgavarapu-kōṭa)	Jantaṛu-nāḍu		Poṭṭu-nūru	Kaliṅga	Killeda, Kaliṅga. Cīkaṭi	Śruṅga-varapukōṭa
Sapta-Māḍe		Sapta-Māḍiyas	Sapta-Māḍiyams	Sapta-Māḍe		Satpa-Māḍe		
Bārahadonti			Bāraha-donti	Bāraha-donti	Kalāvenḍi-puram.		Bārahadonti	
	Gauḍādhi-pati		Kaṭaka, Panduva	Oḍdedhā-trīśa, Pan-ḍuvā		Puru-ṣōttam	Veṅkaṭāyi	
					Kappa-koṇḍa		Kappakoṇḍa	

Jhādēśavana: Jhādēs'avana is identical with Jhādē of the *Kāśikhaṇḍam*, said to have been subdued by Allāḍa's son Vēma. It means a great forest. Even at the present day the rulers of the Jeypore estate are known as *Jhāḍkhaṇḍ-pādushāhs*, the lords of *Jhāḍkhaṇḍ*. It has been a title of the kings of Nandāpura. Kommāji Sōmanātha, the protege of Dhanaṁjaya Dhātrāja, king of Pārvatīpuram, states, in his work *Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa*, that his patron obtained royal honours from Vikramadēva Gajapati (of the nineteenth century), the Jhāḍkhaṇḍ-pādushah of Nandāpura [45]. Jhāḍēs'avana or Jhāḍkhaṇḍ is identical with the ancient *Mahākāntāra* ruled by Vyāghrarāja who is referred to in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. [46] This Jhāḍe comprise the modern taluks of Pārvatīpuram and Bobbili, and at least a great portion, if not the whole, of the Jeypore state. It is said that Nandāpuram in the Pottangi tuluk was the ancient capital of Jeypore [47], and the name of the dynasty which ruled over it was S'ilāvaṁs'a. Nandāpurēs'a, who is said to have been defeated by Allaya Vēma in the *Śivalīlāvilāsam*, was therefore the king of Jhāḍe (*Jhāḍēśavana*) and belonged to the Silāvaṁs'a. The existence of this dynasty is known only from six or seven-records which register gifts of its members in two holy places, one at Siṁhachalam in the Vizagapatam district and the other at Śrīkūrmam in the Ganjām district. It was the king of Jhāḍēs'avana or Nandāpura who was defeated by Allāḍa Reḍḍi and his son, Vēmā Reḍḍi.

The conquest of this country by Allāḍa is attested to by another piece of evidence also. A native of the Bobbili country, by name Basuvaya, makes a gift of ten silver Allāḍa *ṭaṅkas* [48] (*Allāḍa veṇḍi ṭaṅkālu*) to god Narasiṁhanātha of Siṁhāchalam for a perpetual lamp, in Śaka 1347, corresponding to the cyclic year, Viśvāvasu, that is, in 1425 A. D. From this it is evident that the *Allāḍa ṭaṅkas*, minted in the name of Allāḍa Reḍḍi, were current in Kaḷiṅga, presumably after his conquest of that country. This conquest must

45 "పృథుల సాలగ్రామ పీఠశోభిత మైన
చారునందాపురీ స్థానమందు
శ్రీశంకరాన్వయ క్షీరవారిధి శశి
ఝాడ్ఖండ పాదుషా సకలరాజ
మకుట మాణిక్యరుచిమండితచరణుడౌ
శ్రీ విక్రమాహ్వయ దేవగజప
తీంద్రుచే ... ..."

46. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 7. 1. 19.

47 It is said that the present Jeypore State is but a portion of the domain of the kings of S'ilā-vaṁśa of Nandāpura.

48. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 798.

have been effected prior to that date and only in the reign of Kumāragiri and not after, as will be shown later on.

Sapta-Māḍiyas: Both Allāḍa. Reḍḍi and his son, Vēma Reḍḍi are credited to have conquered the kings of the Manne Sapta-Māḍiyas (*jitvāyaḥ patu Sapta-Māḍiya-nṛpān*) and Bārahadonti. What were these Manne Sapta-Māḍiyas and Bārahadonti and where were they situated? Sapta - Māḍiyas or Sapta - Māḍēs mean seven Māḍiyas, *Ēḍu Māḍiyamulu* or *Ēḍu Māḍemulu* in vernacular. The term *Māḍiya*, same as *Māḷiya* or *Māliya* is derived from *mala*, a mountain. The agency tracts or highlands in the Ganjam district, formed by the irregular chain of the Eastern ghats, are called *Māḷiyas*. They are the habitat of the forest tribes namely, the Khonds (Kōdulu), and the Savaras. From very ancient times the whole of this tract appears to have been divided into seven divisions. The Canarese poet, Pampa of the tenth century A. D., in his work, *Vikramārjunavijayam* or *Bhārata*, describing the family of his patron lord, Arikēsarin II of the Cāḷukya family, states that Arikēsarin's father, Narasimha II conquered the kings of *Ēḷu Māḷavam* which are wrongly identified by some with Ēḍu Māḍēmulu or Sapta - Māḍiyas.[49] A *Cāṭu* verse[50] in Telugu given in the *Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjari* recounts the victories of Vēma Reḍḍi, son of Allāḍa Reḍḍi. According to this

49. Pm. Bh. 1:85. The Sapta Kaḷiṅgas which find mention in inscriptions and literatuer seem to be no other than these Sapta-Māḷiyas, the agency tracts of the Kaḷiṅga country.

50. Ct. Mm., II, p. 72.

దండయాత్రాఘోష తమ్మటధ్వనులచే
గంటులు కేయించెఁ గర్ణాటద
[illegible] రాలాధిప కిలాకలముచేత
కేలశాం గదగించెఁ జాలకొండ
(?)అరట్టబాధట్ట హయఘట్టములచేత
కుట్టిభూర్పతిఁ గొంచెఁ బొట్టునూను
ధూళిప్రశాపాగ్నిఁ బుటములు పెట్టించె
విద్వేషులనఁ గళా(కాళ)కొండపురము
అనఁగ సురిశెట్టి కోటారాయ
యరులబందుల ముండుబాయడహరణ
బలియధూళియ మూలశ బండి కొర
విజయ రఘురామ! అల్లాడ విభుని వేమ ”

Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu, who has done yeomen service to the Telugu literature, has to be congratulated for rescuing this very valuable verse from oblivions. This verse, which seems to have been composed by S'rīnātha, narrates Allaya Vēma's conquests, some of which do not find mention anywhere else.

verse Vēma reduced Kappakoṇḍa, Pālakoṇḍa, Poṭṭunūru and Kalāveṇḍipuram, destroyed the *yavanas* of Maṇḍuvā, and took the ruler of Baliyadhūḷiya-Māḷuva captive The *Cāṭu* verse appears to be faulty. Baliyadhūḷiya-Māḷuva seems to be a mistake for Baliyagūḷiya-Māḷiya, one of the seven Māḷiyas or Māḍiyas. Even to-day it forms one of the seven Māḷiyas into which the highlands of the Ganjam district are divided, and bears the name Baḷigūḍa Māḷiya, a corruption of the old Baliyagūḷiya Māḷiya. With the help of this identification it becomes easy to emend Kaḷāveṇḍipuram. It also appears to have been wrongly written as Kaḷāveṇḍipuram. Kāḷaveṇḍipuram is the ancient name of the modern Kālahaṇḍi or Kālahaṇḍipura, the capital of the Kālhaṇḍi estate on the western border of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. It is not, therefore, difficult to identify Kaḷāveṇḍipura, wrongly written for Kāḷaveṇḍipura, with Kāḷahaṇḍipura, the modern Kāḷahandi. Paṇḍūva is the capital of the Sultāns of Bengal and Maṇḍuva (Mandu) that of the Sultān of Mālva. With these emendations this *Cāṭu* verse affords another proof to confirm Allaya Vēma's conquest of the Sapta-Māḍiyas.

Bārahadonti: Bāraha is twelve, and the term, 'the kings of Bārahadonti', seems to refer to the rulers of the twelve serial states or kingdoms. The term *donti* signifying a serial suggests that the twelve states lie adjacent to one another. As Vēma carried his arms as far as Kāḷahaṇḍi, the twelve states suggested by the term Bārahadonti appear to refer to the feudatory and tributary states of Orissa and the Central Provinces, bordering on the Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts. The correctness of this identification is established by the fact that Kāḷahaṇḍi (Kāḷaveṇḍipura) conquered by Vēma happens to be one of these states.[51] The Reḍḍi princes of Rājamahēndravaram offered protection to the kings of Bārahadonti and Manne-dharaṇīpālas, that is, the kings of the Sapta-Māḍiyas ("*Balavad-Bārahadonti-Manne-dharaṇīpālāvarōdhāṅganā-vilasan-maṅgaḷasūtra - rakṣaṇakalāvikhyāta-kāruṇya*") after subduing them.

Jantaṟu Nāḍu: The next achievement attributed to both Allāḍa Reḍḍi and his son, Vēmā Reḍḍi is the conquest of Jantaṟunāḍu. This *nāḍu* or territorial division finds mention in inscriptions of the period under review. An identification of the villages said to have been situated in this *nāḍu* leads us to the conclusion that this district comprised roughly the tract of country now known as the Sruṅgavarpukōṭa taluk of the Vizagapatam district. It was ruled by a line of kings of

51. In a record (S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 1289) of Kulottuṅga Cōḍa I at Dākshāram the rulers of the tributary and feudatory states are mentioned as *Kōsalakhaṇḍa-pālas* (कोसलखण्डपालनिवहैः), rulers of states belonging to the Southern Kosala

Gārtsyamada-gōtra and of the Surabhivaṁśa. Their inscriptions, about a dozen in all, are found at Siṁhachalam. The earliest and the latest dates furnished by their records are Śaka 1207 and Śaka 1383. These records do not help us in re-constructing a complete genealogy of these kings. A much damaged verse with a great *lacunae* in the Telugu work, *Śivalīlāvilāsam* states that, just as Raghurāma treated Vibhīṣaṇa with favour, Allaya Vēma established king Saṁgava (Saṁgavabhūpa) in Śruṅgārapuṅgōṭa (Śruṅgavarapukōṭa) as a token of his protection.[52] The analogy between Saṁgavabhūpa or king Saṁgava and Vibhīṣaṇa, when stretched to its natural conclusion, suggests that Saṁgava had some quarrel with his brother (or some other relatives) who, gaining an upper hand, expelled him from the country, whereupon he took refuge with Allaya Vēma at the time of his invasion. Vēma killed his foe and established king Saṁgava in Śruṅgāvarapukōṭa. The association of names of king Saṁgava and Śruṅgārapukōṭa clearly suggests that the former was a king of the Surabhi dynasty. As the history of Jantaṟunāḍu is not known, the event referred to by the above verse in the *Śivalīlāvilāsam* cannot be explained more satisfactorily. It is, however, interesting to note here that there was a Saṁgamarāja, (not Siṁgavarāja) in the Surabhi dynasty about this period. His inscriptions at Siṁhāchalam are dated in Śaka 1320 and Śaka 1321 (1398 A.D., and 1399 A.D.). His predecessor on the throne of Śruṅgārapukōṭa appears to be one Pratāpa Vīra Gaṅgarāja whose inscription at Siṁhāchalam is dated in Śaka 1290 (1368 A.D.). How Saṁgamarāja was related to his predecessor is not known. If Saṅgama and Saṅgava are identical, as it seems likely, then the date of the Kaliṅga expedition of Allāḍa and his son Vēma may be placed some time before Śaka 1320.

Oḍḍādi: Oḍḍādi, the territory over which the Matsya kings held sway, roughly corresponds to the modern Vīravalli taluk of the Vizagapatam district. The villages which are known to have been situated in the Oḍḍādi area, according to the records of the Matsya kings, are all more or less found in that taluk. Allāḍa's minister, Liṅgana is said to have collected tribute from the Matsya king, Udayārjuna of Oḍḍādi. Allāḍa Reḍḍi is described in the *Śivalīlāvilāsam'* as having driven away the king of Oḍḍādi, and caused a big tank to be dug in his house-site. This work does not mention the name of the vanquished Matsya king.

A short account of the Matsya line is appended to this chapter. The records of the Matsya chiefs enable us to formulate a fairly long genealogy which shows at a glance many kings bearing the name of Arjunadēva. Among them there are Arjunas, Vīrārjunas, and Pratāpārjunas but not Udayārjunas During the period beginning from the

52 Vide, Appendix to chapter, VII, Pt. II, v. 51.

middle of the fourteenth century till the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D., that is, between Śaka 1272 and Śaka 1347, Oḍḍādi was ruled by Vīrārjuna and his son, Pratāpārjuna. The records of the former yield him the dates Śaka 1279 - Śaka 1303 and those of the latter, the dates Śaka 1321 - Śaka 1343. One of these two kings, most probably the latter, must have been defeated by Allāḍa and his sons, Vēma and Doḍḍa. No king of the name of Arjunadēva is known after Śaka 1343 from inscriptions.

Rambha: The *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam* states that Liṅganamantri offered protection, evidently after defeating in battle, to the Nāgavaṁśa Puḷinda kings of Raṁbhā (Samskritised form of Rampa) in the middle of the Daṇḍaka forest. But according to the *Śivalīlāvilāsam*, it was Allaya Vēma who conquered Immaḍirāja, the king of Rampa. As Allāḍa Reḍḍi and his sons, Vēma and Doḍḍa conquered Rampa (Raṁbhā) in the same campaign, the king defeated by Liṅganamantri also seems to have been the same Immaḍirāja. Rampa is the present village of the same name in the Chōḍavaram division of the East Godavari district. The rulers of Rampa were in all probability the descendants of the Nāgavaṁśa kings of Bastar or Cakrakōṭyam of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.

Vīrakūṭam: It was Allāda, according to the *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam* and his son Vēma, according to the *Śivalīlāvilāsam*, that conquered the Pallava king, obviously of Virkaūṭam. The latter work mentions his name as Puruṣōttama. The latest and the earliest dates furnished by the records of the last Pallava king, Saubhāgyadēvarāja, son of Puruṣōttama II are Saka 1342 and Śaka 1322 respectively.[58] Therefore, the Pallava king Puruṣōttama, the adversary of Allāḍa and his son Vēma was, as shown already, Puruṣōttama II, a contemporary of Kumāragiri and his prime minister, Kāṭaya Vēma.

The identity of the Pallava king, Puruṣōttama of Vīrkūṭam, the reference to the Surabhi king, Saṅgama of Jantaṛunāḍu and the allusion to Allāḍa *ṭaṅkas* in inscriptions in Kaḷiṅga, clearly establish the fact that the expeditions into the Eastern Country, led by Allāḍa and his sons and Kāṭaya Vēma, are identical.

The Gajapati king who was defeated by Allāḍa Reḍḍi and his sons and Kāṭaya Vēma was no doubt, Narasiṁhadēva IV, (Saka 1299 - 1300 to Saka 1331 - 32), son of Bhānudēva III of the Gāṅga dynasty He

58. S.I.I. Vol. VI. Nos. 961 and 1101.

was the *Gauḍādhipati*, and the *Oḍḍedhātrīnātha*, the ruler of Orissa and Kaḷiṅga.

In the course of this invasion, Kāṭaya Vēma, Allāḍa and his sons conquered the Cāḷukya kings of Elamañci (Yellamanchili in the Vizagapatam district) also. Reference is made to them neither in the commentary on the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, nor in the three Telugu works cited before. A *ślōka*[54], however, in the Vēmavaram plates of Allāḍa's son Vēmā Reḍḍi describing his conquests figuratively alludes to them. Here is the English translation of the Samskrit verse.

"By the flames of the intense heat (or majesty) of Allāḍa's (son) king Vēma whole *rocks* are broken to powder, the *hogs* bellow, the *tender sprouts* wither, the *fish-tribe* hide in the water, the *snakes* enter their holes, the *cobras* lurk in covert, the *cattle* go with grass in their mouths, the *lord of elephants* enters the river"[55]. This verse describes the devastating effect of Vēma's *pratāpa* (valour) of forest fire, on the ruling princes of Kaḷiṅga. In this verse the terms denoting rocks, hogs, tender sprouts, the fish-tribe, snakes, cobras, cattle, and elephants are symbolically used to represent either the emblems or the names of different dynasties ruling in the eastern region conquered by Vēma, namely, Śilāvaṁśa, Cāḷukyavaṁśa (Elamañci), Pallavavaṁśa, Matsyavaṁśa, Nāgavaṁśa (Rambhā), Sindavaṁśa (Bastar), Surabhivaṁśa, and Gajapativaṁśa.

The Cāḷukya chief who was a contemporary of Kāṭaya Vēma, was Cōḍa Gaṅgadēva, son of Pahiṇḍirāja and Mallāmbā. A brief account of this family is given at the end of this chapter.

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54. "अल्लाडक्षितिपाल वेमनृपते स्स्फीतप्रतापानलैः
चूर्णः पूर्णशिला रटन्ति किटयः सापल्लवाः पल्लवाः
लीनं मीनकुलं जले श्रितबिला भाग श्च नागागुहा
गावो यान्ति त्रिणानना निविशते सन्धौ गजानांपतिः" - ll, 36-39, p. 242,

55, Ep. Ind,, Vol. XIII, p. 252–53, translation, v. 18.
In fact, Dr. Lionel D. Barnett, the editor of these plates perceived the significance of these terms, but he went wrong in some cases in identifying the dynasties indicated by them. This is what he writes:

"Under the figure of a forest fire is described the effect of Vema's *pratapa* (heat or majesty) upon neighbouring peoples. The *hogs* are perhaps the dynasty of Vijayanagar who maintained the Caḷukyas device of a boar: the *tender sprouts* are the Pallavas; the *fish tribe* are the Paṇḍyas, whose device was a pair of fishes, or perhaps the Matsya dynasty. The *lord of elephants* (*gajanaṁ-patiḥ*) is of course the Gajapati of Orissa. The other "topical allusions" are obscure to me. On the custom of taking grass into the mouth as a token of submission. See R. Pischel." – foot note, no. 1 p. 252.

Allaya Vēma may be said to have defeated the Sultān of Bengals also during this campaign as is borne out by the term Paṇḍūa. The town of Paṇḍūa lies very near to the north of the English Bazaar in the Māldah district in Bengal. It was the capital of the Sultans of Bengal for nearly half a century from A. H. 743 (1342 A.D.) to A.H. 795 (1392 A.D.). Again, this affords another piece of evidence to prove that Allaya Vēma's expedition into the eastern country was undertaken before Saka 1314 (1392 A.D.).

The Anaparti grant explicitly states that Kāṭayā Vēma along with the Crown Prince, Anavōta II went to Rājamahēndravaram just before leading this expedition. It is clear, from the evidence cited before, and from the foregoing discussion that Allāḍa Reḍḍi and his sons, Vēma and Doḍḍa, and Allaḍā's minister, Liṅganamantri, all accompanied Kāṭaya Vēma in this expedition from Rājamahēndravaram.

This eastern campaign of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu was a very extensive one. The Reḍḍi armies marched as far as Cuttack in the east, as far as the capital of the Sultāns of Bengal in the north and as far as the confines of the Central Provinces in the west. Kāṭaya Vēma was a *Kaṭaka-cūṛakāra*, plunderer of Cuttack. Allaya Vēma set up pillars of victory at Siṁhāchalam and Puruṣōttam[57], and his brother Allaya Doḍḍa set up a pillar of victory on the banks of the Chilka lake.[58]

After returning victorious from this campaign, Kāṭaya Vēma presented himself to Kumāragiri with the heir-apparent, Anavōta II, and placed before him all the valuable presents in jewellery, horses, and elephants offered by the Gajapati, and other kings of the eastern region as tribute. King Kumāragiri adequately rewarded his generalissimo, Kāṭaya Vēma. It was after the successful termination of the eastern campaign that Kāṭaya Vēma made Anavōta II, son of Kumāragiri, grant the village of Anaparti as *dēvabhōga* to god Gōpinātha at Rājamahēndravaram. King Kumāragiri also visited the holy place of Dākshāram, and having seated the young prince Vīrānnavōta (II) on his lap he performed *tulāpuruṣa-mahādāna* at that place.

56. Riyāz-us - Salātīn, p. 98.

57. "सिंहाद्रौ पुरुषोत्तमे पट्टजयस्तंभान् सजृंभन्यधात्"

— Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII, p. 242, v. 17, ll, 35–36.

58 ఔరా! యల్లయరెడ్డి దొడ్డ వసుధాధ్యక్షుండు ధాటీచమూ-
భేరీభాంకృతి ఘోర ఘోషమున నిర్భేదించి నొడ్డాది క్రం
గారంగోటయు లోతుగడ్డయును నుద్ఘాటించి సత్యుద్ధతిఁ
లాంభోధితటంబున న్నిలిపె దిక్ప్రాజయస్తంభముల్ ॥

— Ks. Kh, I; 52.

EASTERN KINGDOM OR RĀJAMAHĒNDRA RĀJYA:

As a result of this conquest, the territory as far as Siṁhāchalam to the north of the Gōdāvarī was permanently annexed to the Reḍḍi dominion, and was thereafter constituted into a separate province, called the Eastern Kingdom or the Rājamehēndra Rājya, a province of the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. King Kumāragiri appointed his son, Anavōta II as his viceroy over the new province of Rājamahēndravaram[59]. Ariyēṭi Annamantri, the brother of Liṅganamantri was appointed governor of the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi[60], the frontier military outpost of the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. This kingdom was divided into a number of *sīmas* attached to important forts and were placed under the charge of nobles on feudal military tenure[61]. Prince Anvōta II made Rājamahēndravaram his capital and ruled that province with the loyal support of Allāḍa Reḍḍi, his sons and ministers. Kāṭaya Vēma strengthened his alliance with Allāḍa by giving his daughter, Anitalli in marriage to his younger son, prince Vīrabhadra[62].

Peace was established in the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom by S'aka 1312 (1390 A.D.), the date of the Anaparti grant, and friendly relations were maintained between the kingdom and its neighbouring powers. Kumāragiri had a trusted friend and an able statesman as well as a veteran soldier in his prime-minister Kāṭaya Vēma who guided the destinies of the kingdom.

While Kāṭaya Vēma was at the helm of affairs, king Kumāragiri freed from cares and anxieties, spent much of his time in cultural activities. Like his predecessor Anavēma, he also spent large sum

59. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI. pp. 194–95;

60. The surname of Annaya was originally Ariyēṭi or Ārēṭi. The very fact that he was called Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya shows that he was later on made the governor of the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi, presumably after the conquest of that fort by Kāṭaya Vēma. Anna's surname Ārēṭi was later on changed to Beṇḍapūḍi by virtue of his constant residence at that fort.

61. " వేమారెడ్డి తిరువాతను యీసంతతివారివాకు రెడ్డిపెదవెంకప్ప అనే అయన కొవ్వాడ, గురుగుమిల్లి, గూటాల, కొత్తపల్లి, కమ్మాగు, గోలునాడు అధికారము చేస్తూవుండి వారివద్ద సరదారుడైన యిసుకపల్లి పెద్దాపాత్రుడు అనే పాత్ర సామంతుడికి కమ్మారు సీమ అధికారము చెప్పి ఆ సీమకల్లవచ్చే సైకము పెద్దాపాత్రుడువశానవుండే కొబ్బండివారికి వగతుల్రిందను నియమించి విశేషించినసంయోగము నగరికి యిచ్చేలాగునను యీప్రకారము వెంకరెడ్డి చేసివుండెను... "— Kf. Km. pp. 3–4.

62. Ks. Kh., I. v. 48.

of money in celebrating the Vasantōtsava or the festival of the spring, which enlivened the social life of the day. The enthusiasm and fervour, with which he celebrated that festival, rightly earned him the title of *Vasantarāya*, which was improved to *Karpūra-Vasantarāya* by the generous quantities of camphor he scattered among people during this festival. He was a great lover of music and dance and studied all the old works on dance written by Bharatācāryas and dance-experts and produced a comprehensive work on that art called *Vasantarājīya*[63] after his own name.

Premature Death of Anavōta II:

While things were going on like this peacefully and prosperously for the kingdom, an event of great consequence happened about S'aka 1317 (1395 A.D.). It affected the course of the political history of Koṇḍavīḍu. Anavōta II, the only son of Kumāragiri and his viceroy at Rājamahēndravaram died a premature death. His death must have taken place after S'aka 1312 and before S'aka 1317, the dates of the Anaparti and the Gōpavaram grants respectively. This death left Kumāragiri without a heir to the throne, and necessitated the appointment of a new viceroy to the Eastern Kingdom. It required a strong ruler at Rājamahēndravaram to keep in check the predatory raids of the neighbouring chieftains and of the Gajapati monarchs of Kaliṅga over the country extending up to Siṁhāchalam, and to defend the eastern frontier of the Reḍḍi kingdom. For such a high and responsible task Kumāragiri could think of no other officer than his own brother-in-law, Kāṭaya Vēma. Instead of appointing him as the viceroy of the eastern territory he conferred upon him the Rājamahēndravara Rājya in appreciation of his great and numerous services to the state. King Kumāragiri had every reason to be grateful to his able brother-in-law. By the prowess of his arms and by his statesmanship Vēma defeated the kings of Vijayanagar and recovered a great portion of the Reḍḍi kingdom in the south; he carried the Reḍḍi arms successfully up to Cuttack and annexed the eastern country as far as Siṁhāchalam. And above all, Kumāragiri owed the kingdom itself to him. It was only with Kāṭaya Vēma's powerful support that he was able to gain the throne. He must have entertained the idea of adequately rewarding him for his services for a long time. Though stricken with grief he took this opportunity to show his love and admiration for his illustrious brother-in-law. And so, he conferred on him the whole of the Eastern Kingdom[64]. This act of Kumāragiri should not be

63. A. S. P. P., Vol. X, No. 1; Sr. Sr. p. 57.

64. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, p. 210, v. 22; See also his Gōpavaram grant, pp. 211 ff.

interpreted as splitting the Reḍḍi kingdom into two parts, the province to the east of the Gōdāvarī from that which lay to its west, and the bestowal of the former on Kāṭaya Vēma with exclusive regal rights. Kumāragiri does not seem to have meant it that way. The Rājamahēndravara Rājya conferred on Vēma was in the nature of a military fief or jāgīr (*Vīrajīvita*). It was not a new policy adopted by Kumāragiri. This custom had been in vogue from ancient times in the Telugu country. The only difference lay in the extent of the territory assigned. The early kings granted only one or two villages as *jīvita*, whereas Kumāragiri bestowed, as was appropriate, a whole province upon the great general.

Kumāragiri's Last Years of Rule :

This step caused considerable political discontent in the country and we cannot call Kumāragiri's action exactly wise. Kāṭaya Vēma always had many bitter opponents in the court. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his supporters had always looked askance at his achievements; and their jealousy and resentment at this signal recognition, by their king, of this daring rival of theirs must have been well-nigh impossible to bear. Kāṭaya Vēma's departure to Rājamahēndravaram gave them an opportunity for their sinister activities in Koṇḍavīḍu. Unfortunately for the king, there seems to have been a devastating famine at about this time, spreading death and disease all over the country; and the disaffected element at the court seized the occasion to weaken Kumāragiri's authority. There is reason to believe that the famine at this time extended all over the Deccan country. Ferishta says that a famine occurred during the reign of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī, that is, Muhammad Shāh II, a contemporary of Kumāragiri, "when he employed ten thousand bullocks at his private expense constantly going to and from Malwa and Gujarat for grain, which was distributed to the people at a cheap rate[65]," of course, in his own dominions. Robert Sewell informs us that there was a big famine, known as the Durgādēvi famine which began in Śaka 1318 (1396 A.D.) and lasted for twelve years[66]. It is said that the severity of this famine was so great that it was not forgotten for a long time after. These famines, referred to above, must have affected the coastal Telugu country also. The paucity of inscriptions registering any gifts in the last years of Kumāragiri's reign may be due partially to the famine conditions, and to the growing unrest and political discontent prevailing then in the country.

During this period Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, who came to the throne of the Bahmanīs in November 1397 A. D., led his first invasion against

65. Birgg's Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 349.
66. H.I.S.I., p. 205.

Vijayanagar in 1398 A.D. The Muslim armies not only ravaged the Vijayanagar dominion as far as Udayagiri but also threatened the existence of the Reḍḍi kingdom. The steps taken by Kumāragiri to meet the foe and repel the invasion are not known. But, as will be proved later on, one Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka, a distinguished noble of the kingdom, appears to have defeated the muslims on the plain outside the town of Kaṁbamumeṭṭa and driven them back.

There is reason to believe that the Gajapati monarch of Kaḷiṅga also contributed to the internal disorder and weakness of Koṇḍavīḍu by his attack on the eastern frontier. An inscription[67] dated in Śaka 1321 (1399 A. D.) from Sarpavaram (in the Cocanada taluk of the East Godavari district) belonging to one Goggayadēva, an officer of Kumaragiri, states that he defeated the armies of the Gajapati in front of *Vihāraṇagiri*. *Vihāraṇagiri* or *Krīḍādri*, according to the *Veṅkaṭācala Māhātmyam*in the *Varāha Purāṇam*, applies to Siṁhāchalam, "because of the assumption, on this hill, of the Nṛsiṁha form of Hari for slaying Hiraṇyakaśipu and protecting Prahlāda.[68]"

The kings of Vijayanagar also did not let go this opportunity. Shortly after the withdrawal of the Muslim armies from the Vijayanagar territory, the governor of Udayagiri Dēvarāya I, son of Harihara II, taking advantage of the weak rule of Kumāragiri and the internal dissensions in his kingdom, advanced with his armies accompanied by his son Rāmacandrarāya, and occupied a considerable portion of the territory in the south. The Enamadala record[69] of Harihara II in the Narasāraópēṭ taluk, and the Mūrkoṇḍapāḍu[70] and the Parucūru[71] grants of Dēvarāya I and his son, Rāmacandrarāya, all dated in Saka 1322, (1400 A.D.) bear testimony to the limits of the Vijayanagar aggression.

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67. S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1, v. 8.

विहरणगिरि: पुरस्तादजय : प्रांशुगजपतेः सैन्यम्
प्रणमति गोग्गयदेवस्सोयं धर्मैकशासनान् भूपान्॥

68. Tirumalai *Sri Venkateswara*, Vol. I, p 28.

69. Ep. Coll., No. 417 of 1915.

70. Mack. Mss., No 15-6-21.

"शाकेरूफालयाऽब्दे नरपतितिलको देवरायः प्रमाथे
मांद्राद्रावृरिमल्लान्वयवरविदुषे यज्वनेग्राममग्र्यं
पौषे राकाग्रयपर्वण्यहिशशिपतिः कौण्डिन्यसद्गोत्रिणे...."

The verse is faulty. Pramathi corresponds to Śaka 1321 and not to 1322.

71. N. D. I., Vol. I, CP, No. 1.

While the kings of Vijayanagar were penetrating in the south, prince Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi, son of Maca I and grandson of Pina Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi of the Kandukūru branch advanced along the coast and occupied, at the end of Kumāragiri's reign, the country extending as far as the Tenāli taluk in the Guntur district as evidenced by his Pedapūḍi grant[72] dated in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.).

It is likely that, in these circumstances, king Kumāragiri had to carry on the administration by resorting to force, and by suppressing the discontent and lawlessness. It is no wonder if, in these circumstances, the *Local records* state that Kumāragiri's rule was an oppressive one. There is reason to believe that, in these last years of his rule, some of the nobles sided Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and fought against Kumāragiri.

There are three or four stone records of a chief, named Velugōṭi Rayapa Nāyaniṅgāru in the taluks of Guntur, Bapatla, Palnadu and Repalli. These do not refer to any reigning king of Koṇḍavīḍu. Each of the records in the Guntur[73] and Bapatla[74] taluks state only the length of the measuring rod of the fields as determined by Purusōttamayya, the *rāyasam* of Rāyapa Nāyaniṅgāru. Of the other two, one[75] mentions the chief, Velugōti Rāyapa Nāyaniṅgāru and his *rāyasam* Purusōttamayya, and the other[76] registers the gift of land by Siṅgā Paṇḍita, agent of Malaka Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaniṅgāru for the merit of his master, and of Rāyapa Nāyaniṅgāru in the cyclic year, Prabhava on the 6th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja. The former record also furnishes the date; the portion containing the date, however, is damaged. Only the numerical one in the Śaka year, the cyclic year Bahudhanya and the month of Āṣāḍha stand out in the date portion. Now, the question arises as to the identity of this Velugōṭi Rāyapa Nayaka. It is commonly known that the Velugōṭi chiefs are a branch of the Rēcerla family. It is now to be ascertained if he had any connection with the Rēcerla kings.

72. Mack. Mss., No. 15-4-42.

"शाकाब्दे ऋतुनेत्रलोकशशिवे(?के) संवत्सरे तारणे
माघाख्यामुडुपोपरागसमये श्रीकामटिक्ष्मापतिः
दद्याल्लक्ष्मणदीक्षिताय विबुधाग्रण्यैर्गुरोर्वांसेर
यॆल्लेपेद्दिकुलोद्भवाय विदुषे श्रीपेद्दपूडिं मुदा॥"

The English date equivalent is Thursday, 15th Jan. 1405 A. D.

73. Ep. Coll, No. 145 of 1917.

74. Ibid., No. 825 of 1922.

75. Ibid. No. 542 of 1928-29.

76. Ibid., No. 23 of 1929-30.

It is evident from inscriptions cited above that Rāpaya Nāyaka was a noble administering the country. Even though the two dateless records are excluded from consideration as of little use to our discussion, the other two records prove that he was governing at least some portion of the Guntur district. His contemporaniety with king Kumāragiri is proved from a reference to his officer, Malaka Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka, who is evidently Gajarāvu Tippa of the Telugu *Cāṭu* verse given in the *Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjari*.[77] This *Cāṭu* verse, which recounts his victories, states that he conquered the Mussalmans on the plain outside the town of Kaṁbamumeṭṭa in the presence of a certain Aṁbarāya, put to flight the enemy warriors near the town of Kōnūru, defeated the armies of Kāṭaya Vēma in the vicinity of Guṇḍugolanu, and inflicted a crushing defeat on Cauṇḍapāmātya near the big hill fort in Koṇḍavīḍu. This Tippā Nāyaka, even according to the *birudāvaḷi* of the Koppunūḷḷa family in the Telugu work *the Birudāvaḷis of the Seventy two Nāyaks in the service of Kākatiya Pratāparudra of Warangal*, was a contemporary of Kāṭaya Vēma. Therefore the cyclic years, Prabhava and Bahudhānya mentioned in the records of Rāyapa Nāyaka fall in this period, and correspond to Śaka 1309 (1387 A. D.) and Saka 1320 (1398 A. D.) respectively. It is thus evident that Rāyapa Nāyaka was a contemporary of Kumāragiri. His inscriptions, therefore, suggest any one of the following two conclusions; (1) that, in case the Velugōṭi chief, Rāyapa Nāyaka, had any connection with the Rācerla chiefs, he must have conquered some portion of the Reḍḍi kingdom and was ruling independently; or (2) that he had no connection with the Rācerla king and he was only a subordinate of Kumāragiri. From a

77. Ct. Mm., II, p. 65

యవనుల గెల్చెఁ డే యంబరాయలు చూడ
గా కంబముమెట్ట బైట
పరిపంథి యోధులఁ బరచెఁ డే వాఁడి పై
నుద్దండవృత్తి కోనూరియొద్ద
కాటయవేమ భూకాంతు సైన్యంబెల్ల
గొట్టెఁ డే యల గుండుగొలనిక్రేవ
చనుదెంచు చౌండామాత్యుని సాధిగాఁ గొట్టెఁ డే
కొండవీడా పెద్దకొండ కడను
ప్రబలగణరంగజయభేరిభాంకృతుండు
రాయచేకోలగండ ధరావిభుండు
రాజస్యగ్రామ బలభద్ర రామనిభుడు
కీర్తి ప్రబలుఁడైన గజరావు తిప్పఘనుఁడు॥

reference to the dates in his inscriptions which are found scattered over a wide area in the heart of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom, he cannot be said to have been ruling it independently. He must have been a vassal of Kumāragiri. He does not seem to have any connection with the Rēceṛla chiefs of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa.

Now, the occasion or occasions on which Rāyapa Nāyaka's subordinate Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka defeated the Muslim army, Cauṇḍapāmātya and the forces of Kāṭaya Vēma have to be ascertained. It is probable that he defeated the Muslim armies of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, when they were advancing into the Reḍḍi kingdom during the invasion of Vijayanagar, as stated in an earlier context. His other exploits appear to refer to the early years of Kumāragiri's successor, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. So they will be adverted to in his reign. Velugōṭi Rāyapa Nāyaka and his subordinate Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka sided Peda Kōmati Vēma and fought on behalf of the latter against Kāṭaya Vēma, as is evident from the *Cāṭu* verse cited before.

The latest inscription[78] of Kumāragiri is his Kottūru record dated in S'aka 1322, corresponding to the cyclic year, Vṛṣa. This inscription (in the Bejawāḍa taluk, Kistna district) registers a grant of land to god Vasantarāya Lakṣmī Nṛsiṁha by Kumāragiri Reḍḍi.

It is likely that seeing the sad plight of the country Vēma, son of Peda Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi and grandson of Mācā Reḍḍi I, seized the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu about S'aka 1324 (1402 A.D.) with the aid of his nobles.

Kumāragiri appears to have gone to Rājamahēndravaram and spent his last days there. He seems to have fallen ill there; for, a grant[79] made by Kāṭaya Vēma for his recovery from illness in S'aka 1324 corresponding to the cyclic year Citrabhānu, on the occasion of the Makara saṅkrānti in the month of Puṣya, has come to light. Kumāragiri must have passed away sometime after this date.

78. Ep. Coll., No. 395 of 1926. The S'aka year is wrongly given as 1312; This seems to be a mistake for 1322. The S'aka year corresponding to Vṛṣa was 1323. Probably the S'aka year 1322 had expired and 1323 was current.

79. A. S. P. P., Vol. X. (cited by Pandit Pendyala Subrahmanya Sastri Garu in his article on "Kaṭaya Vema".

APPENDIX.

SOME DYNASTIES OF KAḶINGA

The Kingdom of Kaḷiṅga was under the rule of the Gajapatis of the Eastern Gāṅga dynasty who had, as stated before, established their power there as early as the fifth century A. D. Since that time they were the undisputed sovereigns of the Kaḷiṅga kingdom until their fall in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D. They became gradually the masters of the Utkala or Ōdhra country also. The forests of Kaḷiṅga were reputed for their best variety of elephants, which formed one of the chief divisions of the armies of those days.

The wild and mountainous nature of a greater portion of the country of Kaḷiṅga afforded ample opportunity for the origin and rise of many petty local dynasties of valiant chiefs, who wielded much power and influence locally during the middle ages under review. The extent of the dominion of each one of these families was small and the rulers were petty chieftains; yet they were very hardy and brave, and their strength chiefly lay in the situation of their strongholds, inaccessible and impergnable, which generally come under the category either of the *giri-durgas*, or of *vana-durgas*. The conquest of even a single one of these manne chiefs, as they were generally called, who were experts in archery and mountain warfare, was hailed as a great achievement. The victor assumed the high-sounding titles and the insignia of these vanquished chiefs. These manne chiefs generally used to give incessant trouble on the frontier regions to their neighbouring kings, when there was any civil war in their dominions, or when they proved to be weak rulers.

Having recognised the difficult nature of the country, Bhānudēva I, one of the Gāṅga sovereigns, introduced certain administrative reforms and re-organised the administrative machinery. "For the welfare of the kingdom he appointed sixteen ministers (of State or *Pātra Sāmantas* as they were generally called), well-versed in politics and capable of destroying enemies by feats of strategy of various kinds and of unfailing resolution" He used to govern his kingdom with their advice. His wise example was closely followed by his descendants, to whom this reform proved to be of immense help in carrying out the administration of the country smoothly, in ordinary as well as in critical times.

Each one of the local chiefs of Kaḷiṅga appear to have been ruling their dominion independently as is evident from their inscriptions,

They do not acknowledge or make mention of their sovereign rulers in their records. We are not informed anywhere about the nature of the political relations that subsisted between these chiefs and the Gāṅga sovereigns. Yet, it is probable that the *Pātra Sāmantas* or the sixteen ministers of State were appointed or selected out of these local chiefs. Tradition records that they rendered military service to their Gāṅga overlords in times of need, and that they were practically independent in the internal administration of their own dominion. For the service they rendered, the Gāṅga sovereign in his turn probably was bound in duty to protect them from foreign aggression, and to treat them with royal honours according to their status, on all state and important festive occasions.

Of such local dynasties of Kaḷiṅga those that are noted below appear to have played an important part in the history of the period under review.

The Cāḷūkyas of Elamañci:

These were a branch of the later Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī who ruled the country around Piṭhāpuram for some time. Later on, when their dominion was occupied by the Western Powers, they migrated to the east into Kaḷiṅga. There they held at first important positions in the State under the Gāṅga monarchs, and ultimately became their feudatories during the period under review. Their dominion lay in the region around Yellamanchili in the Vizagapatam district. They had matrimonial alliances with their Gāṅga sovereigns, which enhanced their prestige and status among the other *sāmantas* of the land.

Upēndra III of the Cāḷukya dynasty, son of Kopparāja Nārāyaṇa and Gaṅgāmbā, was a contemporary of Prōlaya Vēma and his son, Anavōta Reḍḍi of Koṇḍavīḍu. The genealogy of the Cāḷukya chiefs of Eḷamañci (Yellamanchili) is given on the next page :

Vijayāditya = Candāṁbikā

Mallpadēva I = Lakṣmi

Upēndra I = Gaṅgāṁbā (Ś. 1175)

Mallapadēva II = Cōḍāṁbā (Ś.1205)

Upēndra II = Mallāṁbā

Kopparāja Narāyaṇa = Gaṅgāṁbā

Upēndra III = Biṁbāṁbā (Ś. 1278)

- Cennēśvara = Mummaḍāṁbā
  - Upēndra IV = Atyamāṁbā (Ś. 1294)
  - Cōḍa. (Ś. 1313)
    - Upēndra VI
    - Nāgēndra = Anyamadēvi (Ś. 1339)
    - Narasiṁha = Vīrāṁbā (Ś.1344, and Ś. 1359)
- Upēndra V = Lakkāṁbā
  - Viśvēśvara (Ś. 1323, Ś. 1329 and Ś. 1324)

The Matsya Chiefs of Oḍḍādi:

These belong to another dynasty of local chiefs who had their capital at Oḍḍādi, the present Vaḍḍādi, twelve miles from Anakāpalli in the Vizagapatam district. The first chief of some historical importance in this dynasty appears to be Maṅkāditya whose grandson Pratāpa Arjunadēva, son of Jayanta I, was the donor of the Dibbiḍa plates. These chiefs rose to power only from the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. The first records available are those of Arjunadēva, son of Jayanta I, whose earliest inscription at Dākshāram is dated in Ś. 1153 (1231 A.D.).

The records of these chiefs, found at Siṁhāchalam and Dākshāram including the Dibbiḍa plates all combined, furnish a fairly long ancestry of these chiefs, as given in the table on the next page. In this genealogical table the early chiefs till the time of Maṅkāditya I are left out, because of their unhistoric character.

Maṅkāditya I

Jayanta I m. Ciṅgamāṁbā

- Arjunadēva I (alias Narasiṁhavardhana) m. Lakṣmī (S. 1153, 1174, 1191, 1197, 1203, 1209 and 1214)
- Annamadēva (alias Gōpālavardhana) (Ś. 1208; died about Ś. 1214)
  - Arjunadēva I
    - Jayanta II (alias Khaṇḍērāvu, Rūpanārāyaṇa, Dōhattamalla) (Ś. 1214)
      - Arjunadēva II (alias Kṛṣṇavardhana)
        - Jayanta IV (Ś. 1259, 1261, 1270 and 1271)
          - Vīr=Ārjunadēva III (Ś. 1279, 1286, 1291, 1299 and 1303)
            - Pratap=Ārjunadēva IV (Ś. 1321, 1330, 1334, 1338, 1342 and 1343)
            - Siriyamma
- Maṅkāditya II (alias Śrīraṅgavardhana) m. Śrīdēvī (Ś. 1210)
  - Jayanta III (Ś. 1220)

A word of explanation regarding the construction of the above genealogical table seems to be necessary.

An inscription of a certain Jayantarāja at Siṁhācalam, dated in Saka 1261, states that the donor, a son of Arjunadēva, was the grandson of Jayanta who may be identical with Jayanta II or Jayanta III of the above table. Since his son was Arjunadēva who might have been named after his grand-father, Arjuna I, he is taken to be identical with Jayanta II.

There is another Arjunadēva whose records range from Śaka 1279 to Śaka 1303. The name of his father is not mentioned in any one of his records. He might be the son of Jayanta IV.

There is another powerful Matsya chief, named Pratāp=Ārjunadēva, son of Vīr=Ārjunadēva. The dates of his inscriptions range from Śaka 1321 to Śaka 1343. This Arjunadēva may be identical with

Ārjunadēva IV. Probably, to distinguish the son from the father who had an identical name, the father was named Vīr=Ārjunadēva in his sons' records.

These considerations led me to frame the genealogy of the Matsya chiefs as shown above.

The Surabhis of Jantaṛunāḍu:

The tract of country now known as the Sṛuṅgavarapukōṭa taluk of the Vizagapatam district roughly represents the ancient country of Jantaṛunāḍu. It was ruled by a line of chiefs of Gārtsyamada - gōtra, who are said to belong to the Surabhi family. The dates of their inscriptions, about a dozen in all, found at Siṁhāchalam, range from Saka 1207 (1285 A.D.) to Saka 1383 (1461 A.D.), a period of nearly one and three quarters of a century. These records do not help us in re-constructing their line completely. The chiefs of Jantaṛunāḍu, mentioned below, flourished during the Reḍḍi period.

Pratāpa Gaṅgarāja (Saka 1241 and Śaka 1258)
Pratāpa Vīra Gaṅgarāja (Śaka 1290)
Saṅgamarāja (Saka 1320, and Śaka 1321)
Pratāpa Gaṅgarāja (Saka 1342)

Of the above four kings, the first two were probably one and the same.

The Pallavas of Vīrakūṭam:

These Pallava chiefs of the Bhāradvāja - gōtra claim to be the descendants of Kāḍuveṭṭi (Kāḍuveṭṭivaṁśāvatāra). Their banner was 'khaṭvāṅga' (*khaṭvāṅgadhvaja*), and their ensign, the bull (*Vṛṣabha lāñchana*). They ruled the tract of country around their capital Vīrakūṭam, now called Vīraghaṭṭam in the Pālakoṇḍa taluk of the Vizagapatam district. They appear to have come into prominence from the beginning of the twelfth century. Their early inscriptions, found at Dākshāram dated prior to the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D., mention only a few chiefs, namely, Sūraparāja, Bayyarāja and his brother Gaṇṭi Bayyaparāja. Their later inscriptions ranging from the fourteenth century are found at Siṁhāchalam. For the intervening period of nearly three quarters of a century, no records of this family have so far come to light. From the later records a tentative genealogy of these Pallava chiefs may be formulated as shown on the next page :

Śriyādēvi, alias Śrīraṅga Lakṣmī
|
Puruṣōttama (Śaka 1230)
|
Narasiṁha = Lakumādēvī or Lakṣmīdēvī (Ś. 1270, 1274 and 1279)
|
Puruṣōttama II = Madanarēkhā (Saka 1278 and 1279)
|
Saubhāgyadēvarāja (Śaka 1322, 1342 and 1346)

The Chiefs of Śilāvaṁśa of Nandāpura:

These are another dynasty of chiefs who ruled the western agency tracts of the Vizagapatam district, with Nandāpura in the Pottaṅgi taluk as their capital. It is said that the present estate of Jeypore was but a portion of the kingdom of the chiefs of Silāvaṁśa. The existence of this dynasty is known only from six or seven records which register gifts of these chiefs in two holy places, Siṁhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district and Srīkūrmam in the Ganjam district. The names furnished by these records are:

1. Visvanātharāja, son of Gaṅgarāja, Śaka 1275.
2. Bhairavarāja, son of Akkamadēvī, Śaka 1292.
3. Bhachchaladēvī, daughter of Bhayyarāja, Śaka 1318.
4. Gaṅgarāja, son of Bhayyarāja or Bhairava, Śaka 1349. (Gaṅgarāja's maternal uncle was Siṅgarāja of the Matsya family, son of Jayanta of Oḍḍādi).
5. Viśvēśvara alias Viśvanātharāja married Siṅgamadēvī, daughter of Jayantarāja of the Matsya family, Śaka 1349.
6. Gaṅgarāja, Śaka 1357.

Besides these there were other petty families in Kaḷiṅga about whom little is known.

CHAPTER IX.

PEDA KŌMAṬI VĒMA.

(Cir. A. D. 1402 to Cir. A. D. 1420)

Vēma, son of Peda Kōmaṭi *Reḍḍi and grandson of Māca* Reḍḍi I succeeded Kumāragiri to the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu about Śaka 1324 (1402 A.D.). Kumāragiri's records show that he was alive till Śaka 1324 (1402 A.D.)[1]. Yet, from the paucity of his records in the region to the west of the Gōdāvarī, it is evident that his authority practically ceased over the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom a few years before his death.

Succession of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma:

Desiring to arrest the internal disorder and the attacks all around on the Reḍḍi kingdom, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma appears to have seized the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu by force. Some of the nobles, like Velugōṭi Rāyapa Nāyaka and Gajarāvu *Tippā Nāyaka, fought on the* side of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in this war of succession, and helped him considerably in gaining the throne. According to the Telugu *Cāṭu* verse[2] referred to in an earlier context, Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka is stated to have defeated the armies of Kāṭaya Vēma in the neighbourhood of Guṇḍugolanu in the Ellore taluk of the West Godavari district. This defeat of Kāṭaya Vēma shows that he tried his best, on behalf of his sovereign Kumāragiri, to pervent Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma from occupying the throne. It is likely that he was actuated to do so more by the desire of gaining the kingdom for himself, as Kumāragiri had no son to inherit it. In fact, it was more a war waged between Kāṭaya Vēma and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma for succession to the throne rather than between Kumāragiri and the latter. The battles of Guṇḍugolanu and Kōnūru referred to in the above mentioned *Cāṭu* verse, were some of the engagements that had taken place in the course of this war. If the same verse is relied upon, it may be said that, just at this juncture, Harihara II of Vijayanagar, probably with the object of diverting Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's forces and helping his ally and son-in-law Kāṭaya Vēma, made another incursion into the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom, which shook its very foundations. Cauṇḍapāmātya[3],

1. A. S. P. P., Vol. X, No. 1.
2. Ct. Mm., II, p. 65.
3. A record of Nagayamantri son of Cauṇḍapāmātya, dated in Śaka 1345 Śobhakṛt, is found at Tripurantakam in the *Markāpuram taluk*, Kurnool district (Ep. coll., No. 255 of 1905).

the Vijayanagar general, penetrated as far as Koṇḍavīḍu, the capital. Again, Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka, the loyal general of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, defeating Cauṇḍapa in the neighbourhood of the fort of the big hill in Koṇḍavīḍu, put him to flight and saved the kingdom. At last, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's efforts were crowned with success, and he duly ascended the throne. He ruled the region lying along the northern bank of the river Kṛṣṇā and the Koṇḍavīḍu country. His Kaluvāmula[4] and Nandamūru[5] grants dated in Śaka 1326 and 1333 respectively, bear testimony to the fact that his power extended on the northern side of the Kṛṣṇā also. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma gave his brother Māca Reḍḍi the tract of country lying along the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇā. Māca fortified Koṇḍapalli (Kistna district) and made it his capital.[6]

A damaged *Cāṭu* verse[7] in Telugu in the *Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjari* narrates some events which must have taken place about the beginning of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's reign. What

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“కొండపామాత్యుని పొంచి గాఁ గొట్టఁడే
కొండవీ డా పెద్దకొండగడిని”

4. Sr. Sr., pp. 12—14, Anubandham.

5, CP., No, 14 of 1919-20.

6. “तस्यानुजो वेमनृपस्य माचक्षितीश्वरो लब्धमहीविभागः
श्रीकोण्डपल्लीं निजराजधानीं कृत्वा सुखी दीव्यति धर्मधुर्यः”॥
Sr. Sr., Appendix p. 11, Balyapalli grant of Māca dated in S'aka 1336.

7. అచెంప నుద్దండ!(అచ్చంవు వుద్దండ!) అనవేమపురమున
గాంభీరంబు తోరణ కట్టిరని
ధరణికోటను గల్గు ధనధాన్యవస్తువు
లరికట్టుకొని చూఱలాడిరని
మునుకొని యభిమానముద్ద(?) భక్తింపంగ
సారెకుఁ జేతులు సాచిరని
అభ్యంగనము నేయు నన్నగారికిఁ[నన్న వేమునకు] దెచ్చు
మానెలో చెప్పులు మాటిరని
కణఁగి శత్రులు [విప్రులు] సేయు నాఘూర్త్యమునకు
నోర్చియుంటివి నీసాటి యుర్విఁ గలఁడె
[ఓర్చి కీర్తులు గాంచితి పృథ్విలోన
నెన్న రాజులు సాటిరా రెవ్వరైన]
సమదరిపువీర రాజవేశ్యాభుజంగ!
అతులబలభీమ! పెదకోమటన్న వేమ!”
—Ct. Mm., II. p. 70.

parts of the verse remain intelligible, pay a tribute to the charity and spirit of tolerance shown by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, in the face of the grave villainy and outrage perpetrated by the sympathisers of Kāṭaya Vēma. The brāhmans of the court were with the deposed king, mindful perhaps of his many benefactions to them. And when these found Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma as their lord and king, their impotent resentment surged into vile deeds of destruction, before they finally took flight from Koṇḍavīḍu. After his abortive attempts to regain power Kumāragiri appears to have fled to Rājamahēndravaram accompanied by his brother-in-law, Kāṭaya Vēma, and spent his last days there.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's early conquests:

By the time Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was firmly established on the throne, the kingdom of Vijayanagar was in the throes of a civil war, consequent on the death of Harihara II in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.). Harihari's sons Dēvarāya I, Virūpākṣa II, and Bukka II contended for the throne. Dēvarāya I probably recalled some of the armies from Udayagiri, the seat of his government while he was *yuvarāja*, to fight out his cause. There was disorder and anarchy in the Vijayanagar provinces. The Reḍḍi kings were not slow to take advantage of the internal disorders in the Vijayanagar kingdom. Taking this opportunity Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's commanders attacked the Vijayanagara armies in their newly occupied territory, and after defeating them in battle and driving them away, recovered their lost possessions. Kōmaṭi Vēma re-conquered also the coastal plain from his cousin Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi II, son of Māca of the Kandukūr branch, as is borne out by his copper-plate records. He and his brother Māca strove hard to establish peace and order in the kingdom. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's early conquests maintained the reputation of Koṇḍavīḍu as a military power, though on a reduced scale.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's relations with Kāṭaya Vēma, even after the death of Kumāragiri, were anything but smooth. He wanted to establish his sovereign rights over the Rājamahēndravara Rājya which was more or less a military fief. He, therefore, expected Kāṭaya Vēma to acknowledge him as his overlord, and to render him the services obligatory on a vassal. With the death of Kumāragiri, Kāṭaya Vēma, who was already opposed to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, never recognised the latter as his sovereign. He defied his authority and asserted his independence. The act of Kumāragiri in conferring the Rājamahēndravara Rājya on Kāṭaya Vēma thus turned out to be the greatest political blunder of his rule. It divided the Reḍḍi kingdom into two halves, each fighting against the other, and made it an easy prey to its neighbours who had long been casting hungry looks on it. The first chief to take advantage

of this enmity between the Koṇḍavīḍu and the Rājamahēndravaram kingdoms was Cōḍa Bhaktirāja's son Annadēva Cōḍa, who made a bid to recover his lost principality. He was backed up in the beginning of his fight by the Velama kings of Dēvarakoṇḍa, of whom Peda Vēdagiri, son of Māda I, had given asylum to him.[8] There is reason to believe that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma also co-operated with Annadēva Cōḍa in his struggle.

Kāṭaya Vēma was fully aware of the danger arising out of this alliance. He was hemmed in on one side by Annadēva Cōḍa and on the other, by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Annadēva Cōḍa had already, by Śaka 1330, the date of his inscription[9] at Pōlavaram (West Godavari district), recovered his kingdom. Kāṭaya Vēma, therefore, wanted to renew his friendship and alliance with the Vijayanagara rulers. This view is supported by Kāṭaya Vēma's inscription[10] at Ahōbalam in the Cuddapah district, dated in Śaka 1332, which registers the grant of a number of villages to god Nṛsiṁha. It cannot be argued that Kaṭaya Vēma was at Ahōbalam as an invader; for, the circumstances in which he was then placed preclude any such possibility. Therefore, it must have been a friendly mission of Kāṭaya Vēma which can account for the presence of this solitary record of his in the Vijyanagar territory. By the time of the Ahōbalam record of Kātaya Vēma, Dēvarāya I was firmly established on the throne of Vijayanagar. He came out successful in the civil war that convulsed the Vijayanagar kingdom on the death of Harihara II in Śaka 1326 (1404 A. D.), and was crowned[11] king in Śaka 1329 (1406 A. D.). The result of Kāṭaya Vēma's mission is not known. Whether Kāṭaya Vēma and Dēvarāya I met each other or not, the former appears to have been assured of the help of the latter, as is borne out by a close study of later events described in the Rajahmundry Museum plates[12] of Annadēva Cōḍa.

Dēvarāya was true to his word. He marched with his armies into the territory of the Koṇḍavīḍu kings. He penetrated into the heart of the Reḍḍi kingdom, probably at a time when Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was actively co-operating with Annadēva Cōḍa against Kāṭaya

8. "నల చోడభక్తీంద్రు నన్నదేవరాజును
తెంపారఁ గాంచె మాపిన్నతాత. ..."

—VV. Vm., v. 122, p. 44.

9. Ep. Coll., No. 293 of 1920.

10. Ibid, No. 84 of 1915.

11. Mack. Mss., 15—3—25.

12. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. I, pp. 174 ff; Ep. Ind., Vol XXVI, pp. 33 ff.

Vēma. This Vijayanagar thrust into the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom was intended probably to help Kaṭaya Vēma indirectly, by creating a diversion and to compel his enemies to withdraw some of their troops from the eastern front. Dēvarāya's inscription[13] at Inkollu in the Bāpaṭla taluk of Guṇṭūr district, dated in Śaka 1333 Nandana, that is, 1412, A. D., indicates the date of the Vijayanagar aggression. Dēvarāya I tried to extend the authority of his house over the coastal tract of the *Reḍḍi* kingdom, and capture Mōṭupalli, their premier sea-port in the Bāpaṭla taluk, Guṇṭūr district. Though he temporarily succeeded in gaining control over a portion of the Reḍḍi territory, he failed to achieve his object. He did not succeed in holding the conquered tract permanently under his sway. The absence of the Vijayanagar records in the Bāpaṭla taluk is a clear proof of the fact that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was able to expel the enemy from the kingdom and bring it again under his rule.

It is unfortunate that we have no direct evidence relating to the fight between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Kāṭaya Vēma. But the position is clear from a close and careful study of events mentioned in the contemporary Telugu literature and inscriptions of this period. In spite of the pressure brought to bear on him by the Vijayanagar raids, there is some reason to believe that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma vigorously prosecuted his campaign against Rājamahēndravara Rājya which finally ended with the death of his bitter opponent Kāṭaya Vēma. *Kāṭaya Vēmuni - talagoṇḍa - gaṇḍa*[14] (one who took the head of Kāṭaya Vēma), one of the many *birudas* of the nobles of the Koppunūḷḷa family, implies their claim to have slain Kāṭaya Vēma, probably in battle; and we know that Gajarāvu Tippā Nāyaka[15] of that family, a subordinate of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, took an active part in these wars. Hence, it may not be unreasonable to think that Kāṭaya Vēma lost his life in his wars with Annadēva Cōḍa and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. No records of Kāṭaya Vēma after Śaka 1336 have come down to us.

The history of Rājamahēndravaram subsequent to Kāṭaya Vēma's death is difficult to trace. The terms of alliance between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Annadēva also are not known to us. The latter was able to

13. Ep. Coll., No. 798 of 1922. The S'aka year 1333 is an expired one. Nandana corresponds to S'aka 1334.

14. 8/5—2—33 "*Birudāvaḷi* of the "Seventy two Nayaks"; Vide *Koppunūḷḷavāri-birudu*. See also Mack. Mss., Nos. 15-5—32 and 15-4-8.

15. " మహాపదకీసాహుంతులైన శౌర్య సూర్య నాయంకులైన గజరావు తిప్పన్నకులైన శిష్టారావు పన్నమనేడు [illegible] ... " —Ibid.

occupy the Rājamahēndravara Rājya only after the death of Kāṭaya Vēma's son, Komaragiri II. He was not destined, however, to rule it for a long time. He was opposed by Allāḍa Reḍḍi who espoused the cause of Anitalli, daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma, and the sole surviving heir to the kingdom. Allāḍa finally succeeded in driving away his enemies from the kingdom and ruled it on behalf of Anitalli as her regent. In this struggle with Allāḍa, Annadēva seems to have lost his life. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma failed thus in his attempt to regain the Rājamahēndravara-Rājya, even after the death of Kāṭaya Vēma. He did not, however, give up his endeavour.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Allāḍa

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's position was even now precarious and insecure. He was between two powerful foes, the king of Vijayanagar in the west, and Allāḍa in the east. He came to know of the strength of Allāḍa and his zeal in prosecuting the fight for the independence of Rājamahēndravaram. Therefore, in order to strengthen his position he made an alliance with the Bahmanī Sultān, Fīrūz Shāh. It is likely his minister Mamiḍi Siṅgaya managed wisely in negotiating an alliance. He is described in the *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham* as *yavana-adhīśa-sabhā-nirankśua vaco-vyāpārā-pāraṅgata*[16], one who fluently carries on conversation in the court of *yavanādhīśa*, that is, the Bahmanī Sultān. Fīrūz Shāh. This Reḍḍi-Bahamanī alliance is referred to in the *Velugōṭivāri Vamśāvaḷi*[17] also. The Padma Velama kings of Dēvarakoṇḍa, the bitter enemies of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu, did not like this alliance. They could not, however, prevent it as they were only subordinates to the Sultān. Having obtained the help of the Bahmanī Sultān, Fīrūz Shāh, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma attacked Rājamahēndravaram.

Allāḍa Reḍḍi was prepared for this eventuality. He met the combined armies of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Fīrūz Shāh in battle, and defeated and drove them back. The Kommuchikkāla plates clearly state that Allāḍa defeated the *yavanas*[18]. Aziz-Ullāh Tabātabā and Ferishta do not at all refer to this defeat of the Sultān. "The

16. Sr. Nd., II. v. 144.

17. "సురత్రాణుమన్నన చూచు కొండవీటి గాని
వారిఁ దొరయుట తలపడదు." — VV. Vm., p. 89, v. 108.

18. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, p. 228, 11. 80-81.

"यस्यानुजातो यवनान् विजित्य
पौरस्त्यभूपान् परिभूय भूयः
अ डभूपः ... ...॥"

Sultān being determined to conquer Teliṅgānā" writes the former "proceeded in that direction till having got near Rājamandrī he conquered many forts and districts of that country, and having taken possession of the whole of that territory he consigned it to agents of government, and then set out for his capital." [19] Ferishta, on the other hand, merely states that, in the year 820 A. H, (1417 A. D.), Fīrūz Shāh "despatched ambassadors to the Rāy of Teliṅgānā, demanding some years' arrears of tribute, who sent the sums due, with several valuable presents in addition.[20]

Fīrūz Shāh's invasion against the eastern country is confirmed by two of his inscriptions at Vēdādri, in the Nandigāma taluk of the Kistna district. Of these two inscriptions [21] dated in the Śaka year 1339 (1417 A. D.), one records the construction of a tank by Sarakhu Maluka Jainadi Voḍeya, the younger brother of Masanada yōli Abību Nidāmalu Maluka who was at Vāḍapalli Wazīrābād, on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā. The Nidāmalu Maluka, i. e., Nizāmul-Mulk is no other than Bīdār, one of the two slaves of Fīrūz Shāh, who gained immense influence over him in the latter part of his reign. It is thus evident that Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī despatched these officers to Teliṅgānā to help Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Their attempt to reduce Rājamahēndravaram proved a failure, even though the Muslim historians would have us believe that it was not so. The Bahmanī armies were defeated by Allāḍa as stated before. Hence, the allies were compelled to retreat wihtout capturing that important stronghold.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma met with reverses in his encounters with Allāḍa. The defeat he sustained at Rāmēśvaram was a crushing one. The Telugu work *Śivalīlāvilāsam* [22] states that Allaḍa Reḍḍi defeated Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in battle at Rāmēśvaram and seized, as booty, all his military equipment and wealth. Rāmēśvaram [23], the place of the last decisive battle in this struggle for supremacy, cannot be identified precisely, as there are two villages of the same name in the East and West Godavari districts (one in the Rājōle taluk and the other in the Taṇuku taluk) respectively.

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19. *Burhan-i-Ma,Asir*, p. 40

20. Briggs *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 389

21. Ep. Coll., Nos. 306 and 307 of 1924.

22. Vide. Part II, Chapter, VII Appendix.

23. Since the village in the Taṇuku taluk is called Nattala Rāmēśvaram, it is likely that the other Rāmēśvaram in the Rajole taluk (East Godavari district) is meant here.

Beginning of the end of the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu:

While the combined armies of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh and of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma were fighting against their enemies in the Rājamahēndravaram sector, Dēvarāya I appears to have launched a two-pronged attack to help his ally, Allāḍa Reḍḍi, and probably to benefit himself also. Making Pānugal[24] (Nallagoṇḍa district) the base of his military operations, he ordered his armies to march into the territories of Islām. At the same time, Dēvarāya I despatched a considerable force to the Koṇḍavīḍu country to capture the port of Mōṭupalli. This strategy accomplished its purpose well.

Defeated by prince Allāḍa and much disconcerted at the news of the Vijayanagar invasion of the territories of Islām, Fīrūz Shāh hastily retreated with his armies from Rājamahēndravaram. His main object was to reduce the fortress of Pānugal, the base of the Vijayanagar operations. He advanced by rapid marches and commenced the siege of that fort.

The garrison inside the fort of Pānugal bravely sallied out and a sanguinary battle was fought between the Bahmanī and the Vijayanagar armies. The fort of Pānugal resisted the siege of the Muslims for full two years. During this period the Muslims were put to

24. This fort was captured in S'aka 1319 (1398 A. D.) by the Vijayanagar general Irugapa daṇḍanātha and prince Bukka II's son under orders from Harihara II at the close of the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-Din (1397 A. D.), when there were internal dissensions and disorder in the Bhamani kingdom. Since then it remained under the sway of the Vijayanagar monarchs.

वाग्श्रीवरणान्वितं हरिहरक्षोणीपतिस्तत्सुतम्
साम्राज्यप्रतिपालनापटुतरप्रज्ञाबलोदञ्चितम्
धीमानिरुग(गे)पमन्त्रिवर्यमकरोद्दण्डाधिनाथेश्वरम्
विद्यार्यवित्रेकधैर्यकरुणासत्यक्षमालङ्कृतम् ॥
शाकाब्देषु निधीन्दुवह्निशशिभिः सम्मिश्रितेष्वीश्वर
वर्षे मासि सहस्यनामनि तथा पक्षे वलक्षे दिने
शम्भोर्भास्करवारभाजि विजिता श्रीपानुगल्लुःपुरी
तेनानेकतुरुष्कवीरविजयप्रावावलीविल्लिना ॥
इम्मडिबुक्कमहीपतितनयोनन्तक्ष्मापतिर्जयति ॥

The English date equivalent is Sunday, 30th Dec, 1398 A.D.
Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVI. p. 36. f. n. 4.

innumerable difficulties. It may not be unreasonable to think that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma stood faithfully by his ally, Fīrūz Shāh, in his hour of peril and probably sent his brother, Peda Kōmaṭi Māca Reḍḍi, the governor of Koṇḍapalli, to the aid of the Bahmanī Sultān with a considerable army.

While the siege was thus going on, Dēvarāya I started negotiations with the Sultān's subordinate allies, the Rēcerla kings of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa. They were the rulers of Teliṅgānā, the upland Telugu country beyond the Ghats. The relations between them and their overlord, the Sultān, were not latterly as smooth as before. These Padma Velama kings disliked the alliance of Fīrūz Shāh with their family enemies, the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, because Fīrūz Shāh stationed his military officers at Vāḍapalli Wazīrābād in their south-eastern province, which made their position much more subordinate than before and affected their status.

By this action they were brought under the virtual subjection of the Muslim *amīrs* and *wazīrs* of the Bahmanī Sultān. It was to their utter dislike that they had to co-operate in the ranks of the Bahmanī Sultān with the Reḍḍi armies, whom they hated bitterly. They, therefore, waited for an opportunity to throw off their allegiance to Fīrūz Shāh, and to join a powerful Hindu monarch. The negotiations started by the Vijayanagar monarch came in timely. While the battle was going on, the Rēcerla kings suddenly withdrew their armies from those of the Sultān and immediately joined the Vijayanagar forces. It is needless to say that this step changed the fortunes of the day. The battle ended with a disastrous defeat to the Muslims.[25]

Dēvarāya's Mōṭupalli record[26] clearly proves that this premier port of the Koṇḍavḍīu kingdom submitted itself to the Vijayanagar

25. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 86 ff.

26. The date of the unpublished record of the Vijayanagar monarch Dēvaraya I at Mōṭupalli (Loc. Rec., Vol. XLII, pp. 422–23) is given as S'aka 1312, Durmukhi. On the basis of this record it is said that Devaraya I "annexed, before 1390 A.D., the territory along the east coast extending as far as Mōṭupalli" (V.C.E., p. 126). This statement is wrong; for, the date of this record is irregular and the S'aka year, wrong. This charter, similar to those given by Gaṇapatideva of Warangal and Anavōta Reḍḍi of Koṇḍavīḍu, is stated to have been given on Friday, the first tithi of the lunar half of Magha. The cyclic year Durmukhi corresponds to S'aka 1338 and not to S'aka 1312. The latter year corresponds to Pramoda (Pramoduta). The details do not, however, work out correctly even for Durmukhi, for, the first tithi falls on Tuesday and not on Friday. As the cyclic year is definitely stated to be Durmukhi I assign this record to S'aka 1338 on the assumption that the numerals denoting the S'aka year were read wrongly in the eye-copy. This record fits in here exactly, and falls in line with the other available data.

arms. The date of this record is Durmukhi, corresponding to the Śaka year 1338. Another record[27] at Ponnūr (Bāpaṭla taluk, Guṇṭūr district) dated in Śaka 1339 (1417 A.D.) of Kūnapuli Anavōtā Nāyaka has also to be taken into account in this connection. As the members of the Kūnapuli family were the subordinates of the Vijayanagar monarchs, this Ponnūr inscription may be taken to be a Vijayanagar record, though it does not mention Anavōtā Nāyaka's overlord, Dēvarāya I. These records attest to the authority of Dēvarāya I over the south-eastern provinces of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom. The loss of these provinces was only the beginning of the end of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and the Rēcerla kings:

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma appears to have spent his last years of rule in fighting against the Rēcerla kings of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa. The *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* refers to the feud between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his brother Māca on one side, and Kumāra Vēdagiri and Liṅgama Nēḍu, sons of Kumāra Māda Nāyaka on the other. Mācā Reḍḍi is said to have been killed by Kumāra Vēdagiri who then caused his enemy's effigy to be set on his spittoon.[28] Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma did not wait long to avenge the death of his brother. He killed Kumāra Vēdagiri in battle, and emulating Vēdagiri's example, caused Kumāra Vēdagiri's effigy to be set on his own spittoon in his turn. Then, we are told that Liṅgama Nēḍu, a boy of twelve years of age, collected a great army and, accompanied by his relatives and followers, marched against Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. In the engagement that took place Liṅgama Nēḍu is credited to have defeated Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and caused his image to appear on his spitting pot. He also carried away, as trophy, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's badge of lion-crest and also his famous sword, named *Nandikanta Pōtarāju-kaṭari.*[29] The same work referred to above, states, in another place, that Liṅgama Nēḍu carried away Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma captive,[30] and subsequently, for some

27. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 118.

28. VV. Vm., p. 89 vv. 105 and 106; pr. 107; pp. 43—44, vv. 121 and 122. See also Part II, Chapter, XII.

29. Ibid, p. 89, pr. 107.

30. Ibid, p. 48.

"భువిలోన ననవేమ భూపాలుఁ జెఱవెట్టి
యతనిని కేవ్యక్తితో నంపినాడు....."—v. 126.

It seems Liṅga's cousin Siṅga III also took part in these campaigns. *Vaṁśāvaḷi* states that Vema, that is, Peda Kōmaṭi Vema took to flight when Siṅga closely pursued him.

unstated reasons, released him, and that Singaya Anna (that is, Anna son of Singa) killed Kōmaṭi Vēma in battle.[81] With a slight variation the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśacaritra*, a later work, also informs us that Lingama Nēḍu and Singaya Anna slew Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in battle.[82] As evidence is lacking, it is difficult to ascertain the truth of these statements. It might be that, during the Bahmanī-Vijayanagar war, the Rēcerla prince Kumāra Vēdagiri attacked Māca Reḍḍi and killed him. The other battles between the Rēcerla princes Kumāra Vēdagiri and Lingama Nēḍu, and the Reḍḍi king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, referred to in the *Vaṁśāvaḷi*, must have obviously followed that event.

Death of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma:

The latest date for Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma is furnished by his Rudravaram grant,[83] dated in the Śaka year 1341, corresponding to the cyclic year Vikāri. This record registers the grant of the village, Rudravaram as an *agrahāra* to the astronomer Rāmacandra, the eldest brother of Gaṅgādhara, and son of Peddi Yajva on the occasion of *Dhanus-saṁkramaṇa* in the month of Mārgaśira. This is the latest record of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma known to us, and the last grant known to have been drafted by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's *Vidyādhikāri* Śrīnātha.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's rule may be said to have ended in Śaka 1342 (1420 A. D). Kōmaṭi Vēma was a great warrior, a profound scholar and a considerable poet. From the moment he ascended the throne he strove hard to safeguard the interests of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom, and to maintain its integrity and independence. Though he was not able to extend his authority far beyond the frontiers of his kingdom which he inherited at the time of his succession, he succeeded till almost to the end of his rule in preserving it intact in spite of the repeated incursions of the Vijayanagar rulers. He also committed the same folly as his predecessor, Kumāragiri in further dividing the kingdom between himself and his brother, Māca Reḍḍi. and in

"పుడమిని నాకాశంబునఁ
పిడుగు కరణి రావుసింగపృథ్వీశుఁడు దాఁ
బాఁడుపాడు ముని కనుఁగిలిక
ఐదవెడ జగనొబ్బగండ వేముఁడు పోలెఁగా" v. 145, p. 57.

81. Ibid, 60, v. 155.

"బట్టు తలాటాంక బల్లరగండఁడై
యనవేమరెడ్డిని నాఁడు దునిమె"

82. VV. Vc., pages 57 and 67.

83. C. P., No. 7 of 1919-20.

conferring upon the latter the province lying on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇā. As in the reign of Kumāragiri, though this division did not affect the integrity of the kingdom during the reign of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, it weakened it further, and made it an easy prey to the three powerful neighbours, the Gajapatis of Kaliṅga, the Narapatis of Vijayanagar, and the Aśvapatis of Gulbarga, who had ever been casting a covetous eye on it. From his alliance with the Bahmanī Sultān Vēma came to be hated still more bitterly by the Vijayanagar ruler, who regarded his allance as an unholy act and made it a pretext to occupy the kingdom.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was an able ruler and good scholar. He wrote many works in Sanskrit pertaining to different branches of learning, like *śravya* and *dṛśya prabandhas*, treatises on *Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya*, and commentaries on old Sanskrit works.[34] He was famous for his munificence and liberality to scholars and poets. Many *Cāṭu* verses both in Sanskrit and Telugu were composed in praise of his gifts and charities. One of these verses is noteworthy. It praises the munificence of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma; but remarks that, just as there is a snake near the Kalpaka tree, there was Turagā Rāma[35] (probably one of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's ministers) near him, and hence, one could not approach him.

34. An account of his works will be found in the chapter on literature in Part II of this work.

35. C. t. Mm., I, p. 34.

APPENDIX.

Genealogy of the Reḍḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram.

- Kōṭa Reḍḍi of the Dūvūri family.
  - Perumāndi Reḍḍi m. Annamāmba
    - Allāda
    - Peda Kōta
    - Annavrōla
    - Doḍḍa m. Annamāmba
      - Annavrōla
        - Komaragiri
        - Annavōta Ś. 1344
      - Kōṭa
      - Allāḍa m. Vēmāmbā
        - Vēma m. Hariharāmbā[1]
        - Vīrabhadra m. Anitalli
        - Doḍḍa
        - Anna
    - Pina Kōṭa

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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. xiii, p. 242, v. 22.

पौत्रीं काटयवेमयक्षितिपतेः पुत्रीं च काटप्रभोः
दौहित्रीं चतुरर्णवी हरिहरक्षोणीपतेः शासितुः
तन्नाम्ना विदिताह्वयां हरिहरांबां चाम्ममग्राह्य
त्पाणौ वेममहीशमल्लनृपति स्साम्राज्यलक्ष्म्या समम् ॥

Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu emends the first line in the above verse as shown below :

" पुत्रीं काटयवेमयक्षितिपतेः पौत्रीं च काटप्रभोः".

CHAPTER X.

RĀCA VEMAREḌḌI.

(Cir. 1420 A.D. to Cir. 1424 A.D.)

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was succeeded by his son, Rāca Vēma. His mother was Sūrāṁba, daughter of Gannabhūpāla, lord of Dhānyavāṭīpura or Dhānyakaṭaka. Rāca Vēma's records have not yet come to light. The Aṁīnābād inscription, which informs us that Rāca Vēma caused the feeder canal, named "Jaganobbagaṇḍa - kāluva" of the Santānavāridhi tank, constructed by his mother Sūrāṁba, to be dug in S'aka year 1337 corresponding to the cyclic year Manmatha, has to be assigned to the reign of his father, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. The *Koṇḍaviṭi-daṇḍakavile* and the *kaifiyat* of Koṇḍavīḍu state that he ruled for four years. From the account furnished by them he appears to have been a tyrant. He ruled his subjects cruelly and oppressively. He is said to have imposed new taxes and collected them with an iron hand. He had none of the qualities of a good ruler. He, therefore, was unable to steer the ship of state successfully during the stormy period that followed his father's death. The *kaifiyats* of villages in the Godavari, Kistna, and Guntur districts state that Lāṅgūla Gajapati of Kaḷiṅga overran the coastal tract in S'aka 1342, brought the whole country under his rule, and got some repairs made and fresh forts constructed at Koṇḍavīḍu.[1] This is not, however, confirmed by epigraphical evidence. Neither the records of the Gajapati monarchs, nor of the Vijayanagar rulers have been discovered till now either at Koṇḍavīḍu or in its north-eastern region. If the Gajapati conquest of Koṇḍavīḍu were a fact, as it seems to be, it must have been effected sometime after S'aka 1342, for, the country in the neighbourhood of the Reḍḍi capital was subjugated by the Vijayanagar monarchs in or before that date, as is borne out by a record[2] of S'aka 1342 Sārvari belonging to Dēvarāya I at

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1. Kf. Kd., pp. 10–11.

"తదనంతరము గజపతిసింహాసనస్థుఁడైన లాంగూలగజపతి జయయాత్ర చేసికొని కటకము మొదలుకొని వుదయగిరి పర్యంతము న్ను గిరిదుర్గస్థలములు ఆక్రమించి శా. ౧౩౪౨ శకము లగాయతు శా. ౧౩౫౩ శకమువరకు ౧౨ సంవత్సరములు ప్రభుత్వము చేసి దుర్గము(కొండవీడు) మరామతుచేయించి, పెదమాలెంకోట చినమాలెంకోట అనేవి కట్టించెను."

2. Ep. Coll., No. 125 of 1917. The S'aka date 1344, as given in the inscription, does not correctly correspond to the cyclic year S'arvari. It tallies with S'aka 1342 Hence, I took it as S'aka 1342 S'arvari in the text above.

Potturu (Guntur taluk, Guntur district), a village in the vicinity of Koṇḍavīḍu.

Rāca Vēma Reḍḍi had little support from his subjects to resist these invasions of the Vijayanagar and the Gajapati rulers; for, by his oppressive rule he had forfeited the love and devotion of his subjects. The *Koṇḍavīṭi-daṇḍakavile*, which assigns to him a period of rule of four years, informs us that he was assassinated by one of his subjects.[3] This is not, however, corroborated by any available evidence.

The kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu, founded by Prōlaya Vēma, after many vicissitudes and set-backs, reached its meridian of power and glory in the reigns of the illustrious Anavēma and Kumāragiri. Such days of prosperity and affluence were not for it for long. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his internecine wars gave it a downward thrust and his unworthy son Rāca Vēma saw it sink. A glorious but all too brief period of a hundred years was the life of this great Reḍḍi dynasty.

3. "ఇతఁడు (రాచ వేమారెడ్డి) తనపూర్వుల మార్గముగాని తండ్రిమార్గముగాని యవలంబింపక తా నొకక్రొత్తమార్గ మవలంబించి క్రొత్తపన్నులను విధించి ప్రజలను బాధించుచుండెనని కొండవీటి దండకవిలె వాకొనుచున్నది. రాచవేమన ప్రజలపై పురిటిపన్ను విధించి యక్రమముగా రాఁబట్టుచుండెననియు, తన భృత్యుఁడగు సవిరము ఎల్లయ యను బలిజనాయకునిపై పురిటిపన్ను వేసి బలాత్కారముగా వసూలు చేసినందున వాతఁడు గ్రహించి యొకనాఁడు ముత్యాలమ్మగుడికడ నాతనిని కటారితోఁ బొడిచి చంపెననియుఁ బైదండకవిలె నుడువుచున్నది"—An. Cr., III, pp. 248-44.

CHAPTER XI.

RĀJAMAHĒNDRA RĀJYA OR THE EASTERN KINGDOM

Rājamahēndra Rājya or the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram was of later orgin, coming into existence only during the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. The Reḍḍi kings of Addanki, later, of Koṇḍavīḍu, ever since the establishment of their power, realised the necessity of bringing the whole of the coastal region under one rule, and of consolidating their power to protect the Hindu *dharma* and culture from the ravaging attacks of the Muslims. However, their attempts were not crowned with success until nearly half a century after the re-establishment of Hindu independence in that region. It was Anavōta I who, after the new Reḍḍi principality was placed on a strong and secure basis, led an expedition to the eastern quarter to bring the fertile coastal plain to the north of the Kṛṣṇā under his authority. It is probable that many of the Reḍḍi families from Pākanāḍu in the Nellore district migrated to Rājamahēndravaram on he banks of the Gōdāvarī, and settled there towards the end of Prōlaya Vēma's reign, or in the beginning of the reign of his son, Anavōta. Though the campaign of Anavōta I was a thorough success, the authority of the Reḍḍis was not permanently established there. The chiefs in that region appear to have thrown off their allegiance to the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu and reasserted their independence. After his succession to the throne, Anavēma, brother and successor of Anavōta, once again invaded the eastern country and brought the chiefs ruling in that region under his sway. The authority of Koṇḍavīḍu was so well established over the eastern country extending as far as Rajamahēndravaram that, even the civil war that convulsed the Reḍḍi kingdom after the death of Anavēma, did not affect its subordinate position. The territory extending up to the confines of Kaḷiṅga ramained an integral part of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom till the death of Anavēma.

Rājamahēndravaram and its neighbouring country had become a virtual Reḍḍi colony and settlements of the Reḍḍi nobles and their dependants had sprung up in this region even from about the beginning of the reign of Anavōta I. Chief among the Reḍḍi families that settled at Rājamahēndravaram and its neighbourhood were Kaṭaya Reḍḍi's family and the Dūvūri family. Kaṭa II, grandson of Kaṭa I and son of Mārā Reḍḍi, was contemporaneous with Anavōtā Reḍḍi I and his

brother, Anavēma. He married Doḍḍāmbikā, sister of Anavōta I, and daughter of Prōlaya Vēma. He and his father Māra Reḍḍi, therefore, were the chief Reḍḍi dignitaries in the Gōdāvarī region during the early years of the Reḍḍi rule. The Dūvūri family was an extensive one. Perumaṇḍi Reḍḍi of this family had five sons, Allāḍa, Peda Kōṭa, Annavrōla, Doḍḍa and Pina Kōṭā Reḍḍi. These had marital alliances with the nobles of this region, and wielded enormous influence in the politics of the land. These nobles, who were contemporaneous with Anavōta and Anavēma, were the chief supporters of the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu and were probably instrumental in establishing permanently the authority of the Reḍḍi kings in this region to the east of the Gōdāvarī. Of the five nobles of the Dūvūri family mentioned above, Doḍḍā Reḍḍi was connected by ties of relationship with the Ēruva chief, Bhīmadēva Cōḍa, son of Bhaktirāja. Bhīmadēva Cōḍa gave his daughter Vēmāmbā in marriage to Allāḍa Reḍḍi, the youngest of the three sons of Doḍḍā Reḍḍi. Allāḍa and his elder brothers, Anavrōla and Koṭa, and his paternal uncles, all the members of the Dūvūri family, in fact whole-heartedly co-operated with the Reḍḍi kings in extending their authority over the fertile lower Gōdāvarī valley. Because of the powerful support of the Reḍḍi nobles, Rājamahēndravaram, even during the civil war following the death of Anavema, not only remained a Reḍḍi stronghold, but also took up the cause of Kumāragiri, and fought against his opponents under the leadership of Kāṭaya Reḍḍi's son Vēmā Reḍḍi.

After his succession to the throne, Kumāragiri realised the necessity of defending the eastern frontier of his kingdom and keeping under check the petty rulers of the eastern region who did not fail to take advantage of the civil war to assert their independence. For effecting a permanent arrangement he sent his son prince Anavōta II and his prime minister and generalissimo, Kāṭaya Vēma to conquer the eastern country, as stated already. The eastern campaign, in which Allāḍa Reḍḍi and his sons Vēma and Doḍḍa had taken an active part, was a thoroughly successful one, and the Reḍḍis succeeded in carrying their arms victoriously as far as Puruṣōttam, i.e. Cuttack in the Pūri district of Orissa. They planted pillars of victory at Siṁhāchalam and on the banks of the Chilka lake. Subsequent to this conquest, the country beyond the Gōdāvarī extending as far as Siṁhāchalam was annexed to Rājamahēndravaram and constituted into a separate province called the Eastern Kingdom or Rājamahēndra Rājya about Śaka 1312 (1390 A.D.) with Rājamahēndravaram as its capital. Prince Anavōta II, son of Komaragiri was appointed viceroy of this new kingdom.

King Kāṭaya Vēma:

Subsequent to the death of Anavota II after a short reign, Kumāragiri conferred the Rājamahēndra Rājya on Kāṭaya Vēma, in appreciation of his prowess ("*Yasmai-vikrama-tōṣitaḥ*"), and probably of his invaluable services rendered unto him. The gift, therefore, of Rājamahēndra Rājya was in the nature of a military fief or jāgīr. Kāṭaya Vēma was in possession of this dominion prior to S'aka 1317 (1395 A.D.), the date of his Gōpavaram grant[1] which alludes to this fact. From this it is evident that, by that date, Anavōta II was dead, and Kāṭaya Vēma was the governor of Rājamahēndra Rājya. It is probable that Allāḍa Reḍḍi, his right-hand man, was his representative carrying on the administration of the kingdom during his absence from Rājamahēndravaram.

During the last years of king Kumāragiri, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma usurped the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu. Kāṭaya Vēma, on behalf of Kumāragiri, appears to have fought in vain against this usurpation, and eventually fled to Rājamahēndravaram where Kumāragiri spent his last days in illness.

The death of Kumāragiri aggravated the hostilities between Kāṭaya Vēma and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Kāṭaya Vēma, as the vassal of Koṇḍavīḍu, did not pay his homage to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the successor of Kumāragiri. On the other hand, he asserted his independence, and defied Peda *Kōmaṭi Vēma's authority. Vēma tried to put him down* and annex the Rājamahēndra Rājya to the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom. His attempts to subdue Kāṭaya Vēma and the latter's stubborn resistance involved the country again in a prolonged civil war, the course of which cannot be exactly ascertained with the data now available.

While Kāṭaya Vēma was fighting against Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the Ēṟuva chief Annadēva Cōḍa, son of Bhaktirāja, made an attempt to recover his lost kingdom. The statement int he *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* that Vēdagiri I, son of Mādā Nāyaka of the Rēceṟla family, gave protection to Annadēva Cōḍa, suggests that he went to Dēvarakoṇḍa

1. *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol XI. pp. 211 ff.

There is an unpublished copper-plate grant of Kaṭaya Vēma, dated in S'aka 1318 Āṅgirasa (Mack. Mss. No. 15-4-4, pp. 283-84). The grant bears the signature of Kāṭaya Vēma. The gift recorded in this grant was made on Thursday, the tenth tithi of the bright half of the month of Puṣya. The date is irregular. According to the *Indian Ephemeris* the week day is Tuesday and not Thursday. The S'aka year 1318 had expired and S'aka 1814, current. As the grant bears Vema's signature, it raises a doubt if he was already appointed governor of the Eastern Kingdom and if Anovōta, son of Kumāragiri, was already dead.

after his banishment from his kingdom and sought refuge with Peda Vēdagiri I. While he was at Dēvarakoṇḍa he often appears to have resorted to the court of the Bahmanī Sultāns and to have co-operated with them in their campaigns, thereby gaining their favour. He helped Fīrūz Shāh,[2] the king of the Turuṣkas, in overcoming the Karṇāṭa army at Sāgar in 1398 A.D. Having thus made an alliance with the Bahmanī Sultān and the Rēceṟla king of Dēvarakoṇḍa, Annadēva Cōḍa made a bid to recover his kingdom after the death of Kumāragiri.

Annadēva Cōḍa and Kāṭaya Vēma :

Annadēva Cōḍa returned from Dēvarakoṇḍa at the head of a large army of the Rēceṟla kings, probably by way of Kaliṅga, at a time when Kāṭaya Vēma was involved in struggle with Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. There is reason to believe that he was opposed by the Eastern Cāḷukya subordinates of the Reḍḍi kings. A *śloka* in the Pañcadhārala inscription[3] of the Cāḷukya king, Viśvēśwara of Elamañci, and a verse in the *Kāvyālaṅkārcūḍāmaṇi*, a Telugu work on rhetoric written by his court-poet Vinnakōṭa Peddana, state that king Viśvēśvara defeated the Andhra army near Sarvasiddhi (in the Vizagapatam district) in Śaka 1324, that is, 1402 A.D. As the whole country as far as Siṁhāchalam was conquered and annexed to the Reḍḍi kingdom, the Cāḷukya king Viśvēśvara was, no doubt, a subordinate of the Reḍḍi kings. He opposed the Andhra army, probably of the Rēceṟla kings, on behalf of his overlords.

This defeat at the hands of Cāḷukya Viśvēśvara did not deter Annadēva Cōḍa from making one more attempt to regain his kingdom. And this time his endeavour was crowned with success. He not only recovered his kingdom but snatched away a good slice of the Rājamahēndra Rājya as well, as is borne out by his inscriptions[4] at Dākshāram dated in Śaka 1326/1404 A.D. This record gives Annadēva Cōḍa the titles *Rājādhirājaparamēśvara* and *Pūrvasiṁhāsanādhīśvara*, which clearly show that he was 'the lord of the Eastern throne,' that is, the Eastern Kingdom. In spite of his success Annadēva Cōḍa was not able to retain his hold on Rājamahēndra Rāja for any length of time.

Kāṭaya Vēma's records bearing dates subsequent to Śaka 1326 have been discovered in the Rajahmundry and Cocanada taluks of the East

2. Ep., Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 29.

3. Ibid, Vol. XIX p., 170, verse. 24, Vol. XXV, pp 335–36; S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 665.

4. S.I.I., Vol. IV, Nos. 1347 and 1348.

Godavari District. His inscriptions at Madhirapūḍi[5] in the Rajahmundry taluk, Sarpavaram[6] in the Cocanada taluk, and Toṟṟēḍu[7] in the Rajahmundry taluk, are found dated in Śaka 1327, and his Acyutāpuram[8] inscription is dated in Śaka 1328. From these inscriptions it is evident that Kāṭaya Vēma was again in possession of the Rājamahēndra Rājya after Śaka 1326. It is, therefore, certain that Annadēva Cōḍa was defeated and driven back to his own kingdom which, according to his Rajahmundry Museum plates, lay between Gōmukhagiri or Mōtīghar, popularly called Mōtē, a small island above Bhadrāchalam in the Gōdāvarī in the Hyderabad State, and Paṭṭesagiri or Paṭṭesam, another small island in the same river, just below Pōlavaram, Godavari district. Annadēva Cōḍa's inscription[9] at Pōlavaram is dated in Śaka 1330/1408 A.D.

Annadēva Cōḍa did not like Kāṭaya Vēma, a powerful enemy, to be by his side. He wanted to crush him at any cost and annex his kingdom. He, therefore, appears to have entered into an alliance with king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍavīḍu who was equally intent on crushing the power of Kāṭaya Vēma.

Kāṭaya Vēma was aware of the danger arising from such an alliance. He, therefore, wanted to have a powerful ally on his side. The Rēceṟla kings and the Bahmanī Sultāns were his enemies. The only powerful ruler he could think of was Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagar.

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5. Mack. Mss., No. 15–4–4; Loc. Rec., Vol II, p. 212. The date is Śaka 1327 (wrong for 1326) Tāraṇa, Thursday 10th tithi of the dark half of the month of Puṣya, on the occasion of Makara saṁkramaṇa. The English date equivalent is 27 December, 1404 A.D. The week day was Saturday and not Thursday.

6. Ibid, No. 15–5–36, p. 239. In Śaka 1327 Pārthiva, Kāṭaya Vēma builds a maṇḍapa, called Vasantarāya maṇḍapa, at Sarpavaram on Wednesday, the 11th tithi of the lunar half of the month of Nija Āṣāḍha for the merit of Kumāragiri. In the month of Nija Āṣāḍha the 11th tithi fell on Wednesday both in the lunar and dark halves. The English date equivalent is either 8 July or 22 July, 1405 A.D.

7. Ibid. No. 15–4–4 pp. 278–79. This is a copper-plate grant of Kaṭaya Vēma. The lines containing the date (Śaka 1827) are given below :

" श्रीशाके गिरिनेत्रवह्नि शशिभिर्गण्ये शरद्युत्तमे
कृष्णे पार्थिवनाम्नि चन्द्रिरदिने वारे गुरोः फाल्गुने."

8. Ibid, No. 15–5–36, p., 325. This records a grant of Kāṭaya Vēma in Śaka 1328 Sarvajit, on Thursday, the 14th tithi of the dark half of Māgha for the merit of Kumāragiri. The English date equivalent is Thursday, 12 Jannary, 1408 A. D. The Śaka year 1329 corresponds to Sarvajit.

9. Ep. Coll., No. 293 of 1920.

Dēvarāya I ascended the throne[10] in Śaka 1329 after coming out victorious in the fratricidal war, subsequent to the death of Harihara II in Saka 1326 (1404 A.D.). Kāṭaya Vēma went to the Vijayanagar kingdom probably to meet Dēvarāya I. His inscription[11] at Ahōbalam in the Cuddapah district shows that he was there in Śaka 1332 (1410 A.D.). Whether Kāṭaya Vēma actually met Dēvarāya I, and whether the result of such a meeting, if at all it had taken place, was favourable to him, are matters of conjecture. The course of events, however, subsequent to Saka 1332 (1410 A. D.) suggests that Kāṭaya Vēma achieved his object. Dēvarāya I advanced into the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom and occupied the region comprising the present Bapatla taluk in the Guntur district. Dēvarāya I must have done this either to prevent Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma from collaborating with Annadēva Cōḍa, or to relieve pressure on the eastern front, if Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma had already been fighting Kāṭaya Vēma.

Kāṭaya Vēma, in spite of the combined opposition of Annadēva Cōḍa and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, was able to maintain his hold on the Rājamahēndra Rājya including Kōnamaṇḍala. In proof of this statement his inscriptions at Tirupati[12] (Peddāpuram taluk), Komaragiripuram[13] (Pithapuram division), Tottaramūḍi[14] (Amalāpuram taluk), and Sarpavaram[15] (Cocanada taluk) in the East Godavari district, dated in Śaka years 1330, 1332, 1333, 1334 and 1336 respectively, may be cited. It is thus evident that, excepting for a short interval in Śaka 1326, Kāṭaya Vēma held sway over the Eastern Kingdom for more than twenty years, after it came into his possession before Saka 1317 (1391 A. D.). His inscriptions, however, have not yet come to light to the south of the Gōdāvarī.

While Kāṭaya Vēma was ruling his kingdom to the east of the Gōdāvarī, Annadēva Cōḍa occupied the region along the bank of the Gōdāvarī in the west[15a] probably with the help of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma

10. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXIV, p. 204, No. 804 and note; Mack. Mss., No. 15-3-25. In this manuscript the date of coronation is given as S'aka 1329 Sarvajit, Thursday, 10th tithi of the dark half of Kārtika. The week day was Wednesday and not Thursday (Wednesday, 26 October, 1407).

11. Ep. Coll., No. 84 of 1915.

12. S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 108.

13. *Reḍḍi Rāṇi*, Vol. II (1924, October), pp. 83 ff. This is a copper-plate grant recording the gift of the village of Komaragiripuram to an Āyurvēda-vaidya, named Narasiṁha on the 15th day of the lunar half of the month of Māgha. The date is unverifiable.

14. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

15. S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 20 of S'aka 1334 and no. 2 of S'aka 1336. These two are the Sarpavaram records of Kāṭaya Vēma.

15-a. From almost the Pāpi hills the Gōdāvarī flows from north to south till far beyond Rājamahēndravaram.

and of his own brother-in-law Pina Uṇḍirāja (Pinnumḍirāja), son of Srī Cakravarti of the solar family.[16] The identity of this Cakravarti is not known. As the donor of the Rāvulāparti plates[17] is known as Uṇḍīśa or Peda Uṇḍirāja, Pinna Uṇḍirāja was probably a latter chief of the same family belonging to Sūravaram. Annadēva Cōḍa's occupation of the western Gcdavari region endangered Kāṭaya Vēma's position; for, easily crossing the Gōdāvarī the former might advance into Kōna-maṇḍala and attack the latter in his own territory. Kāṭaya Vēma, therefore, appears to have first crossed the river and attacked Annadēva Cōḍa. All the engagements between these two chiefs subsequent to Śaka 1334/1412 A. D., were fought on the western bank of the Gōdāvarī, as is borne out by the Rajahmundry Museum plates.

Annadēva Cōḍa's exploits:

The Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva Cōḍa refer to some of these battles. They state that Annadēva captured the enemy towns of Jaggavāgu and others.[18] Jaggavāgu has not yet been identified. Besides this, Annadēva Cōḍa is said to have defeated, on the borders of Attili (Tanuku taluk, West Godavari district), all the southern kings who were hostile to him, and to have offered protection to ten thousand of the enemy's forces who had taken refuge within the walls of that city. The southern kings[19] referred to here are no doubt the rulers of Vijayanagar and their feudatories. It is evident from this that Dēvarāya I despatched a considerable army in aid of Kāṭaya Vēma. An engagement took place between the contending parties on the borders of Attili, in which Annadēva Cōḍa came out victorious. In this engagement he took ten thousand of the enemy's forces captive and offered them protection.

Among all the engagements that took place between Annadēva Cōḍa and Kāṭaya Vēma, the battle of Kāṁkaṟaparti, the modern Kākaṟaparti, on the banks of the Gautamī (in the Tanuku taluk) was the most important one. It was a decisive battle in which Annadēva Cōḍa inflicted a crushing defeat on the Kannaḍa and other enemies who suffered heavy losses. The Rajahmundry Museum plates describe the battle thus: "For the purpose of protecting his friend he (Annadēva Cōḍa) performed a heroic sacrifice with Pina Uṇḍirāja (Pinnuṇḍirāja) as *adhvaryu* on the sacrificial altar of Kāṁkaṟaparti on the banks of the Gautamī, making the Kannaḍa and other enemies the sacrificial

16. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 44, ll. 28–29.
17. C.P. No. 16 of 1917–18.
18. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 31 – 34.
19. Ibid. p. 34, f.n.

victims".[20] The name of the friend whom Anandēva protected is not given in the plates. Yet, it is possible to guess who he was. He was not the Bahmanī Sultān, Fīrūz Shāh, as has been conjectured by some scholars; for according to Ferishta, it was only in the year A. H. 820 Fīrūz Shāh led an expedition into the Teliṅgāna country. According to 'Azīz Ullāh Tabā Tabā this invasion took place between A. H. 815 and A. H. 820. Khāfi Khān, another Muslim historian, places it some time after A. H. 818[21]. The year A. H. 818 closes with Śaka 1337 Manmatha (February 1416 A. D.) and A. H. 819 begins with the Caitra of Śaka 1338 (March 1416 A. D.). It appears, therefore, reasonable to place Fīrūz Shāh's invasion sometime after February 1416 A. D. (in or after the month of Caitra of Śaka 1338). The provenance of the inscriptions[22] of Fīrūz Shāh in the Kistna district attests to the fact that the coastal region of Telingānā was overrun by him about 1417 A.D., (Śaka 1339) which corresponds to A.H. 820. It will not be, therefore, far from the truth if the date of the invasion is placed in the beginning of Śaka 1339, that is, at the end of A. H. 819. Annadēva Cōḍa was dead even by the middle of Śaka 1338, i. e., 1416 A. D. as will be shown later on. Under these circumstances the friend that was protected by Annadēva Cōḍa at Kāṁkaṟaparti could not have been Fīrūz Shāh. Nor could he have been the Vijayanagar ruler who was Annadēva's formidable enemy. He could not have been even the Rēceṟla king; for, evidence is lacking to show that the Dēvarakoṇḍa chiefs continued to take as much interest in him as they used to, in the time of Peda Vēdagiri Nēḍu. Hence, it cannot be said that the friend referred to in the plates was a Rēceṟla chief. So, the only king that could be thought of is Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma himself. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma probably collaborated with Annadēva Cōḍa in crushing Kāṭaya Vēma's power, as has been surmised before. While, during one of these engagements, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was hard pressed by both Kāṭaya Vēma's forces and Dēvarāya's army, Annadēva Cōḍa, along with Pina Undirāja, hurried to his relief, and after winning a signal victory over the enemies he protected his ally. This victory gave him complete control of the western Godavari region. It was in the course of these wars that Annadēva Cōḍa went to Kṣīrārāma in Śaka 1335 (expired) in the cyclic year Jaya and made a gift of lands[23] to god Kṣīrā Rāmēśvara Śrīmanmahādēva of that place for the merit of his father Bhaktirāja and his mother Annadēvamma (23 July, 1414 A. D.).

20. Ibid, p. 16.
21. Ibid, pp. 85-86.
22. Ep. Coll., Nos. and 306 and 307 of 1924.
23. S.I.I, Vol. V., No. 115. The Śaka year 1336 current corresponds to Jaya.

Kāṭaya Vēma's death:

It is likely that Kāṭaya Vēma lost his life in one of these battles, as suggested in the previous chapter. The death of Kāṭaya Vēma in his wars with the Koppunūḷḷa Nāyakas, the subordinates of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Reḍḍi who had the title *Kāṭaya Vēmuni-talagoṇḍa-gaṇḍa* (the hero who took the head of Kāṭaya Vēma), affords clear proof to show that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Reḍḍi was an ally of Annadēva Cōḍa and helped him in his wars with his bitter foe, Kāṭaya Vēma.

Kāṭaya Vēma's character and achievements:

A long and glorious career thus came to an end. Kāṭaya Vēma was a profound scholar in Sanskrit. His commentary on the three dramas of the great poet Kāḷidāsa, known as *Kumāragirirājīyam*, greatly testifies to his scholarship. A *Cāṭu*[24] verse in Telugu informs us that a certain Rāyani Bāca (Bhāskara, son of Rāyanimantri) who wrote with a golden style (*pasiṇḍi ganṭamu*) was a famous rāyasaṁ of that period. Kāṭaya Vēma was an able statesman and a veteran soldier. More than any one else of the Koṇḍavīṭi family he raised the prestige of the Reḍḍi power in the East by his extensive conquests. During the reign of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, he carried the Reḍḍi arms victoriously as far north as the Chilka lake and Cuttack. He, however, hastened the downfall of the Reḍḍi power by his rivalry with Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, and by his indiscreet alliance with the Vijayanagar rulers who were ever ready to annex Koṇḍavīḍu to their empire.

Kāṭaya Vēma had great regard and devotion to his brother-in-law, Kumāragiri Reḍḍi and served him loyally and faithfully as generalissimo and prime minister. He carried out his behests with implicit obedience. His extreme regard and affection for his master and brother-in-law, Kumāragiri Reḍḍi may be inferred from his love of naming everything after him. He granted a good number of villages to brāhmans and temples for the merit of his king, Kumāragiri, after re-naming them after him. His Ahōbalam inscription furnishes a list of such villages. He named his commentary on Kāḷidasa's dramas

24. కలయఁ బసిండిగంటమునఁ గాటయవేమసమర్థుఁ డుండ స
త్ఫలముగ రాయన ప్రభునిబాచఁడు వ్రాసిన వ్రాలు వ్రాఁతలన్
గలుగలుగల్లుగల్లురనఁ గంటకమంత్రుల గుండెలన్నియున్
జలుజలు జల్లుజల్లురనె సత్కవివర్యులు మేలుమేలనన్.

—Ct. Mm., I. p: 76.

Kumaragirirājīyam after his scholar-master. He named his son also after his brother-in-law. These acts attest to his personal character as a friend.

Kāṭaya Vēma left behind him a son, named Komaragiri and two daughters, Anitalli and Harihararambā. As stated before, Anitalli, his daughter by Doḍḍambikā, sister of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, was given in marriage to Allāḍa Reḍḍi's son, Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi, and Hariharāmbā, to Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi's eldest brother, Vēmā Reḍḍi. At the time of his father's death Komaragiri Reḍḍi was a young boy of about ten years of age, having been born in 1405 A.D., if what the Toṟṟēḍu grant[25] of Kāṭaya Vēmā says is true. This inscription registers the grant of Toṟṟēḍu to the brahman scholar, named Mādhava, of the Civukula family, by Kāṭaya Vēma in Śaka 1327, on the occasion of the birth of his son, Komaragiri It is interesting to note that this boy was married very early, probably for political reasons. Two inscriptions[26] from Dāksharām dated in Śaka 1336 (1414 A.D.), and Śaka 1338 (1416 A.D.) record gifts for the merit of Komaragiri Reḍḍi, and his wife.

Annadēva Cōḍa and Allāḍa Reḍḍi :

After Kāṭaya Vēma's death Annadēva Cōḍa took all members of his family captive; but "being disirous of fame" he is said to have protected them on their bowing to his feet.[27] In spite of Kāṭaya Vēma's death Annadēva Cōḍa seems to have fared no better than before. He was not successful in occupying Rājamahēndravaram; yet he did not give up his endeavour. Now, he was confronted with another formidable foe, Allāda Reḍḍi, the right-hand man of Kāṭaya Vēmā Reḍḍi. Allāḍa Reḍḍi challenged the authority of Annadēva Cōḍa and his ally, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, and gave them no peace or rest.

Allāḍa Reḍḍi was the son-in-law of Annadēva Cōḍa's brother, Bhīmadēva Cōḍa. He was a near relative of Kāṭaya Vēma and a sworn

25. "वामाङ्कस्थरमः प्रतीतविभवः पद्मासनस्थो जग
न्नाथ श्रीकुमराद्रिरेड्डिजननाभीष्टो जयत्यच्युतः"

—Mack. Mss. No, 15-4-4.

26. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV. B, pp, 329; and C, pp. 330.

27. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 45.

पादाम्बुजप्रणतकाटयवेमवंशः
कोर्त्यैकवत्सलतया समरक्षियेन
सोयं विभाति शरणागतभूपरक्षा
दीक्षागुरुर्जयति चोडकुलान्नदेवः ॥

enemy of Annadēva Cōda. The part he played in the wars which Kāṭaya Vēma waged against his enemies is, however, not known. His independent activities strictly belong to the period subsequent to the death of Kāṭaya Vēma. After Vēma's death Allāḍa placed his son, young Komaragiri, on the throne of Rājamahēndravaram and ruled the kingdom himself as his regent.

The regency of Allāḍa:

Komaragiri II did not live long after the death of his father. He died prematurely. When and how he died are matters of conjecture, as evidence is lacking to determine them. Komaragiri's death worsened the political situation still further. The Kaluvacēṟu grant[28] states that after the death of Komaragiri (II) the earth was submerged under a host of wicked kings and chiefs who turned traitor to their master (*Svāmi irōhaparāyaṇas*), and that Allaya Narēndra uplifted it like Viṣṇu and handed it over to Anitalli, daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma. From this it is evident that Annadēva Cōḍa with his allies occupied the Rājamahēndra Rājya after the death of Komaragiri II, son of Kāṭaya Vēma. This fact is further corroborated by another piece of indirect evidence also. From the *Bhimēśvara Purāṇaṁ*[29] we come to know that there was Anna Cōḍavara-*agrahāra* (*Annacōḍavara-mahāgrahāra*) in the Bōḍasakurti-Sthala in Kōna-rāṣṭra. Judging by its name this *agrahāra* must have been granted to brāhmans by Annadēva Cōḍa after re-naming it after himself, as is usually the case with the donors who re-name the village they grant, either after themselves or after their fathers. The existence of this *agrahāra* in Kōna-rāṣṭra clearly testifies to Annadēva Cōḍa's occupation of a considerable portion of the Eastern Kingdom. Some of the nobles who were devoted to Kāṭaya Vēma and his family

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28. *Bharati*, Vol. XXI. pt 1, p. 556, vv. 45 and 46.

स्वामिद्रोहपरायण
कुनृपतिजलराशिजलनिमग्नधरां
दोड्डययल्लनरेन्द्रो
हरिरिव सौकर्य्यतस्समुद्धृतवान् ॥ v. 45.
दुरितरहितचित्तो दोड्डयाल्लाडभूपो
भुवमरिजनवश्यां भूयसा हृन्यदोष्णा
विमलगुणयुतायां वेमभूपात्मजाया
मवनिसुरसुधाया मन्नितल्यां न्यधत्त ॥ v. 46.

29. Bh. Pr., I. v. 64.

proved traitors and joined Annadēva Cōḍa. This is suggested by the reference in the Kaluvacēṛu grant to chiefs who turned traitor to their master. Allāḍa, inflicting a stunning defeat on his enemeis, drove them away from his kingdom and re-occupied it. He then handed it over to Anitalli, daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma, the rightful heir, and ruled it himself in her name. Allāḍa Reḍḍi was greatly helped in this struggle by his sons, Vēma, Vīrabhadra, Doḍḍa and Anna, his minister Ariyēti Liṅgana, his commander Narahari or Nāra Bhūpa, son of Pinnama Nēḍu and others.

Annadēva Cōḍa's death:

Annadēva lost his life probably in one of his encounters with Allāḍa Reḍḍi. His latest record is his Pālakol inscription[80] dated in Saka 1335 (expired) Jaya (1414 A.D.) cited before. This inscription definitely shows that Annadēva Cōḍa was alive almost till the end of July 1414 A.D. Allāḍa is said, in a record at Palivela[81] dated in Śaka 1338 Durmukhi (in the month of Pauṣa), to have destroyed the whole of the *drōhikula* and established the descendants of Kāṭaya Vēma in the kingdom. His commander Narahari Nēḍu is given the title of the establisher of the kingdom of Allāḍa Reḍḍi (*Śrīmad-Doḍḍaya-Yalla. bhūtalapateḥ rājyapratiṣṭhāpakō*) in an inscription[82] at Pālakol, dated in Saka 1338 Durmukhi, in the month of Srāvaṇa (August 1416 A.D.). So Annadēva must have died between July 1414 and August 1416 A.D., most probably in S'aka 1337 (1415 A. D.). Annadēva's son Vīrabhadra also did not survive his father long, though he might have fought in vain against Allāḍa, while he was alive.

Allāḍa Reḍḍi and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma:

Allāḍa had yet to contend with his bitter opponent, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Probably just about this time Allāḍa Reddi had to face new

80. S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 145. The date of the record is Monday, the 6th tithi of the bright half of the month of S'rāvaṇa in S'aka 1335 (expired) Jaya. The English date equivalent is Monday, 23 July. 1414 A. D.

81. Ibid, Vol. V, No. 113.

"गते दिवं काटयवेमभूपे निर्मूल्य तद्द्रोहीकुलं समस्तम् "

82. Ibid, Vol. V, No. 138.

शाकाव्दे वसुमूर्तिरामरजनीनाथै श्च गराये गते
म्याते दुर्मुखि वत्सरेच विलसन्मास्युत्तमे श्रावगो
श्रीमद्दोडडययल्लभूतलपतेः राज्यप्रतिष्ठापको
मंचेल्लाख्यपुरीश्वरो नरहरिः पित्रक्षितीशात्मजः॥

enemies from other quarters also. From the Vēmavaram plates of his son Vēma, we learn that the Gajapati king, and the lord of Karṇāṭa, that is, the ruler of Vijayanagar, advanced as far as Rājamahēndravaram. The passage in these plates that Allāḍa made friendship with both of them (*maitrīkṛtya samāgatam Gajapatiṁ Karṇāṭa-Bhūpaṁ catam*) implies that they came there as enemies. Probably, each wanted to extend his sway along the coast while Allāḍa was in trouble. Allāḍa was a shrewd statesman. He rose to the occasion. He defeated the Gajapati monarch and made peace with the ruler of Vijayanagar. There is a reference, in the Kommuchikkāla plates[33] of Anavōtā Reḍḍi, to Allāḍa's victory over the Eastern kings (*paurastya-bhūpān*) who might have been the Gajapati and his feudatories. As the contemporary Telugu literature assures us that Allāḍa Reḍḍi maintained friendly relations with the Gajapati king, it is likely that they became friends only after this event.

The relations thereafter between Allāḍa and the Gajapati and Karṇāṭa kings were cordial. This gave him additional strength to crush the power of his rival Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma completely.

The references to the exploits of Allāḍa Reḍḍi in inscriptions and literature attest to the fact that king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma continued his hostilities with the princes of Rājamahēndravaram. With the death of Annadēva Cōḍa, king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was deprived of a powerful ally. He was not unaware of the prowess of Allāḍa and his sons. He therefore appealed to the Bahmanī Sultān Fīrūz Shāh for help. It is likely that he sent his minister, Māmiḍi Siṅgana[34] to Gulbarga to negotiate with the Sultān. The endeavours bore fruit. Sultān Fīrūz Shāh sent his slave-wazir, Nizām-ul-Mulk with a considerable army to Telingānā. Fīrūz Shāh's inscriptions[35] at Vāḍapalli (in the Nandigama taluk, Kistna district) clearly prove that the Muslim invasion was undertaken in Śaka 1339 (in the beginning of 1417 A.D.).

From a careful study of the account of this invasion given by 'Azīz-Ullā Tabā Tabā we understand that the Sultān retreated to his capital without capturing the important fort of Rājamahēndravaram. There seem to have been two important reasons for this retreat, namely, the invasion of the Dēvarakoṇḍa kingdom of the Rēcerla kings

33. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, p. 228.
“ पौरस्त्यभूपान् परिभूय भूयः .... ”

34. Māmiḍi Siṅga seems to have been a great orator in the Persian tongue.
“ [illegible] ! ” — Sr. Nd., II, v. 144.

35. Ep. Coll., Nos. 306 and 307 of 1924.

by Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagar. As an ally of Allāḍa Reḍḍi Dēvarāya I started a big offensive against both the Rēcerla and the Koṇḍavīḍu kings It was a plan cleverly laid to wean some of the enemy's forces from the eastern theatre and help Allāḍa. Dēvarāya's plan proved, to a great extent, successful and profitable too to himself. His records in the Bapatla taluk (Guntur district) reappear just about this period ; and this proves that he succeeded in marching through the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu as far as the coast. The Vijayanagar armies ravaged the country of the Rēcerla kings far and wide from their military base at Pānugal (Nalgonda district), which had been already in their possession for the past some years. This Vijayanagar inroad into the territory of the Bahmanī subordinates necessitated the retreat of the Bahmanī army from Rājamahēndravaram. There was yet another and more compelling cause for the retreat of the Muslim armies. It is the defeat they suffered at Rājamahēndravaram. The Kommuchikkāla plates[96] of Anavōta, referred to before, state that Allāḍa Reḍḍi inflicted a defeat on the *yavanas* (*Yavanān vijitya*). These plates do not assign any date to this event. Since it was only in A.H. 820 (1417 A.D.) that the Bahmanī armies advanced as far as Rājamahēndravaram, the above event must have taken place on that occasion in the latter half of that year.

The defeat of his ally Fīrūz Shāh was a blow to king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma Deprived of any help from outside he was easily overthrown by Allāḍa Reḍḍi at Rāmēśvaram. The use of the term *bhūyas* (which means once again) in the Vēmavaram plates suggests that Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was defeated by Allāḍa more than once.

There is one more exploit of Allāḍa Reḍḍi to be taken into account and that is his victory over Ālpa Khān. While the *Śivalīlāvilāsam* and the *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* refer to his victory over the Sultān of Dhārānagara, the Vēmavaram plates allude to that over Ālpa Khān. Really these two exploits are identical. Ālpa Khān was the son of Dilāwar Khān. Assuming the title of Sultān Hūshang, he ascended the throne of Mālwa in A.H. 808 (1405 A.D.) after the death of his father. His capital was Dhār or Dhārānagara. Ālpa Khān who was defeated by Allāḍa was Hūshang Shāh, the Sultān of Dhār or Dhārānagara. This exploit must have taken place before Śaka 1341, the date of the latest record[97] at Pālakol to refer to Allāḍa Reḍḍi.

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96. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, p. 228.
"यस्यानुजाता यवनान्विजित्य..."

97. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 185. The English date of this record is Sunday, 4 February, 1420 A. D. "*Tad-bhṛtya*" in line 3 of this record should be corrected to to *tat-putrō*', *for*, in pp. 13–14 Nāra Bhūpa is styled as Pinnaya Nāranaḥ, i.e., Nārana, son of Pinnaya.

Allāḍa's death:

The Pālakol inscription mentioned above states that Nāra Bhūpāla or Nārana (Narahari) performed in that year, in the month of Māgha (February, 1420 A.D.), the consecration ceremony of Allāḍ=ēśvara *liṅga*, made in stone. It was a general custom in the mediaeval period to set up *liṅgas* after the name of the deceased persons. Many instances may be cited in support of this statement from inscriptions themselves. It must, however, be stated that there had been also the practice of establishing *liṅgas* after their own names and erecting shrines by living persons. In such instances, this act of piety would be done by themselves and not by others. The paucity of Allāḍa's records after Śaka 1341, and the setting up of a *liṅga* after his name by one of his servants in that year, these two facts taken together, strongly suggest that he was dead by the time of the Pālakol record (that is, by February 1420 A.D.). Allāḍa Reḍḍi's victory over Alpa Khān or the Sultān of Dhārānagara has, therefore, to be assigned to 1420 A.D., or a little earlier. It is not known how Allāḍa came into conflict with Sultān Hūshang Shāh and when and where he inflicted defeat on him.[88]

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88. There is however room for conjecture. Liṅgana, the minister of Allāḍa, is said to have made his master rule the Rājamahēndra Rājya, having maintained friendly relations with the *Yavanas*, Karṇāṭas, and the Gajapatis (Bh. Pr. I, v. 62). The *Yavanas* do not seem to have been the Bahmanī Sultāns, who were Allāḍa's inveterate foes. The clue to know the identity of these *Yavanas* appears to lie in the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*. Beṇḍapūḍi Anna, younger brother of Liṅgana, is praised in that work for his beautiful Persian calligraphy on paper, which were despatched to the court of Ahmad Shāh to secure the continual prosperity of the kingdom of Vēmā Reḍḍi, son of Allāḍa Reḍḍi.

"అన్నయమంత్రిశేఖరుఁ డహమ్మదు శాసవదాకధూమిత్ప్ర
త్ప్రన్నదికి న్మది న్పమచిరంబుగ వేమమహీసురేంద్రర·
జ్యోన్నతి సంతతాభ్యుదయ మొందఁగఁ బారసిశాష ప్రాకిరం
గన్నులపండువై యమరుఁ గాకితమందలి వర్ణపద్ధతుల్".—Ibid; v. 78.

I copied this verse as it is given in the printed work. This verse is, however, faulty and has an alternate reading, which does not make out any sense.

"అన్నయమంత్రిశేఖరుఁ డహమ్మదు శాపవదానధూమి ధ్ర
త్ప్రన్నిధికి న్మది న్నకరంబున (?) వేమమహీసురేంద్రరా
జ్యో (జ్యో?) న్నతి సంతతాభ్యుదయ మొందఁగఁ బారసిభాష ప్రాకిసఁ
గన్నులపండువై యమరు కాకితమంకరతానుబంధకుల్ (?)".

The first line is emended by some scholars as

"అన్నయ మంత్రిశేఖరుఁ డహమ్మదు షేను శదాస్యధూమిత్ప్రత్..." etc.

The correct emendation seems to me to be this:

"అన్నయ మంత్రిశేఖరుఁ డహమ్మదుషా గుజరాతధూమిత్ప్రత్..." etc.

Allāḍa died in the beginning of 1420 A.D. (that is, in the last months of Śaka 1341) as stated before. By his prowess and statesmanship he did not allow his enemies to gain the upperhand, and the flag of independence of the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram to be lowered. He fought with his foes valiantly to the end, and succeeded in bequeathing the kingdom intact to the descendants of his master and relative, Kāṭaya Vēma. After his death Allāḍa acted as regent to his son Komaragiri, and was the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom. After the death of Komaragiri, he practically ruled the kingdom himself. He wanted to have political power in his hands. His only ambition was to retain the kingdom in his family, as Anitalli, the wife of his son Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi, was the legal heir to the throne after the death of her brother, Komaragiri, being the sole surviving member of Kāṭaya Vēma's family. Allāḍa succeeded in fulfilling his desire.

Komaragiri III and Anavōta III:

It is generally believed that Vēmā Reḍḍi, son of Allāḍa Reḍḍi took possession of the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram immediately after the death of his father, Allāḍa Reḍḍi. But a careful study of the inscriptions of these Reḍḍi chiefs subsequent to the death of Allāḍa does not lead us to that conclusion.

As stated before, the date of the latest inscription to refer to Allāḍa Reḍḍi is Śaka 1341 (1420 A.D.), and the date of the earliest inscription[39] of Anitalli and her husband Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi is Śaka 1345 (1423 A.D.). It may be argued that this short period of four years is not sufficient to prove that there was an interregnum between Allāḍa and his sons. Even then, the absence of inscriptions of the latter earlier than Śaka 1345, has to be accounted for. There are other facts also to be taken into consideration. Within this period of four years are found two records, one a copper-plate grant,[40] and the other a stone inscription[41] of Anavōta Reḍḍi, both dated in Śaka 1344 (1422 A.D.). This Anavōta was

There were no doubt two Sultāns having the name of Ahmad Shāh who were contemporaneous with Allaya Vēma; One was the Bahmanī Sultān, the brother and successor of Fīrūz Shāh, who ruled from 1422 A.D., to 1435 A.D., and the other was the Sultān of Gujarāt who ascended the throne in 1411 A.D. (A.H. 814) and ruled till 1443 A.D. (A.H. 846) Allāḍa who was a foe of the Bahmanī Sultān must have been a friend of Ahmad Shāh of Gujarāt, who was often at war with Sultān Hūshang or Alpa Khān, the Sultān of Malwa. It, therefore, appears likely that Allāḍa defeated Alpa Khān in one of these wars. A close and combined study of the contemporary Telugu literature and inscriptions seems to suggest this conclusion.

39. S. I. I., Vol. V. No. 109.

40. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 828. ff.

41. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 129.

the son of Anavrōla Reḍḍi (Anaprōla), the eldest brother of Allāda Reḍḍi These two inscriptions indicate that, immediately after the death of Allāḍa, the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram was occupied and ruled by his nephews Komaragiri III and Anavōta III, sons of Anavrōla. Of these two brothers Komaragiri died very early, before Saka 1344; for, the village[42], which Anavōta granted for the merit of his brother in that year, was re-named Anapṛōla-Komaragiripuram after him. After his brother's death Anavōta III came to the throne.

It may, however, be argued that Anavrōla's sons held sway only over the region to the west of the Gōdāvarī, corresponding to the present Narasāpuram and Bhīmavaram taluks of the West Godavari district, as their records are discovered there. There is, however, strong reason to believe that they ruled the Rājamahēndra Rājya also. There is a reference in the Vēmavaram plates to the *grāma-grāsa* village (*grāma-grāsap=ūru*) of Anaprōlā Reḍḍi-Komaragiripuram[43], an old *puṁta* or track of which is mentioned among the boundaries of Vēmavaram (which was founded by the fusion of the two villages Vedurupāka and Pina Mahēndrāḍa). This Anaprōlā Reḍḍi - Komaragiripuram was, no doubt, another village granted to the brāhmans probably by Anavōta III himself for the merit of his brother, though the plates registering this grant have not yet been recovered. The grant of Anaprōlā Reḍḍi - Komaragiripuram in the Rāmachandrapuram taluk of the East Godavari district to brāhmans unequivocally testifies to the rule of Anavōta,[44] son of Anavrōla, over the Rājamahēndra Rājya in the eastern Gōdāvarī region also, probably after the death of the powerful prince Allāḍa Reḍḍi. It is thus certain that the Rājamahēndra Rājya passed into the hands of Allāḍa's nephews after his death. The Kommuchikkāla plates clearly state that Rājamahēndravaram was Anavōta's residence[45]. (*āsīd Rājamahēndra-nāma-nagaram yasya prabhōr =vāsabhūḥ*). Probably, Komaragiri III and his brother, Anavōta unjustly usurped the throne of Rājamahēndravaram, after the death of Allāḍa, and consequently became the enemies of Allada's sons. This might be the reason why Komaragiri and Anavōta, cousins of Allaya Vēma, are not even alluded to in the Telugu works of *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* and *Śivalīlāvilāsam* in the portion describing Perumāṇḍi Reḍḍi's family.

Now the question arises as to how Komaragiri III and Anavōta III came to the throne, when there were Allāḍa's powerful sons

42. The Kommuchikkāla plates register the grant of this village.

43. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 250, ll. 211-212.

44. Robert Sewell mentions a stone record of Anavōta Reḍḍi of 1421 A. D. at Sarpavaram (Ant., I, 24; II, 59).

45. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. V, p. 229, l. 42.

Vēma and others. In this connection we have to take note of the fact that almost all the *kaifiyats* of villages in the coastal districts preserve the tradition that, after the fall of Koṇḍavīḍu, the date of which according to them is either S'aka 1341 or 1342, a certain Lāṅgūla Gajapati of Kaḷiṅga defeated the Reḍḍis, and ruled over the coastal tract until its conquest by the Vijayanagar monarchs. The *kaifiyats* invaribaly assign the S'aka date 1342 for the Gajapati occupation of Rājamahēndravaram; but the dates they assign to the Vijayanagar conquest vary greatly. The latest date they furnish to the latter event[46] is S'aka 1364. According to some of the *kaifiyats*, this Lāṅgūla Gajapati of Kaḷiṅga is Narasiṁhadēva[47]. This identification is wrong; for, the reign of Narasiṁha IV came to an end ten or twelve years before that date, that is, in S'aka 1331[48]. His son and successor Bhānudēva IV, also called Nissaṅka Bhānudēva, was the Kaḷiṅga monarch contemporaneous with Allāḍa and his sons. We do not know if there was a son of Bhānudēva IV, called Narasiṁha or Lāṅgūla Narasiṁha. In this connection it may be noted that, according to the quasi-historical work, *Gaṅgavaṁśānucaritam*, Kajjala Bhānu of the Gāṅga dynasty of Kaḷiṅga led an expedition to the west, and that, while he was there in the western country, a revolution took place in Kaḷiṅga, as a result of which Kapilēs'vara came to the throne of Cuttack. The unequivocal statement of the *kaifiyats* leads us to believe that there was a Gajapati invasion, probably of this Kajjala Bhānu, wrongly written for Nissaṅka Bhānu, about S'aka 1341 or Śaka 1342, immediately after the death of Allāḍa Reḍḍi. There seems to be some indirect connection between the Gajapati invasion and the accession of the nephews of Allāḍa Reḍḍi. It may not be improbable that Komaragiri III and Anavōta III came to the throne with the help of the Gajapati monarch, and became his vassals.

Later on, Allāḍa's son Vēma, in setting up friendly relations with the Gajapati monarch, probably by ceding the Southern Kaḷiṅga out of expediency, defeated his cousins, re-occupied Rājamahēndravaram about S'aka 1345, and asserted his power. It is likely that he continued to be the vassal of the Gajapati at least in name.

46. Loc. Rec., Vol. LX, p. 216

47. Ibid, p. 75

48. The earliest record of Vīra Bhānudēva, the successor of Vīra Narasiṁha IV, is his S'rīkūrmam inscription (S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1205) of the 3rd *aṅka*, dated in the *Kaliyuga* era (wrongly written as S'akabdē) represented by Ravi (12), Baṇa (5), and Sagara (4)—4512—, that is, saka 1333. This record proves that he came to the throne in S'aka 1331. His next record at Siṁhāchalam (S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 1115) is dated in S'aka 1336.

Reign of Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi :

After wresting the kingdom, Vēma got his younger brother Vīrabhadra, the husband of Anitalli, crowned king of Rājamahēndra Rājya. The Telugu works, *Śivalīlāvilāsam* and *Kāśikhaṇḍam*, cleary state that Vēma got his brother Vīrabhadra anointed to the Rājamahēndra Rājya. Allaya Vēma also was the son-in-law of Kāṭaya Vēma. Yet, he was not the rightful heir to the throne. By anointing his brother to the kingdom, Vēma placed his brother's claim to it beyond dispute; for, Anitalli, being the daughter of Doḍḍāmbikā, was the grand - daughter of Anavōta Rēḍḍi I, and the sister of Kumāragiri I of Koṇḍavīḍu. She was thus a direct descendant on her mother's side from Anavōta of the Koṇḍovīṭi family. Moreover, she was the daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma and the only surviving heir to the kingdom. Her claims to the kingdom were thus strengthened by her ties of relationship both on her father's and mother's side, and could not be disputed by any one. Her husband Vīrabhadra became through her the legal claimant to the throne; hence, he was crowned to the kingdom. Though Vīrabhadra was the king, Vēmā Reḍḍi appears to have been the *de facto* ruler of the Rājya. Inscriptions of king Vīrabhadra and Vēma range from Śaka 1345 (1423 A.D.) till Śaka 1356 (1434 A.D.).

The loss of Southern Kaḷiṅga, a portion of the Eastern kingdom was rankling in the mind of the valiant Vēmā Reḍḍi. He was looking for an opportunity to recover, somehow or other, his lost territory. In the mean time an unexpected event took place. The *kaifiyat*[49] of Koṇḍavīḍu states that the Vijayanagar rulers conquered the Gajapatis, and the date it assigns to this event is Śaka 1353. The date however seems to be wrong; for, the date of the record[50] of Teluṅgurāya, a Vijayanagar feudatory at Siṁhāchalam, is Śaka 1350. This may be accepted as the date of the re-conquest of the coastal tract by the Vijayanagar rulers. Dēvarāya II's conquest of the Gajapati monarch is corroborated by his Mudabidure record dated in Śaka 1351 Saumya. He is described in this record as "the lion in destroying the crores of elephants belonging to the lord of elephants, and the

49. "తదనంతరము గజపతిసింహాసనస్థుఁడైన లాంగూలగజపతి జయి య్యతు చేసికొని కటకము మొదలుకొని వుదయగిరిపర్యంతమువున్న గిరిదుర్గస్థలాలు ఆక్రమించి శా ౧౩౪౨ శకము అగుచుతు శా. ౧౩౫౩ శకమువరకు ౧౨ సంవత్సరములు ప్రభుత్వము చేసి..."

—Kf. Kd., pp. 10-11.

50. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 905. The cyclic year was Kīlaka and not Plavaṅga as given in the record.

Kalaśōdbhava (Agastya) to the ocean of the army of the Andhra king) (*Mātaṅgarāja - sindhuravaranikṛti-mardana-mṛgēśvaran = Andhranarēndra - sainya-sāgara - Kalaśōdbhavaṁ Vijayarāya-tanūbhava - Dēvabhūvaram*).[51] It seems certain that Teluṅgurāya was at Siṁhāchalam after the completion of his successful eastern campaign. There is reason to believe that the Velama chiefs also lent their help to the Vijayanagar monarchs in subjugating this Eastern kingdom of the Reḍḍis, which was virtually under the domination of the Gajapatis. Liṅgama Nēḍu, son of Kumāra Māda Nēḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa, is credited, in the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*[52], to have defeated Allaya Vēma and Vīrabhdra in battle, ravaged the Rājamahēndra Rājya and captured Siṁhāchalam. The invasions of Teluṅgurāya and Liṅgama Nēḍu do not seem to have been two different campaigns. The Rēcerla kings maintained friendly relations with the Vijayanagar rulers from Śaka 1339 (1417 A. D.), the date of the siege of Pānugal. Hence, it may not be wrong to suppose that Liṅgama Nēḍu, as an ally of Vijayanagar, took an active part in this eastern campaign, and his exploits in the coastal tract have to be assigned to this period. *Allaya Vēma's contemporary*, Prauḍha Dēvarāya or Dēvarāya II, who succeeded to the throne of Vijayanagar in Śaka 1346 (1424 A. D.), completed the subjugation of of the Reḍḍi kingdoms, and annexed Koṇḍavīḍu to Vijayanagar. Koṇḍavīḍu was thus erased from the political map of the Andhra country. With the conquest of the Eastern kingdom, Siṁhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district became the eastern frontier of the Vijayanagar empire. As a consequence of this Vijayanagar conquest, Vēma and Vīrabhadra became the subordinates of Dēvarāya II.

Vēma was an able and wise administrator. His minister was Annamantri of the Bendapūḍi family to whom Śrīnātha dedicated his *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*. Vēma found the policy inaugurated by his father Allāḍa to be the only expedient one in the conditions then prevailing, and therefore maintained friendly relations with neighbouring kings. He was practically independent though formally he owed allegiance to the Vijayanagar monarch. He achieved

51. S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 202 (Ep. coll., No. 88 of 1901).

52. VV. Vm., vv. 110, 112-118, and 126.

"చటులోగ్రగతి దా యుశరథమై యావలిఁ
దిగఁ సింహాద్రి సాధించినాఁడు
గంగసాటిగ మాతి దివి రాజమహేంద్రి
వరము చూఱఁగొని వచ్చినాఁడు
విరథుని దొడ్డవిభు కునృపతుల
రట్టఁడై గొండఁ బెట్టినాఁడు,"

his object of recovering his lost territory in Kaliṅga sometime after Śaka 1352. Vēma and Vīrabhadra re-conquered the Southern Kaḷiṅga, as is borne out by their records [53] at Siṁhāchalam. Since the latest date of the record [54] of the Gajapati monarch, Bhānudēva IV at that place is Saka 1352, the Reḍḍi conquest of that region must have been effected between that date and Śaka 1356, the period in which Kapilēśvara of Orissa overthrew the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaḷiṅga. A record of Vēma at Siṁhāchalam dated in Śaka 1356 registers his remission of taxes on the lands of the *dēvas* and brāhmans in the *sthalas* of Kaluvalapalli, Oḍḍādi, Poṭnūru and so on, which were acquired by the strength of his own arms. Vīrabhadra's inscription is undated. It praises him as one who caused to disappear the enemy's heroic army.

Last years of Vīrabhadra:

Unfortunately the later history of Rājamahēndra Rājya is all obscure. The circumstances that led to the downfall of that kingdom are not known. It is not even possible to ascertain the date of its final disappearance from the political field with the material available to us. Records of the house of Allāḍa Reḍḍi subsequent to Śaka 1356 (Pauṣa), that is, December 1334 A.D., have not yet come to light. Two private inscriptions [55], dated in Śaka 1359 Piṅgala in the month of Phālguna, allude to the benefactions of Vēma and Vīrabhadra. These records indicate that Vīrabhadra was still ruling the kingdom It must have taken at least a few years more, after the date of the two records referred to above, for the complete collapse of the Eastern Reḍḍi kingdom. There is reason to believe that it continued a lingering existence till at least Śaka 1366. Raktākṣi, the date of the Dākshāram record of Dēvarāya II [56].

The political situation of the coastal Andhra country changed with the accession of Kapilēśvara Gajapati to the throne of Cuttack in Śaka 1356-57 (1434-35 A.D.). Kapilēśvara was a very powerful and ambitious king. To extend his kingdom far and wide was his only aim and ambition. He could not tolerate Southern Kaḷiṅga to be under the sway of the subordinates of the Vijayanagar monarchs whom he regarded as his rivals. He made attempts not only to regain Southern Kaḷiṅga but to annex also the kingdom of the Rājamahēndra Rājya. The Vijayanagar monarch, Dēvarāya II, came to the rescue of the Reḍḍi kings, as is suggested by the provenance of his record at Dākshāram

53. S. I. I., Vol. VI, Nos. 1168 and 1169.

54. Ibid. No. 784.

55. Ibid, Vol. IV, Nos. 1852 and 1855

56. Ibid, No. 1875.

dated in Śaka 1366. He sent his minister Mallappa Oḍeyar to Rājamahēndravaram to help the Reḍḍi kings to ward off probably the threatened attack by the Gajapati Kapilēśvara. In the published copy of this Dāksharam record of Dēvarāya II, a few lines in the end are missing[57]. They are found in the copy preserved in the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*. There is no reason to doubt the veracity of this copy and the extra lines at the end of the record. These lines enable us to know that the gift recorded in the inscription was made in accordance with the command of Allaya Vēmā Reḍḍi.[58] It is thus evident from this record that Vēma and Vīrabhadra, the allies and vassals of Vijayanagar, were still alive till that date.

Amidst the major conflict between the mighty and ambitious powers, the Gajapatis of Orissa, and the Narapatis of Vijayanagar, the power of the Reḍḍis was crushed and their Rājamahēndra Rājya gradually sank into oblivion. Finally, the Gajapati monarch came out victorious, and Rājamahēndra Rājya formed part of the Gajapati dominion, and lost its identity. We find inscriptions of Kapilēśvara in the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram only four years after Dēvarāya's Dāksharam record. An inscription[59] at Penugoṇḍa in the Taṇuku taluk of the West Godavari district, dated in Śaka 1370, Vibhava (1448 A.D.), alludes to the rule of Gajapati-kṣōṇīśa, that is, Kapilēśvara. This record marks the end of the Reḍḍi rule.

Thus ended the history of the Rājamahēndra Rājya, a glimpse of the glory of which, we come to know from the works of Śrīnātha and Kommana, the court poets of the Eastern kingdom.

57. Only 40 lines of the inscription engraved on three faces of the pillar, are published in the S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1375. "The other face of the pillar, which must have contained the rest of the inscription, has been built in".

58. Loc. Rec. Vol. II, p. 157. The inscription ends thus:
"... ... ... సర్వమాన్యంగాను అల్లాడరెడ్డి వేమారెడ్డింగారి ఆజ్ఞను సమర్పణ చేసిరి."

59. Mack. Mss., No. 15—4—4; Loc. Rec., Vol. II, p. 200.
"शाकाब्दे गगनाद्रिगमधरणीसंख्यासमापूरिते
विभवाब्देच तपस्यमासिशशिनो वारे द्वितीयं तिथौ
पेनगोण्डाख्यपुरोत्तमं गजपतिक्षोणीशसन्दीपितम्..."

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF KANDUKŪRU.

Kandukūru in the Nellore district was a place of considerable importance in the early history of the Andhra country. It lay between the coastal region and the *Bōyavihāradēśa*, or the country of the Bōya chieftains, comprising among, others, the present taluks of Ātmakūru, Udayagiri, and Kanigiri in the Nellore district. *Bōyavihāradēśa* was a mountainous country studded with forests, and contained, in those days, many forts or towns (*Bōya-vīḍulu*) of the Bōya chieftains, who were supreme in their own territory. These Bōya chieftains not only resisted the invasion from the coastal country but returned it with compliment by occasional predatory raids.

It was Paṇḍaraṅga, the minister and commander of the Eastern Cāḷukya king, Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, of the ninth century A.D., that reduced the Bōya chieftains for the first time, and established the sway of the Eastern Cāḷukyas over their region. He made Kandukūru the southern military outpost of the Eastern Cāḷukya kings of Vēṅgī. From that time it attained much political importance which it continued to maintain all through the later centuries.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, the region about Kandukūru passed into the hands of the Telugu Cōḍas of Vikramasiṁhapura or Nellore, who were, in course of time, subjugated by the Kākatīya monarchs of Waraṅgal.

During the period of political turmoil subsequent to the fall of Waraṅgal, when Prōlaya Vēma was busy establishing his authority to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, his youngest brother, Mallā Reḍḍi, co-operated with him and took an active part in building up the Reḍḍi power. The Mallavaram record[1] of Prōlaya Vēma styles him as Malla-sēnāpati, and the Telugu work *Harivaṁśam* as Malla-rathinīnātha. The conquest of Mōṭupalli in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur district was one of the chief achievements of Mallā Reḍḍi.[2] When Sultān Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh led his armies against the Telugu country and marched as far as the coastal region, Mallā Reḍḍi attacked the foe and inflicted on him a severe defeat[3] and saved the kingdom which was

1. N. I. D., III, O. 73, p. 1022 ff.
2. Hr. Vm., I, i
3. Mack. Mss., 15-4-42: The Pedapūḍi grant of Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi.

then in the making. There is reason to believe that the youngest and the eldest brothers of Prōlaya Vēma were put in charge of the southern and northern provinces of the Reḍḍi kingdom respectively, the youngest in Kandukūru and the eldest in Dhanadapura or Tsandavōlu.

The few extant records of the Reḍḍis of the Kandukūru branch furnish little historical information. They generally record the construction of tanks and temples, and gifts made to temples and brāhmans. The kings of the Kandukūru branch do not mention in their records their contemporary kings, the rulers of Koṇḍavīḍu, a fact which suggests that they were ruling independently.

Out of the two inscriptions[4] of Mallā Reḍḍi that have come to light, one[5] contains the date S'aka 1246. Excepting these two, the earliest records of the members of the Kandukūru branch are dated in S'aka 1320 and 1322, and belong to king S'rīgiri Reḍḍi, son of Pina Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi, and grandson of Mallā Reḍḍi[6].

Judged from their records the Reḍḍi kings of Kandukūru appear to have become powerful only from the end of the fourteenth century A. D. It was during the period of anarchy in the last years of Komaragiri's rule that S'rīgiri and his brothers, sons of Pina Kōmaṭi, asserted their independence.

The limits of the Kandukūru Rājya cannot be determined with exactitude; but its extent may be roughly ascertained from the provenance of the few lithic records of Mallā Reḍḍi's descendants. Almost all these records are found in the Nellore district, particularly at Kandukūru and Old Chuṇḍi in the Kandukūru taluk. There is however a single copper-plate record, the Pedapūḍi grānt of Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi II, son of Mācā Reḍḍi and grandson of Mallā Reḍḍi. The original plates of this grant are lost; only its copy is preserved in the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*. It registers the grant of the village of Pedapūḍi to the brāhman scholars, Yellēpeddi Lakṣmaṇa Dīkṣita of the S'āṇḍilya-gōtra and Ṣaḍdarśanāla Vallabha Yajva of the Kaus'ika-gōtra as an *agrahāra* in the S'aka year 1326, corresponding to the cyclic year Tāraṇa, on Thursday, on the occassion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha.[7]

4. N. D. I., Vol. II, K 34, p. 546; Kr. 15, p. 489.

5. N. D. I., II, Kr. 15

6. N. D.I., II, Kr. 35, p. 549; and Kr. 48, p. 568. Kr. 48 is dated in the cyclic year Vikrama; but the S'aka year is wrongly given as 1222. The year Vikrama corresponds to the S'aka year 1322, and not to 1222 – Vide. note on p. 568, II.

7. According to the *Indian Ephemeris* there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha in the year S'aka 1325, Subhānu, and not in S'aka 1326, Tāraṇa. The date intended seems to be 27 January, 1404 A. D., that is, S'aka 1325, Subhanu, Māgha s'u. di. 15.

The date, however, is irregular according to the *Indian Ephemeris.* The village of Pedapūḍi and its boundary villages Amṛtalūru, Tāḍiparti, Ālapāḍū, Mūlupūru and Munḍūru are all in the Tenali taluk of the Guntur district. This is the only record of the kings of Kandukūru found in the Guntur district. In the absence of any records other than this grant, either after or before Śaka 1326, it may be presumed that Kōmaṭi II occupied the coastal strip as far north as Tenāli, defying the authority of Koṇḍavīḍu during the period of the Vijayanagar aggression.

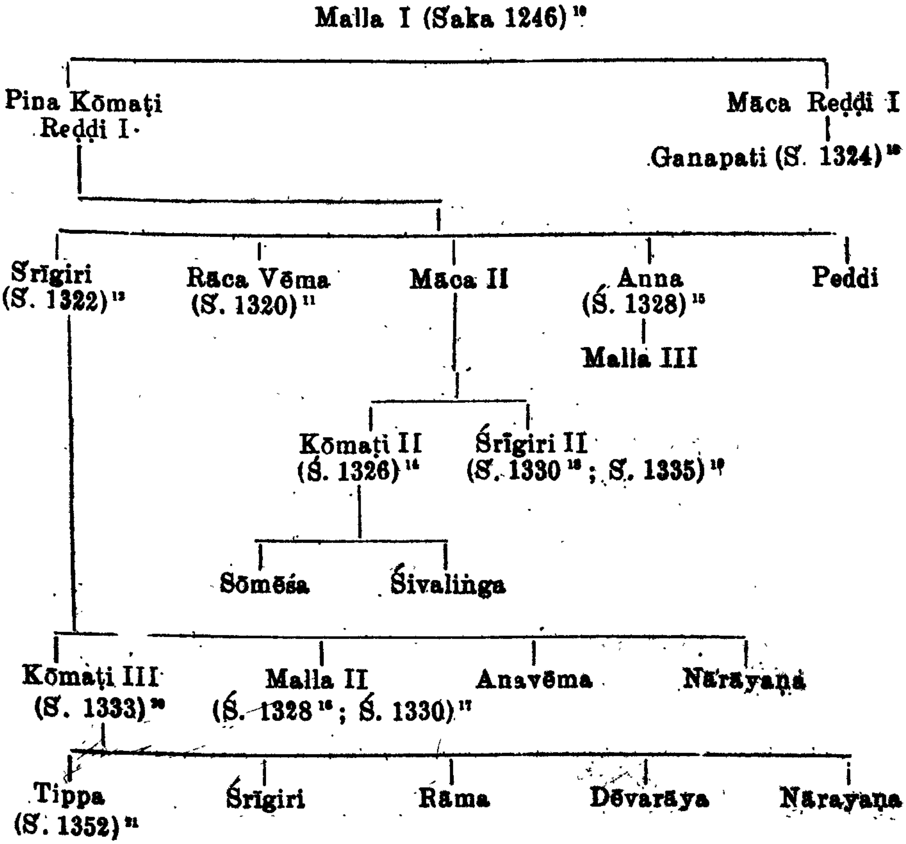
The coastal strip, however, was not long under the occupation of the Reḍḍis of Kandukūru. The Ālapāḍu and the Kasuvukuṟṟu grants of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma bear testimony to this. The villages of Ālapāḍu, one of the boundary villages of Pedapūḍi in the Tenali taluk, and Kasuvukuṟṟu, near Ponnūru in the Bapatla taluk, were granted to brāhman scholars by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in Śaka 1334 and Śaka 1326 respectively.[8] These grants establish the fact that he recovered his lost possessions in the Guntur district soon after his accession to the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu.

Genealogy of the Reḍḍis of Kandukūru :

The two main sources that furnish a long genealogy of the princes of the Kandukūru branch are the Pedapūḍi grant adverted to above, and the commentary on the *Girīśaśṛtisūktimālā*, written by Śivaliṅgabhūpati, one of the descendants of Malla Reḍḍi. In addition to the verses contained in the Pedapūḍi grant, the commentary contains a few more, praising its author, Śivaliṅgabhūpati and his brother, Sōmēśvara.[9] The information regarding the descent furnished by the extant records and by the commentary alluded to above, when combined together, makes up the following complete genealogy of the Reḍḍi chiefs of this branch. (Vide, next page for genealogy).

8. Cp. No. 6 of 1908 – 09 – Ālapāḍu grant; Loc. Rec., Vol. 18, pp. 48, ff. Kasuvukuṟṟu grant.

9. E. Hultzsch – Reports on Sanskrit Mss. in Southern India. Vol. II p. 91, No. 1028 D. C. S. M. (Madras), Nos. 5078; R. 2200, R. 6877; R. 3115.



It must be noted here that in framing the above genealogy four records, which were discovered outside the Nellore district, were also taken into account. Three of them are found in the Cuddapah district, two

10. N. D. I., II, Kr. 15, p. 489, Kr. 84, p. 546.
11. Ibid, II, Kr. 35, p. 549
12. Ibid, II, Kr. 48, p. 568.
13. Ep. coll., No. 115 of 1928: Ep. Rep. 1928, para 95.
14. Mack. Mss, 15—4—42. His paternal uncle Rāca Vēma and Annadēva are mentioned as Vēma and Annavēma in the Pedapūḍi grant.
15. Ep. Coll., No. 488 of 1911; Ep. Rep, 1912, para. 69.
16. N. D. I, C. P. No. 5, p. 28.
17. Ibid, II, Kr. 18, p. 502; Kr. 19, p. 505; Kr. 21, p. 515.
18. Ep. Coll., No. 422 - 1911.
19. Ibid. No. 42 of 1911.
20. N. D. I., II, Kr. 68, p. 608.
21. Ibid, Kr. 16, p. 495.

at Lēpāka and one at Tangaṭūru, both in the Rajampeta taluk, and the fourth is found at Dāmal in the Conjeevaram taluk, Chingleput district. The Taṅgaṭūru inscription dated in S'aka 1328 belongs to Annā Reḍḍi, son (mistake for grandson) of Mallā Reḍḍi [22], and those at Lēpāka dated in the S'aka years 1329, [23] and 1335 belong to Mallā Reḍḍi, [24] son of Annā Reḍḍi. The latter was evidently the donor of the Taṅgaṭūru record. The donor of the Dāmal inscription [25]

22. Ep. Coll., No. 488 of 1911, Ep. Rep. 1912, para 69, page 81. A copy of an inscription of these princes at the same village is preserved in the *Local Records* (Vol. 22, p. 166). According to this copy the donors were three brothers, Cannā Reḍḍi, Annā Reḍḍi and Mallā Reḍḍi, sons of Perumāḷḷa Reḍḍi, brother of Vēmā Reḍḍi of Addaṅki.

(అద్దంకి సింహాసనాధీశ్వరులైన వేమారెడ్డింగారితమ్ముడు పెరుమాళ్ల రెడ్డింగారిపుత్రులు చన్నారెడ్డి అన్నారెడ్డి మల్లారెడ్డింగార్లు etc.

It is evident that this passage is wrong. Vēma's brother was Mallā Reḍḍi and not Perumāḷḷa Reḍḍi; the latter name is evidently a mistake for Malla. We do not know if this inscription is different from the one copied by the Superintendent for Epigraphy. The Epigraphist's copy is damaged. The date in both the copies is, however, the same -S'aka 1828, Vyaya. As such, both the copies, most probably, refer to one and the same inscription. It must, however, be stated that there is much difference between the Epigraphist's copy and that preserved in the Loc. Rec. According to the former the donor is Annā Reḍḍi, son of Malla. The extant Reḍḍi records do not mention any Anna, son of Malla. There was one Annadēva Reḍḍi, grandson of Malla and son of Pina Kōmaṭi Vēma. In all probability he might be the donor of the Epigraphist's copy of the Taṅgaṭūru record.

23. Copies of these records are also preserved in the *Local Records*. The above date is taken from them. According to the Epigraphist's copy of this record which is much damaged, the date is S'aka 13[30.]

24. Ep. Coll. Nos. 422 and 424 of 1911. See also Mack.. Mss., No. 15 – 3 – 8, pages 85 – 87. The names of the donors of these records copied by the Epigraphy department differ from those in the copies preserved in the *Local Records*, for instance, the passage containing the name of the donor in the *Bukkapaṭnam Kaifiyat* runs thus;

అద్దంకి నగర సింహాసనాధీశ్వరులైన చన్నారెడ్డి అన్నారెడ్డి మల్లారెడ్డింగారు,

that is, Mallā Reḍḍi, son of Annā Reḍḍi, son of Cannā Reḍḍi of Addaṅki. It seems certain that these inscriptions belong to the same chief Mallā Reḍḍi who, according to the Lēpāka records, was the son of Annā Reḍḍi, the donor of the Taṅgaṭūru record. According to the accounts preserved in the *Local Records*, Annā Reḍḍi was the son of Cannā Reḍḍi and grandson (not son) of Mallā Reḍḍi, younger brother of Vēma. The extant Reḍḍi inscriptions do not mention any Canna, son of Malla. The name Canna might stand for S'rigiri, or might have been wrongly written for Cinnā Reḍḍi, Reḍḍi the younger, a popular name, probably of Pina Kōmaṭi, son of Malla (C. f, Cikka Oḍeyalu of the early Vijayanagar records). The copies of inscriptions at Taṅgaṭūru preserved in both the *Local Records* and *Mackenzie Manuscripts* are faulty. According to them the donor Malla, son of Anna was the grandson of Vēma of Addaṅki which is a mistake. He was the great grandson and not grandson.

25. Ep. Coll., No. 115 of 1923; Ep. Rep., 1923, para 95.

is Gaṇapati Reḍḍi, son of Māca, and grandson of Malla. Besides the usual Reḍḍi titles he had a new one, *Vaḷudilampaṭṭusthāpanācārya*, the establisher of Vaḷudilampaṭṭu.

History of the Reḍḍis of Kandukūru:

Very little is known of the history of the Reḍḍis of the Kandukūru branch. These chiefs refer in their records only to Addanki and not to Koṇḍavīḍu. As stated already, Śrīgiri Reḍḍi, son of Pina Kōmaṭi and grandson of Malla, was the first member of this branch to assert his independence. He is represented by two records, one from Kandukūru,[26] dated in Śaka 1320, and the other from Koṇḍamuḍusupālem,[27] dated in Śaka 1322. The Kandukūru record states that he was the eldest son of Piṇa Kōmaṭi and that his mother was Gaurāmbikā. He was a good critic of art and literature. He knew the beauties of *Saṅgīta* (music), and *Sāhitya* (literature). He is termed as "*kalāvān*" (artist) in an inscription[28] at Old Chuṇḍi. He constructed "many huge tanks for providing plenty of water to crops" (*Sasyabharapraśasyān = anēkasahasrābdhisamānagāmbhīryamahātaṭākān*). He performed all the gifts described by Hēmadri. His guru was Śrīgiri of the Ghōḍeyarāya family.[29]

King Śrīgiri's reign appears to have been an eventful one. The Pedapūḍi grant of Kōmaṭi II states that his father Māca II, having expelled the Turuṣkas who were great archers from his own kingdom (ātmarāṣṭra), made it free from enemies by the power of his arms.[30] This statement clearly shows that there was a Muslim invasion of the Kandukūru Rājya, the date of which is not given any where. It seems however possible to determine it. This event took place sometime before Śaka 1326 or 1404 A. D. The only Muslim power in the Deccan country at this time was the Bahmanī kingdom of Gulbarga, and Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, who ascended the throne on 23 safar, A. H. 800

26. N. D. I., Kr. 35.

27. Ibid, Kr. 48.

28. N. D. I., Kr. 19, p. 505.

29. Ibid, Kr. 35. The reading given is "*Śrīmad-Voḍiyarāya-Śrīgirī-gurōḥ-pādābja-sēvāparaḥ*" (p. 555, verse 8). This is wrong. The correct reading should be "*Śrīmad-Ghōḍeyarāya-Śrīgiriguróḥ etc.,*"

30. Mack. Mss., 15—4—42. I give below the ślōka as I find it in the original.

धानुष्कधोरेयतमः तुरुष्क
मापय्य निष्कासनमात्मराष्ट्रात्
निष्कण्टकं सर्वभुवं व्यधत्त
स माचभूपो भुजवैभवेन॥

(15, Nov. 1397 A.D.)[81], was the contemporary of Śrīgiri's brother Māca, father of Kōmaṭi II. The Muslim historians state that Firūz Shāh led an invasion against the kingdom of Vijayanagar in A. H., 801-02 (1398-99 A.D.). According to Tabā Tabā he "contemplated the conquest of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. So in a short time he marched an army in that direction and subdued and killed the infidels of those parts". 'Devadar' (Dēvarāya), the chief of the infidels, according to the same work, came to terms with the Sultān, and agreed to pay "thirty three lakhs of *ṭaṅkas*, and that each year a fixed sum should be sent to the foot of the royal throne, taking a receipt from the court auditor of accounts.[82]" Thereafter Fīrūz shāh returned to his capital. Tabā Tabā's account differs from that given by Ferishtā. According to the latter the causes that led to the out-break of hostilities between the Bahmanī kingdom and Vijayanagar was Dēvarāya's invasion of the Doab country "with thirty thousand horse and vast army of foot" in A. H. 801[83], that is, in Saka 1320 or 1398 A.D. The result of the war, according to both the historians, is the same. The war ended with the defeat of Dēvarāya. Ferishta states that "after much negotiation Meer Fuzl Oolla (on behalf of Fīrūz Shāh) agreed to accept ten lakhs of *hoons* for the royal treasury as ransom for the prisoners, and one lakh for himself as negotiator."[84] In spite of this statement there is reason to believe that Fīrūz Shāh sustained defeat and retreated to his capital.

Whatever might be the truth regarding the result of the war, it cannot be gainsaid that there was an invasion of Fīrūz Shāh against the Vijayanagar territory. This was probably the occasion when the Muslim armies overran the kingdom of Kandukūru also. The date of Māca's defeat of the Muslim armies referred to in the Pedapūḍi grant, if sustained during this invasion as it seems likely, is Saka 1320 (1398 A. D.), or about that time. Rāca Vēma, brother of Śrīgiri, is stated, in the Kandukūru record[85], to have conquered "in war his enemies who had sworn never to flee (*Saṁśaptakān-sapatnān,*) with the help of *haribala*, that is, cavalry." The enemies referred to here must have also been the Muslims.

Even the danger of the common foe, Fīrūz Shāh, could not make the Reḍḍis and Rāyas forget their old animosities and stand united. The Reḍḍis regarded the kings of Vijayanagar as their bitter enemies. Neither of them was slow to take advantage of the internal troubles in

81. J. B. O. R. S., XXVII (1941).

82. J. S. King's *History of the Bahmani dynasty*, p. 37

83. Brigg's *Ferishta* Vol. II, p. 370.

84. Ibid. p. 375.

each other's kingdom and the weakness of its rulers, to extend their power each at the expense of the other. Such were the relations between the Reḍḍi kings and the Vijayanagar monarchs at the time of the death of Harihara II[86] in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.). After the death of Harihara II, his sons, Virūpaṇṇa Uḍaiyar I, Bukka II and Dēvarāya I, contested the throne.[87] While there was civil war in the Vijayanagar kingdom, the Reḍḍi chiefs of Kandukūru led an expeditition into the Udayagiri Rājya to the west of Kandukūru. They were successful in occupying Pottapināḍu, and Pulugulanāḍu, subdivisions of the Siddhavaṭam and Candragiri sīmas respectively. The *Local Records* state that they advanced as far as the fort of Rācavēḍu (Rāyachōti, the headquarters of the Rayachoti taluk, Chittoor district), and laid siege to it. After a sanguinary battle the fort fell into their hands.[88] The leaders of this expedition were Annā Reḍḍi, brother of Śrīgiri Reḍḍi and his son, Malla III.

Inscriptions [89] of Annā Reḍḍi and Mallā Reḍḍi at Tangaṭūru and Lēpāka in the Cuddapah district bear evidence to their incursion into the Udayagiri Rājya. The *Local Records* mention a number of villages that were ruined or destroyed as a result of this Reḍḍi invasion undertaken about Śaka 1328, the date of the inscription of Annā Reḍḍi.

While the Reḍḍi campaign was in progress, king Śrīgiri's rule appears to have come to an end. His successor on the throne of Kandukūru was his nephew Kōmaṭi II, son of his brother, Māca II. He was the donor of the Pedapūḍi grant referred to before. While his paternal uncle Anna was busy in occupying Pottapi and other countries, Kōmaṭi II extended his authority along the seaboard, as stated already. However, he was soon compelled to relinquish the newly acquired territory. The districts of the Udayagiri Rājya remained, for a period of seven years or even more, under the sway of the Reḍḍis of Kandukūru, as is borne out by their inscriptions at Lēpāka. The latest date furnished by Malla's records at that place is Śaka 1335 (1413 A.D.)

Kōmaṭi II had two sons, Sōmēśa and Sivalinga whose records have not yet come to light. Of these two, Śivalinga was a great Sanskrit scholar. He wrote a commentary on *Girīśaśrutisūktimālā* of Harādattācarya. During the rule of Kōmaṭi II, his cousins Malla II,

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85. N.D.I., II, Kr. 35, v. 15.

86. Ep. Rep. 1921, page 46.

87. Ibid, and 1932, page 34.

88. Loc. Rec. Vol. XXII, *Kaifiyat* of Chiṭṭivēli, pages 166-172; Ibid, Vol. XVII, pages, 178-179; *Kaifiyat* of Bukkapaṭnam.

89. Ep. Coll., Nos. 433, 422 and 424 of 1911.

and his brothers who were the sons of Srīgiri Reḍḍi appear to have made Chunḍi their head quarters. The few inscriptions of Malla II known to us are found at that place. They are dated in Śaka 1328[40] and Śaka 1330[41] and record the construction by himself of a temple to god Janārdana with a *maṇḍapa*, *prākāra* (compound wall) and a *gōpura* and his grants of lands to that temple. Malla II appears to have been the eldest son of Śrīgiri by Gaṅgāmbā, if the priority in dates[42] of his own records to those of his brothers is taken into consideration as a test.

In the reign of Kōmaṭi III, brother of Malla II, Dēvarāya I, sometime after his accession to the throne, launched an attack on the Reḍḍi kings to recover his lost territory, and to wipe out the kingdom of Kandukūru. He succeeded in both the attempts. The *Local Records* state that he despatched a considerable force from Udayagiri to Chandragiri and Siddhavaṭam *sīmas* and reduced Malla III to submission. The Vijayanagar supremacy in that region[43] was thus re-established. The paucity of records of the chiefs of Kandukūru for a period of seventeen years from Śaka 1335 (1413 A. D.) clearly proves that Dēvarāya I succeeded in achieving his primary object. The latest record[44] of the Reḍḍis of Kandukūru at Chunḍi is dated in Śaka 1352, Sādhāraṇa. It registers the grants of land made by Tippa, Śrīgiri, Rāma, Dēvarāya, and Nārāyaṇadēva, sons of Kōmaṭi III, brother of Malla II, in the presence of god Virūpākṣa on the banks of the river Tuṅgabhadrā, that is, in Vijayanagar itself. This conclusively proves that the Vijayanagar conquest of the Kandukūru Rājya was complete by that date. We hear no more of the Reḍḍis of Kandukūru as independent rulers. They became vassals of the sovereign lords of the country.[45]

40. N. D. I., I, O.P., No. 5, p. 23.
41. Ibid, II, Kr. 18, p. 502; Kr. 19, p. 505; Kr. 21, p. 515.
42. Ibid, II, Kr. 68, p. 608.
43. *Loc Rec.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 178-179.
44. N. D. I., Kr. 16, p. 495.

CHAPTER XIII.

GOVERNMENT.

There are few details of the government, both central and provincial, their mutual relations, the working of the administrative machinery, the duties and privileges of the respective officers of the State and so on. Records of the period, either copper-plate or stone, do not enlighten us on this subject. The information, if there is any, furnished by them, is very meagre and undefined; for instance, one of the verses in the Vānapalli plates of king Anavēmā Reḍḍi, purporting to give the daily routine of his work, says, "while king Anavēma, the treasury of all virtues, whose great fortune is praised (as he employs it) for the protection of the world, is seated in the durbar on the jewelled-throne, some people receive the sovereignty over the country (*dēśa*), others the distinction of a palanquin, a chauri, and a parasol, others their (confiscated) kingdom, (and) others *agrahāras* full of wealth." Verses like these do not help in giving us any clear idea about the State, or the duties of the officers of the State.

The *Sakalanītisammatam*, a Telugu anthology of verse on the principles of government, culled from works on polity, extant at that period, written by different authors, enables us to know only the theory and principles on polity. The construction, equipment, defence and importance of the fort, the qualifications of persons to be appointed as ministers, commanders, doctors, secretaries, accountants, and other servants of the State and their duties, the principles to be observed regarding income, expenditure and taxation, qualities which are unworthy of a king, principles regarding accountancy, embassy, war and peace, espionage and the like, are the topics that are dealt with in this work. This work does not add much to our political knowledge of the period, either in theory or in practice, for, all works on *Nīti*, written in Sanskrit, or in any vernacular language, are almost alike, enunciating only the principles and furnishing very little information regarding the practice of the day. In fact, all vernacular works are but translations of anicient works written in Sanskrit. This statement applies to the *Sakalanītisammatam* also. The verses collected in it are translations of *ślōkas* taken from very early and ancient Sanskrit works, like the *Mudrāmātya*, *Pañcatantra*, *Kāmandaka*, *Śālihōtra*, *Nītibhūṣaṇa*, *Nītitārāvaḷi*[1], *Puruṣārthasāra*, *Dhaumyanīti*,

1. Ep. Ind., III, p. 65, v. 18 (Translation).

Dhṛtarāṣṭraniti, *Mahābhārata*, *Padma Purāṇa* and so on. There are also verses taken from Telugu works like *Baddenanīti* and *Cārucarya*, produced in the early mediæval period, besides some, which were composed by the author himself. Since the principles of the Hindu polity were more or less the same and did not undergo any change from the early centuries up to the mediæval period, the Telugu work under reference is not of any exclusively special value to us.

Such principles of government are also enunciated casually in a number of verses in another Telugu *kāvya*, named *Rukmāṅgadacaritraṁ* by Prauḍhakavi Mallana. This work was produced in the period under review, and deals with the story of king Rukmāṅgada which is illustrative of the *māhātmya* of *Ēkādaśīvrataṁ*. The verses on polity in this work do not appear to have been translated from any Sanskrit work. An occasion arises for king Rukmāṅgada to go on a hunt to kill wild animals, which grew rampant in the neighbouring forests in his kingdom and caused distress to the tribal men living there. At the time of his departure from the capital, the king entrusts the kingdom to the charge of his son[3]. The poet takes this opportunity to air his views on polity by making Rukmāṅgada instruct his son on the art of government. Though many of the verses are of the same type and the principles are almost identical with those enunciated in the ancient texts on *Nīti*, yet a knowledge of the history of the period suggests to us that the enunciation of some of the principles might have been impelled by circumstances prevailing in the period in which the work was written. The works, *Sakalanītisammatam* and *Rukmāṅgadacaritraṁ*, give us in that way a general, though superficial, idea of the art of government in theory.

Council of Ministers:

The form of government in vogue during the Reḍḍi period was monarchy. According to the Hindu works on polity, the State comprised seven elements, namely, king, minister, dominion, fort, treasury, army and ally. The king was the supreme head of the State. Strictly speaking, he was only the supreme executive officer. His authority was limited in the sense that he had to carry on the administration of the country in accordance with the rules laid down

2. *Nītitāravaḷi*, now not extant, appears to have been a small Telugu work containing twenty seven verses, as its name indicates, which was dedicated to Kandamātya, son of Aubbaḷamantri. From the few verses reproduced in the *Sakalanītisammataṁ*, each of them appears to have been addressed to Kandamantri by his protege, Maḍiki Siṅgana himself. Siṅgana reproduces some more of his stray verses, which were not taken from any of his works, and they are labelled as "*madiyamu*" (mine).

3. Rk. Or., III, vv. 15–66, pp. 92–101.

in the *Dharma Śāstras* or *Smṛtis*, without swerving from them even a little. He had to hold consultations with a council of ministers, twelve in number, according to Manu, sixteen according to Bṛhaspati, and twenty according to S'ukra, or at least as many as he chooses within the prescribed number, on all important matters relating to the State.[4] The necessity and importance for a king to consult with his ministers is much stressed by the authors of works on Hindu polity. One of them says," As a king gets every thing done with the aid of councellors, he should surround himself with them. He should not consider that he could secure the councellors, financiers and commanders when he wanted their services; for, that would be like an attempt to dig a well to extinguish the fire burning a house."[5] Another author says, "When a king attempts with much pride to discharge his duties, either without consulting his ministers or going against their advice, he falls an easy prey to his enemies who deprive him of his wealth and dominion."[6] Prauḍhakavi Mallana warns the king not to rely entirely on his minister, for, he says, "If he (king) entrusts the kingdom to his minister's care, and does not look after the affairs of the State, the minister himself becomes the master in course of time."[7] From these texts it may be inferred that the king had a council of ministers to consult on all matters affecting the State. The chief minister was called a *pradhāni* and the remaining members of the council were called *mantrins*. Immaḍimantri, the donee of the Vānapalli plates of king Anavēma Reḍḍi is described as " the lord of ministers in politics (*Nitau mantrīśvaraḥ*), the chief of learned men in scientific discussions (*Vidyāgōṣṭhiṣu vibudhāgraṇīḥ*), and a friend in salutary counsels to kings"[8] (*mitram hitōpadēśēṣu bhūbhujām*). From the description given of his talents, Immaḍimantri appears to have been one of the ministers of king Anavēma. If this surmise is correct it may be said

4. "...మనుమతద్వాదశ మంత్రిమండలంబైన
సురమంత్రి మతమంత్రిషోడశంబు
కవిమతవింశతికంబైన మతియథా
సంఖ్యంబైనను సచివసమితి
తనదు చుట్టుఁ గొలువఁ దనరి యథాశాస్త్ర
మార్గవృత్తిఁ గార్యమంత్రచింత
యమరఁ జేయవలయు నాహితచిత్తుఁడై
బుద్ధి వృద్ధికై సుబుద్ధియగుచు".— Sk. Sm; III, v. 696.

5. Sk. Sm. III, p. 88, pr. 735.

6. Sk. Sm. III p. 79, v. 699

7. Rk. Cr, iii, v. 28.

8. Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 65 v. 22 (translation).

that the king in the Reḍḍi period had his council of ministers, whose number might or might not have been in conformity with that given by the texts on polity. The texts on *Nīti* strongly advise the king to appoint brāhmans as his ministers. The kings of the Reḍḍi dynasty generally adhered to this principle of appointing brāhmans as their ministers, as is evident from their records. Kōmaṭi Vēma, the founder of the Reḍḍi kingdom, had for his ministers Rāma Preggaḍa and Mallinātha. Anavōta's minister was Sōmaya, and Mallinātha. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's minister was one Māmiḍi Siṅgaya. It was only during the reign of Kumāragiri an exception was made to the general rule. Kumāragiri appointed his own brother-in-law Kāṭaya Vēma as his prime minister and generalissimo. He, however, in his turn had his *purōhitas* and *amātyas* to advise him on political affairs, of whom Appaya's son Jatanamu Peddi,[9] a brāhman, was the first and the greatest.

The council of ministers appears to have consisted of the *purōhita, pradhani, sēnāpati* and others. They tendered their advice to king on all important matters relating to the State. The king was not, however, bound by their decision. The king's decision was final on all matters. The subjects fared ill or well in accordance with the nature and enlightenment of the king. In practice, the king, in spite of the check exercised by the ministers, was generally an autocrat, and oftentimes a despot also. His word was law. Tradition records that the rule of Kumāragiri and Rāca Vēma was oppressive and tyrannical. Both lost their thrones on account of their oppressive rule. King Rāca Vēma was the most unpopular and tyrannical of all the kings of the Reḍḍi dynasty. He levied even *puriṭi-pannu*, a tax on every case of delivery, and collected it, if tradition is to be relied upon, with an iron hand. The people became so much exasperated by his oppressive measures that he was one day brutally murdered by one Saviram Yellappa, a member of the Balija[10] caste.

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9. S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 226. This record at Amarāvati extols Peddi, minister of Kāṭaya Vēma in the *sloka* given below.

तस्याभूत्प्रथमः पुरोहितगणेमात्येषुचोत्कर्षवान्
श्रीमानप्पय विप्रवर्यतनयः श्रीपेद्दिनामा द्विजः
येनात्मस्थितमन्त्रशक्तिविभवै रुत्साहजातोदयै
र्दातुर्वेमनृपस्य नित्यमखिलास्सम्पादिता स्सिध्दयः॥

10 *Koṇḍaviṭidaṇḍakavile*. See also *Koṇḍaviṭisāmrājyamu* (Telugu) by Maddulapall Gurubrahma Sarma, p. 88. It is necessary to point out here that the form Balañjya, and not Balija, was in vogue in the period under review. See, the chapter on Trade, Pt. II.

It has to be noted, however, that the power and influence of the ministers and nobles, in the period under review, were greater than in the previous periods. In the interests of the kingdom they could even stop the succession of a prince to the throne, if he was a minor. This is best illustrated in the succession of Kumāragiri after the death of his father, king Anavōta. He appears to have been a young boy. From a consideration of the political plight to which the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu was reduced by the time of Anavōta's death, the ministers and nobles of the country did not view with favour the succession to the throne of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi. They elected Anavōta's brother, Anavēma, in his stead and crowned him king. This seems to the import of the passage "*Rājya-Śrī-ramaṇī-svayamavarapatih*" found in some of the records of Anavēma Reḍḍi.

Yuvarāja:

Next to the king *yuvarāja* or the heir-apparent was as important as the prime minister. Texts on polity state that minister and *yuvarāja* are the two arms of the king.[12] Anavōta Reḍḍi, son of Prōlaya Vēmā Reḍḍi, was the *yuvarāja* during the reign of his father, and associated himself with his father in the government of the kingdom. Eṟṟā Pregaḍa, the court-poet of Prōlaya Vēma, says that prince Anavōta was the commander-in-chief, *camūpāgrēsara*[13] of the Reḍḍi army. Anavōta appears to have been sufficiently an aged prince to be appointed commander-in-chief of the army. In the early years of the re-establishment of Hindu independence in the coastal region, during which the foundations for a new kingdom of the Reḍḍis were laid, each of the brothers of Prōlaya Vēma was a commander, and the whole army was under the direct supervision and control of the king.

King Kumāragiri Reḍḍi anointed his son, Anavōta II, *yuvarāja* to the kingdom, sometime after his accession to the throne. Anavōta II was a young prince by the time he was anointed *yuvarāja*. So, Kumāragiri placed him under the tutelage of his brother-in-law and prime minister, Kāṭaya Vēma. Anavōta II accompanied Vēma in his expedition to the East, and got practical training in all branches of war and peace. After the creation of the Eastern kingdom Kumārgiri anointed him to it and made him his viceroy. Unfortunately Anavōta II died very early.

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11. "Ep. Ind. Vol. XXI, v. 81, p. 274.
12. "యువరాజు నమాత్యుండును
నవనీపాలున కుదంచితాయత భుజముల్" —Sk. Sm., II, v. 605.
13. Hr. Vm., I, Pt i.

Rāca Vēma also must have been a '*yuvarāja* during the reign of his father, king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, though no reference to this is found anywhere.

The examples given above prove that *yuvarāju*, in the Reḍḍi period, was the heir-apparent who was next in importance to the king.

Officials of the Central Government:

The chief officials of the State in the Central Government were mainly accountants of different denominations with different portfolios and duties. They comprised what is now commonly called the Secretariat. Ancient works on *Nīti* describe an accountant as the jewel-lamp to the royal palace, and the wisdom personified, specially with regard to records involving the various problems concerning income and expenditure[14].

Kavile-Sampratis: The duties of an accountant are well described by the poet Maḍiki Siṅgana in a number of verses detailing the work he had to do. Unfortunately, some of the technical terms used therein regarding accountancy are now obsolete and are unintelligible. The full import of the verses is not, therefore, quite clear to us. We understand from these verses that there were some head accountants, called *kavile-sampratis* (record-keepers) who kept registers, entering therein the several orders of the king regarding the collection of revenue and expenditure. Accountants, to whatever denomination they belonged, generally comprised the department of Finance, which was the only one department worth mentioning in the ancient Hindu administration. It was both essential and extensive. Accountants estimated the king's revenue and the corresponding expenditure, from the different *durgas* or provinces in the kingdom, and posted ledgers on different items of revenue and expenditure. After consulting the *kavile-sampratis* as to the orders previously passed by the king, probably regarding remission and surcharge, they determined the net income and expenditure after deducting the wastage and so on, and prepared the balance sheet of royal income in kind and specie, and their total annual net increase.[15]

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14. Sk. Sm. II, vv. 293–294.

15. ఆయవ్యయంబుల జాడ లూహించి యూ
రూయి వర్గువు లమర నిలిపి
త్రుటనవర్గువు లోలి పరికించి వెలుగులు
తెబ్బిబోణయుంచ నొప్పదీర్చి

Rāyasams: There was another set of accountants called *rāyasams*. The term *rāyasam*, a corruption of the word *vrāyasam*, means *lĕkhana* or writing. But in the period under review, *rāyasam* was the name of the office of a special accountant, attached to the Central and Provincial governments. One appointed to this office was called *rāyasam* after the post he held. Hence every writer was not a *rayasam*; but every *rāyasam* was a writer. *Rāyasam* was a technical name, applied only to those officers who attended upon the king, or a

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యవనీశు వ్రాలాఋతవిణలఁ గ్రితచౌప్య
　　కవిలెసంప్రతులను గలుగ సతేఁగి
తను స నా ముఖ్యయవాచనంబు న వ్రాసి
　　కడి నెత్తుటాకర్గవులకుఁ బాటి (?)
గాఁగ నిర్ణయించి కలతను గుప్పాత్ర
తెలిసి ధాన్యరోక్క్రములకు నిలుప
పేరుబడియుఁ దెలుపఁ బెద్దయు నేర్పుట
కరణికంబు ధాత్రి కందమంత్రి".

పరులు గ్రుచ్చినయట్లు వరుసలు చక్కఁగా
　　విశదమయిన లెక్క వ్రాసగ నిడుచు
నెలమి సేకస్థానములు దశస్థానముల్
　　చెదరిపోకయుండఁ జెదరపుచ్చి
తలఁపులో మాటిక తరవాయి దప్పక
　　కుఱుచలు ద్రోక్కక కుఁట్టుపడక
యొదిరివారు వినఁగ నెన్నిక బలకంబు
　　మోపక పెనుగ్రేలు దాఁపుఁగోనక
తెలివిపడఁ గూడి తలపులోపలను వరను
నిశ్చయము చేసి వ్రాయఁగ నేర్చునతని
గణితశాస్త్రజ్ఞు లెల మేటికరణ మంత్రము
మంత్రి మందార యబ్బయమంత్రి కంద!"

"పనియంకసంబున బహుభుజ చేతప్ప
　　దలిహంసపదములోఁ గిలుముక త్తి
తుడుపు తద్వ్యగుణంబు నెషల నిర్దత్రివాలు
　　నియభుంట లిఖితంబు విరసపత్రి
పత్రిక తుడుపులోపలి సంజ్ఞ భుజలెక్క
　　తక్క హెక్కవగాక చక్కనిడుట

provincial governor or a high official in the State, and took down in writing in their presence, whatever orders they passed, or whatever communiques they issued. A *rāyasam* of old corresponds more or less to the modern secretary or stenographer. Maḍiki Siṅgana recounts the qualifications necessary for one to hold this office. He must be serious-minded, quick in hand, an adept in many scripts, and proficient in all necessary languages. He must always attend upon the king, and take down in writing orders of his master orally dictated, and read them out to him to get his approval.[16] An inscription[17] at Yāzali in the Guntur district mentions one Pruṣōttamayya, the *rāyasam* of Veligōṭi Rāyapa-Nāyaka, a subordinate official of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi. Rāyani Bāca was the *rāyasam* of Kaṭaya Vēma.

అతిదుర్గబాడలోఁ గలిగి పెరసులలోఁ
దగులకుండుటయుందు మిగులనుఁటఁ
గలుగు లెక్కలు మాటగోలయుగాద
వర్గువులు గూర్చి పొదలను వ్యాయము దింది
నిలుపనేవివసందులు పెరయనెఱుఁగు
కరణ మింతయు నేర్పరి కందమంత్రి !''

"దొరలు ప్రజలు బంట్లు తొల్లిటిరీతిన
గడచుటెఱిగి హాయిగు గుఱుకునడిన
పువనిఁ జెప్పఁగఁ జేరఁ జనుచెంచునన్నడు
ఫసుసఁదనమునేక విరసపడక
మున్నన దప్పక మధురోక్తు లడుగక
కవిలెలోపలి వ్రాఁత కందు జెఱిఁగి
తరము దెలిసి వానిఁ దగిలెడునదిర్చి
వీఁకతోఁ దానట్లు గాకయుండఁ
బొరసి గాదెయు మాడుఫ్రతు బొరయఁబోక
యాయవాచవ మొదలుగాఁ జేయ కుడిగి
యేలినాతనియందుం హితవు గలిగి
మునెను నాతఁడు కరణాబు మంత్రికంద '' — Sk. sm., II vv. 295, 297-99.

I reproduce these verses here in extenso in order that those, who are able to make out the meaning of the technical terms used therein, may give their full import, and interpret them correctly and exactly. What I said above is merely the gist, as I understand it.

16. Sk. Sm. II, V. 308.

17. Ep coll, No. 512 of 1928-29. This inscription reveals the fact that, not only the kings but, high officials in the State also had their own *rāyasams*.

Departments of the Central Government:.

Properly speaking there was, as stated already, only one important department, the department of revenue and finance, dealing with income and expenditure. Other departments of some note, if they may be properly so called, were those relating to public works and to war and peace (military).

i. *Public works*: Construction of tanks, the chief among the public works of daily utility, was classified as one of the seven acts of merit that perpetuated the name of a man on earth. Hence, many of the local tanks of small size in the Reḍḍi kingdom came, we may well believe, into existence as a result of charity of private individuals. However, public works of great magnitude, involving a great amount of labour and expenditure, like the construction of *jalāśayas* or *Sāgaras* (huge tanks), and dams and the digging of canals for irrigational purposes, were generally undertaken by the government. For instance, the construction of the *Santānasāgara* at Koṇḍavīḍu, and the digging of the feeder canal leading to it, were undertaken by the Reḍḍi kings. The kings of the Reḍḍi dynasty were fully aware of the necessity of such public works, on which agriculture mainly depended. But, with the completion of the work, the interest of the authorities ceased, and they did not maintain any special department to attend to the repairs and other works connected with it. This draw-back, however, was set right by offering a definite portion of the land below the tank, irrigated by its waters, on *daśabandham* tenure,[18] to private individuals who, in return for the land granted, were bound to look after the repairs and other things connected with the work. After the completion of the construction of such huge tanks, the land below them was brought under wet cultivation, and gradually assessed. Accounts were maintained regarding the expenditure involved in completing the work, and the revenue accruing from the assessed lands below it. Some of the accountants in the Central Government probably looked after this business.

ii. *Military department*: What we know about the military organisation and the working of the military department is very little. What little is known to us is described in the chapter on the military organisation and war. It may, however, be presumed that some of the accountants, as was the case with other departments, kept military accounts, and dealt with wages, salaries, equipment, and other items relating to the army.

18. See the chapter on Agriculture, in Pt. II.

iii. *Revenue department*: It is but natural for this department to claim a great majority of accountants and their superior officers in the Secretariat. These accountants kept registers regarding income and expenditure. Baddena,[19] the royal author of a work on polity of the early mediaeval period, and Praudhakavi Mallana[20] of the period unde review, mention a number of items of income, or the sources from which a king derived his revenue. They are as follows :

	Baddena		*Mallana*
1.	Kṛṣiprapañcam = ari	(Produce of the land paid by the farmers to the king)	Arambamun = ari
2.	Ganulu	(mines)	Ganulu
3.	Gōkulamu	(cattle)	Gōrakṣa
4.	Suṅkamu	(tolls)	Suṅkamu
5.	Vaṇikkriya	(trade)	Vāṇijyamu
6.	Nandanavanamu	(Pleasure gardens)	Sṛṅgāravanamu
7.	Kappam	(tax)	Appanamulu
8.	Durgarakṣaṇamu	(protection of the fort)	

***Revenue*:**

Baddena's *kṛṣiprapañcamu* and Mallana's *ārambamu* mean the same thing. Both these terms denote cultivation in Telugu. While Baddena gives eight sources of revene, Mallana mentions only seven. Both the lists agree with each other as far as they go. The term *durgarakṣaṇam* suggests that it was a tax for *kāvali* or protection of the fort The terms *karamu*, *kappam*, *ari*, and *appanamu* - all denote taxes in general in Telugu. The special significance of each term, and the particular tax it signifies, is not known to us. The term *vari* in Tamil means both tax and paddy. In fact, it denotes generally some kind of tax in Tamil. The Telugu term *ari* seems to be a contraction of the Tamil *vari*. Andhras appear to have applied the term *vari* to paddy and *ari* to tax. Since the

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19. గనులు కృషిప్రపంచ మరి కప్పము సుంకము గోకులంబు నం
దనవనముం జలస్థల పథస్థవణిక్క్రియ దుర్గరక్షణం
బనఁగల యష్టమార్గముల నగ్గముఁ గూర్చి కేవలంబు గాఁ
ఘన పాలియించుగాక నిజ వంశము రాజు ... —Sk, Sm., I, v, 90.

20. గోరక్షయు వాణిజ్యము
ఆరంబము నరియు సుంక మప్పనములు శృం
గారవనంబులు గనులును

term *ari*, a contraction of *vari*, is used in Telugu in the sense of tax, it is likely it signified the tax in kind, or the king's share in produce, paid by cultivators. *Ari* then means a tax in kind, that is, paddy. The term *arigāpulu*, which finds mention in some of the inscriptions of the early mediaeval period, means therefore ryots who paid *ari* severally. Both the terms *ari* and *appanamu* mean tax, yet the difference between them appears to be this; *ari* referred to the tax in kind, and *appanamu*, probably, to the tax in specie or suvarṇa. *Dhānyādāya* and *suvarṇādāya* were the two kinds of income in tax, received by the king from each village.

The sources of revenue, according to the two authors mentioned above, may be specified as follows :

1. Agriculture
2. Industries
3. Trade
4. Tolls and excise duties
5. Pasture lands and forests (Gōrakṣa)
6. Social amenities (Nandanavanamu)
7. Customary and other fees paid in coin.

Agriculture: The most important source of revenue was agriculture. Land was surveyed with a pole of fixed length, determined by one of the high officials of the State, in accordance with the ancient custom. It was then classified into wet, dry and garden lands, and assessed in accordance with the estimated yield of the crop. The land measure of the wet lands differed considerably from that of the dry lands. Similarly, the rates of assessment for the wet and dry lands also were different, though they are not known to us. Only the tax on wet lands, in which paddy was sown, appears to have been collected in kind, and all other taxes, to whatever category they might belong, were probably collected in specie (*suvarṇa*). From the Vilasa grant[21] of Prōlaya Nāyaka we come to know that one sixth of the produce from the land was taken as tax or king's share by the Musunūri chiefs. It is likely that kings of the Reḍḍi dynasty also followed their leaders, the Musunūri Nāyakas, and collected one sixth of the yield as their share of tax. The method adopted in collecting and disposing of the king's share of paddy is not known to us.

It is likely that the king's officers were present at the harvest season (the spring and the autumn harvests), and collected their revenue,

21. *Forgotten chapter*., Ap. I.

The tax on garden lands was collected in specie. The term *suvarṇādāya* finds mention in the Chimakurti grant[22] of Prōlaya Vēma. Besides the tax on garden lands, tax on houses (*illari–illu + ari*) may be presumed to have been collected in *suvarṇa* from villages, that is, either in *māḍas* or *ṭaṅkas*. The collection of rent in *ṭaṅkas* on farm-lands is known to us from a *cāṭu* verse of Srīnātha. In this verse, he deplores his inability to pay the stipulated amount of rent of seven hundred *ṭaṅkas*[23] to the State on the land farmed out to him, in the village of Boḍḍupalli on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, having been deprived of the fruits of his labour on account of the inundation of the river, which swept away a great portion of the crop in the farm, and other pests. This verse of Srīnātha reveals to us the fact that huge tracts of arable land, also waste, were farmed or leased out periodically to private individuals for a fixed rent to the State.

Industries: A considerable income to the king's treasury was derived from mines. As both the authors, Baddena and Mallana, mention mines or mining industry as an important source of revenue, it may be taken to have formed one of the important items of revenue. Much information is not available regarding this activity of the people of those times; yet, references to diamond mines in the accounts of foreign travellers enable us to know that it was an important industry in the period under review. Iron smelting also was an important industry. Besides taxes on mines there were other industrial taxes, *Vṛttikaṭnālu*, as they were called, on looms, oil-mills and the like. Except *illari* and *pullari* (tax on houses and on pasture lands) no other taxes find mention in the records of the Reḍḍi kings. In fact, these records are very barren in this respect. Yet, as many of these taxes were mentioned in the records of the Kākatīya monarchs and of the Vijayanagar rulers, the predecessors and contemporaries of the Reḍḍi kings, we may be certain that they were in vogue in the Reḍḍi kingdom also; for, any ancient institution or custom, once established, was never allowed to lapse. Many of them were in vogue in the country from centuries before.

Suṅka is a term of wide import. It is now generally taken to mean 'customs duties,' collected in all trading centres along the main lines

22. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXI p. 150.

23. "కృష్ణవేణమ్మ గొనిపోయె నింతఫలము
బలిబిలాతులు గొనిపోయెఁ దిలలు నువులు
బొద్దుపల్లెను గొడ్డేటి బోసనాఁటి
చెప్పు చల్లింగఁ జిగరాయు చేరుమాల్లా".

of communication. But a perusal of the Kākatīya records makes it clear that it connotes more than that. An inscription[24] of Kākati Pratāparudra at Pānem (Nandyāl taluk, Kurnool district, dated in Śaka 1241,) mentions *nēla-suṅkya-adhikāris* besides *suṅkya - adhikāris*. These officers, as implied by the terms themselves, collected *suṅkam* of two kinds, one ordinary, and the other *nēla-suṅkam*. What *nēla-suṅkam* was is not known. Probably, it was a kind of rent of land. This inscription shows that the term applied not only to tolls on commodities or articles of merchandise, but to other forms of taxes also. Tolls were collected in all important towns, and villages where weekly fairs were held, and at all ferries. The toll collected at a ferry was called *puṭiṭ kūli or puḍiga mūlavīsālu*[25] (basket-boat-hire). Some of the taxes on articles of trade also went by the name of *suṅkams*. Duties, collected at ports, on sea-borne imports and exports were also called *suṅkams*. A record[26] of king Anavōtā Reḍḍi at Mōṭupalli in the Guntur district, dated in Saka 1280, refers to *maḍi Suṅkamulu*, that is, customs duties levied and collected on *ekkumaḍi* (exports) and *ḍigumaḍi* (imports) at that port. Tolls which were collected on commodities in transit at particular place were called *mārga-suṅkam* or *ubhaya-suṅkam*, or *aḍagaḍa suṅkam* [(toll collected at entrance (*aḍa*) and at exit (*kaḍa*)].

Officers who collected tolls were called *suṅka-adhikārulu* or *Suṅkarulu* in Telugu. The right of collecting *suṅkam* was periodically sold by auction to the highest bidder to a single or a group of individuals. These farmers of *suṅkam* were called *suṅka - guttakāṅḍru* (plural of *suṅka-guttakāḍu*, a monopolist or farmer of *suṅkam*). These officers are mentioned in a record at Taṅgeḍa (Guntur district) of the time of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, dated in Śaka 1313. Salt also was a king's monopoly. The duty on this article also was not directly collected by king's officers. It also formed one of the many kinds of *suṅkams*, and was collected in the same way as other *suṅkams* on a monopoly basis.

Gōkulam and *gōrakṣaṇam*, cited as one of the sources of revenue to a king by Baddena and Mallana, relate to cattle and their breeding and rearing. In ancient times, the wealth of a country was estimated in terms of the aggregate number of cows it possessed. Cattle was valued as wealth. For feeding such innumerable number of cattle, extensive pasture lands were necessary. Waste lands and the forest lands provided pasturage for cattle. These were under the direct control

24. Ep. coll, No. 168 of 1918.
25. Ep. Coll., No. 380 of 1926.
26. Ibid. No. 601 of 1909.

and management of the government. These pasture lands were let out for rent to the cultivators to graze their cattle on them. The tax collected on the pasturage was called *pullari* (*pullari*-*pullu* means grass; *ari* tax), grazing tax. In this way the government realised great income from pasture lands. The material at our disposal is very scanty to ascertain the method of collecting this tax. Since the general method followed appears to have been farming out or renting, the pasture lands also were probably rented periodically to private individuals on the same basis as others.

Another source of income to the royal treasury was *kappam*. This was the tribute paid by the subordinate feudal chiefs to the king. These chiefs ruled large tracts of land, like *sīmas* consisting of many villages owing allegiance to the king. After deducting the expenses for their army, they remitted the remainder of the revenue, collected from their *sima* or district, to the king's treasury. It is probable that some villages also were farmed out to influential individuals for a fixed rent. Each individual was put in charge of one or more villages according to his status and influence. These were held responsible for the revenue to be paid to the king from the village or villages under their charge. This revenue, paid by the renter, seems to have also been termed as *kappam*. This seems to be the import conveyed by the term *kappam* in a passage in one of the records of the Eastern Cāḷukya king, Ammarāja II Vijayāditya. The passage runs thus: "*Asya grāmasya kappābhidhānam karam varjitam*,"[27] the tax named *kappam* to be paid from this village, is remitted. This passage makes it clear that *kappam* was not only a tribute paid by a feudal chief to his suzerain, but also the rent paid by a renter-village-lord to the king.

Besides these there was another important source of income, namely, *Rāca-ūḷḷu* (king's villages). This term *Rāca-ūḷḷu* finds mention in an inscription[27a] at Kottūru, Kistna district. One of the three classes of villages referred to in this record, is *Rāca-ūḷḷu* the other two classes being *agrahāras*, villages granted to brāhmans free of taxes, and *nāyaṅkara-paṭlu*, administrative groups of villages, called *nāyaṅkaras*, which were placed under the charge of nāyakas. It is likely that *Rāca-ūḷḷu* were exclusively managed by king's staff of officers. They seem to have been analogous to *bhaṇḍāra - grāmas* of the middle Vijayanagar period, and on a par with the *haveli* lands and villages of the later Mogul period.

27. Ep. Ind., VII. p, 188.

27a. Ep. coll., No. 895 of 1926.

Expenditure :

How, and in what way this income was spent is not known. It may be presumed that a great amount of money was added to the reserve in the royal treasury. In fact, Baddena advises a king to spend only either one fourth or one third of his whole income, and lay by the remainder.[28] Most of the remaining money was probably spent on military organisation, the only department that claimed a lion's share of the income. Whatever remained was spent on religious and other benefactions, and on public works. Many of the important officers and servants of the State were generally remunerated for their services with grants of land free of tax, that is, as *sarvamānyam*. They enjoyed the land and performed their duties to the State.

Administrative divisions:

For properly carrying on the administration of the country, the kingdom was divided into a number of administrative divisions called *bhūmis*, *sīmas*, *nāḍus*, *sthalas* and *grāmas*. Of these *nāḍu* and *sthala* were not new divisions. The territorial division of *nāḍu* was in existence even before the rule of the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī. The rulers of the country made use of this *nāḍu*, originally a socio-geographical unit, as a political division. During the rule of the Kākatīyas, one or more *nāḍus* were included in a *nāyaṅkaram*, the territory or district which was placed under the charge of a nāyaka or a military feudal officer of the State, and each *nāḍu* was subdivided into a number of *sthalas*. Each *sthala* in its turn comprised a number of villages. Each village formed an administrative unit. From the *Local Records* we come to know that a village included one or more hamlets in it. During the rule of the Reḍḍi kings, the *nāyaṅkara* system was unaffected, and the administrative divisions, namely, *sthala* and *naḍu*, were continued as before. As stated above, an inscription of this period at Kottūru refers to *nāyaṅkara* groups of villages. An inscription[29] at Dhēnuvakoṇḍa in the Ongole taluk of the Guntur district, dated in Śaka 1260, refers to the *nāyaṅkara* of Podiḷḷapalli Siṅgama Nāyaka. The Reḍḍi kings introduced however a new political division, called *sīma*. The formation of the *sīma* appears to have been an innovation of the Reddis. There is no mention of *sīma* in

28. " తనకు న్యాయమైన ధనములో నాలవ
భాగ మొండె మూఁడు పాళ్ళపాల
నొండె నర్థమైన నుచితంబుఁ గాఁగ మి
గిలి వ్యయంబు సేయవలవ దధిప".—Sk. Sm., I, v. 151.

29. N.D.I. Vol. II, O 85, p, 962

the Kākatīya records. The political condition of the country probably necessitated the formation of this division of *sīma*. It gradually became very popular with the progress of time, as is attested to by the later records. The kings of the Reḍḍi dynasty divided the kingdom into a number of *sīmas*. Each *sīma* was formed by grouping a number of *nāyankarams* together. If, during the rule of the Kākatīya monarchs, *nāyaṅkara* formed the chief administrative division, *sīma* during the Reḍḍi rule became the major political division. One or more *sīmas* were grouped together to form a *bhūmi*. Inscriptions[30] of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu refer to Kōṭa *bhūmi*, and Srīśaila *bhūmi*. This *bhūmi* does not appear to have been as important as the *sīma*. It is seldom referred to in the records of the Reḍḍi kings. One or more *bhūmis* consisting of many *sīmas* appear to have been attached to a *durga* or a fort. The *Koṇḍavīṭidaṇḍakavile* refers only to four forts or *durgas*, fourteen *sīmas*, and two thousand forty eight *grāmas*. The names of the *durgas* and the *sīmas* it mentions, are given below.[31]

Durgas	*Sīmas*	
1. Koṇḍavīḍu	1. Koṇḍavīḍu	8. Mārella
2. Vinukoṇḍa	2. Vinukoṇḍa	9. Kandukūru
3. Bellaṁkoṇḍa	3. Bellaṁkoṇḍa	10. Podili or Darśi
4. Nāgārajuna-koṇḍa	4. Addaṁki	11. Ammanabrōlu
	5. Udayagiri	12. Cuṇḍi
	6. Kōṭa	13. Dūpāḍu
	7. Nellore	14. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

The *Daṇḍakavile* states that these *sīmas* were formed during the time of the Cōlas, a fact which cannot be supported by the available evidence. We do not know if the above list is genuine. It is interesting to note the inclusion of Udayagiri and Nellore also in it, and the absence of any of the *sīmas* or *durgas* to the north of the Kṛṣṇā. If this list is a genuine one, this arrangement may be taken to refer to the beginning of Prōlaya Vēma's reign, when Udayagiri and Nellore were yet under his rule. The loss of Udayagiri and Nellore in the south was later on compensated by the acquisition of territory to the north of the Kṛṣṇā. The above list depicts the

30. Ep. Ind, XXI, p. Ep. coll, 331 of 1933.

31. Vide. Maddulapalli Gurubrahma Sarma's *Koṇḍavīṭisamrājyam*, pp. 15. 16. The *Daṇḍakavile* recounts also the names of the several nāyakas who were governing the *sīmas* and forts, but does not however mention the king to whom they owed their allegiance. None of the names given therein is found in the available records of the Reḍḍis.

administrative arrangement of the Reḍḍi kingdom at about the time of its inception. Even this list seems to be incomplete, for Taṅgeḍa sīma, mentioned in the Reḍḍi records, is not included in it.

From the material available to us, it seems possible to classify roughly the officers of the State who controlled the provincial and local administration into three distinct groups, namely, (1) feudal chiefs, (2) tributaries, and (3) other officers. Feudal chiefs were governors appointed over a territory of limited extent on a military tenure. The nature of the tenure and other particulars will be described in connection with the military organisation; (2) Tributaries or sāmantas were those who rented or administered one or more villages on condition of paying a stipulated annual tribute or *kappam* to the king. (3) The others were officers of the State who did not come under the first two categories. The material at our disposal does not furnish any information regarding these officials.

Village:

The village officials formed a separate class of their own. The link between them and the Central Government was not strong. Generally, a village was a tract of land comprising a number of homesteads and some hundreds of *khāris* of arable and waste lands. It was like a joint family, managed by elders. Every village consisted of a number of servants who were remunerated for their services to the village commune by *mānyams*, grants of tax-free lands, *meras* and *mirāsis*(fees). They were commonly called *āyagārs* or *grāma bhaṭas*, and their land-grants, *bhaṭavṛtti-mānyams*. Generally, their number was twelve, though the exigencies of work, rural economy and the size of the village determined the number. In some of the villages the duties and functions of more than one servant were united in the same person.

Raḍḍi or *Reḍḍi*, the head-man of the agricultural community, was generally the head of the village and superintended its affairs. He was also called *grāmakūṭa*,[32] a term later on changed into *gauḍa* (modern *gauḍ*). In early times he was appointed by the ruler of the country. In the mediaeval period, when a group of agricultural families cleared the forest and founded a village to settle in, the procedure was different. One who had sufficient influence among the elders of the families, approached the king with presents, and obtained the sanction and assent of the king for the *raḍḍikam* of the village. Inscriptions of the mediaeval period and the *Local Records* furnish many instances of this kind. The sanction of the ruler of the land was necessary for the Raddi

32. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII p. 170.

or the head-man for obtaining the *kāṇāci* rights of service. He was the king's representative in the village; and made himself responsible for the revenue tax, payable by the village community as a whole to the king, either in kind or in specie. He collected the revenue in kind, mostly paddy, and *kānukalu* and *kaṭnālu* in *suvarṇa*. He preserved and protected the former in the royal granary (*rāca-gāde*) in the village which was under his charge, probably to defray the local expenses of the government, both civil and military, and to sell the remaining paddy for a proper price when it sold dear. There were royal granaries for each and every village which was an administrative unit. The fact of the existence of royal granaries is known from a record[88] of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi at Tangeḍa in the Guntūr District. We come to know from this inscription that the governor of the *sīma* had the right to make a gift of some paddy from the royal granary, whenever necessary, for worship and festivals in the local temple. Probably, he had to obtain previous sanction of the king for doing so. The headman was the man on the spot. He was able to discharge his duties well because of his personal influence and his acquaintance with the circumstances and concerns of the people in the village. In him were combined the civil as well as the magisterial duties. He settled disputes in the village.

Karaṇam was the accountant of the village. He maintained accounts relating to the extent of the arable and waste lands, cultivated and fallow land, the wet and dry cultivation, taxable and rent-free land, an estimate of the crops grown, the assessment on the dry and wet crops under the previous and the present governments, the total extent of the *brahmadēya* and *dēvadaya* lands, the village services and every item concerning the administration of the village including public works. He measured the fields, estimated the crop, determined the king's share of produce each *arikāpu* had to pay, and maintained registers regarding their transactions. Every deed or document was properly drawn up and signed by witnesses, that is, it bore the Śaka year, cyclic year, month, fortnight, *tithi*, the week-day, the country,

88. Ep. Coll. No, 380 of 1926. The Inscription was dated in S'aka 1313, corresponding to the cyclic year Prajāpati, and the gift registered therein was made on Friday, the 11th of the dark fortnight of the month of Mārgas'ira. The tithi and the week day were wrongly given as das'ami and Sōmavāra in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*. I made the above correction of the date after consulting the estampage of this inscription in the Ramayya Pantulu collection, now preserved in the library of the Andhra University. The correct English date equivalent is 21st Dec. 1391 A. D. It is also possible that royal granaries were set up only in towns of some administrative importance and not in each and every village. Tangeḍa was the capital of the *sīma*; so it is no wonder if there was a royal granary there.

its king, the place where the business was transacted, name of the village and every other matter of importance, with the signature of the writer of the deed, were entered in it. It was then duly attested with the signatures of the witnesses.[34] The *karaṇam* and the *reḍḍi* were the chief officers of the village. They both worked hand in hand in assigning the lands to the ryots and collecting the king's share. Any business transacted on behalf of the whole village without their approval was not valid and legal.

The brāhman *purōhit* was as important to the village community as the other servants of the village. Each and every member of the Hindu society was accustomed, from time immemorial, to do a thing at an auspicious moment after consulting the *pañcāṅgam*, the *tithi vāra, nakṣatra, varjam* (the inauspicious period in the day during which no work is done), the position of the planets in the Zodiac, and so on. For tilling the soil afresh in the new year, for sowing the seeds, for going on a journey, for performing any kind of business, whether public or private, whether auspicious or inauspicious the *purōhit* was consulted. He informed the villagers of the *vratas* of the day, good and bad omens, the auspicious moments to do or begin a work or business, and predicted the *śakuna-phalas*, and at times the future of individuals according to their horoscopes. He went in the early morning, after performing his daily oblations and worship, to the houses of nobles (*doralu*), offer them *tulasi* leaves, and tell them the calendar of the day.[35] He was an important person in the village community.

In very early times the police duty was vested in the hands of the head-man of the village; but with the growth of the village and its population, its administration grew unwieldy, and the *talāri* was appointed for the police watch. His activities were supervised by the village head-man under whom he had to work. *Talāri*, or *āreka* as he was also called, was the policeman of the village. Like other servants of the village he was granted a *mānyam*, tax-free

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34. "శక కాలంబును వత్సరంబు నెల పక్షంబుఁ దిథిఁ వారము
నొక్క దేశంబును దాని నేలు విభు నయ్యూరుం నిజస్థానముఁ
సకలార్థంబును నామనిశ్చయముగా సాక్షికచేతంబు వ్రా
యక కాదంబరి వ్రాల వ్రాయుకరణం బజ్ఞాని గాకుండునే."—Sk. Sm, II, v. 302.

35. "..............ప్రభాత కాలమున
దొరల యిండ్లకు నేగి తులసియుఁ బెట్టి
తరుస నిచ్చులు విన వారంబుఁ జెప్పి...........ని." — Nv. Cr, p. 158.

land, for the services he rendered. Besides this, he was renumerated by fees also on auspicious, and important festive occasions by those living in the village. The fee was called *talāri-kaṭnam*. His office was hereditary. It was his duty to go on rounds both day and night to preserve law and order and bring the offenders and bad characters to book.

The *bārikāpu* was another police servant of the village. Every village in ancient times had a boundary wall (*prahari*) around it, with gates and watch-towers. The country in ancient times was full of wood and jungle, the resort of wild beasts. To protect the village from wild beasts as well as the enemy from outside, a boundary wall with gates and watch-towers was constructed in times of yore around the village. The *bārikāpu* was assigned the duty of going on rounds along the "*bāhya-vīthī*, or the street outside the boundary wall or the outer blocks of the village, as well as other ways, during day and night..." and of guarding the village from wild beasts and the enemy. He was generally stationed in the watch-tower, and in the event of the approach of hostile raiders, he proclaimed it to the villagers by beat of drum. Surrounding the boundary wall of the village, there were the arable and waste lands and pastures. It was the duty of the *bārikāpu* to guard the fields also from wild beasts and theives. *Prahari tiruguṭa* was the technical name given to this act of going on rounds along the boundary of the village proper, to keep watch over it or to guard [37] it.

The term *prahari tirugu* became corrupted in common parlance to *pāri tiruguṭa* (*prahari tirugu* - *pāri tirugu*). We have therefore the terms *pārikāvali* (boundary-watch) and *pārikāpu* (boundary-watchman). *Bārikāpu* is a variant of *pārikāpu*. *Talāri* and *bārikāpu* were both police servants belonging to the village. The former's duty was however restricted to the internal watch, and that of the latter to the external watch.

The other village servants were the goldsmith, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the washerman and the barber. According to the requirements of each village, there were, in some villages, other servants also, like a superintendent of the tanks and water-courses who distributed water for purposes of cultivation, an astrologer and so on. Exigencies of the village determined, as stated already, the number of *grāma-bhaṭas*.

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37. "ప్రహరి చరింతు రెప్పుడును భైరవు లర్థనిశాగమంబులన్ "— Bh. Pr., I
" అడ్డపెట్టెదఁగాక తీవ్రాంశురథముఁ
బ్రహరిఁ దిరుగఁ గయుండఁ ధర్మగిరిని......" — Ks. Kh. I

In this way the village was an economically independent unit. It supplied its residents all the necessities of life without making them dependent for them on other villages. The village community was a compact one. The villagers themselves managed the affairs of the village.[37]

Under this simple form of municipal government the residents of the village lived in peace and plenty. The attachment of the villagers to their place of residence was so great that even if the village was desolated by famine or war, they seldom left it uninhabited. If by chance they were compelled to remove themselves from the village, owing to any epidemic or other cause, they returned again to it after the trouble was over[38], and re-built their houses very near the original village site. They went on as usual, without caring to what power the country or kingdom was transferred, or to what sovereign it was subjected, so long as they were uninterrupted in the exercise of their rights and privileges. It made little difference to them if the kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu was in the hands of the descendants of Prōlaya Vēma or of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, or if it passed into the hands of the kings of Vijayanagar or the Mussalman kings, so long as their *brahmadēyas* and *dēvadāyas* were protected as in days of old, and their customary rights and privileges and other ancient customs were not interfered with. This is the reason why the stereotyped form of this village organisation defied many a political storm which raged furiously in the country, and the village stood compact, and firm.

The rulers of the land did not interfere with the affairs of the village so long as their *kappam* or tribute, and the king's share due to them from the village, was paid regularly. The exercise of authority by the king's officials over the affairs of the village was only nominal, and every village was practically independent. Probably after every change of sovereignty, the head-man of the village, as he was the king's representative, was required to visit the capital with presents, and to get himself re-confirmed in his office. It is likely that the king's officers occasionally visited the village to supervise the

37. Sir John Macpherson in his Minute of the 4th July 1786 says about the Indian village, rather flatteringly, thus: "It is much to discover with certainty, that we have yet a great deal to learn in the revenue line, and we are fortunate if we can collect and take up the links of ancient forms. One thing is certain, nothing was more complete, more simple, correct and systematic than the ancient revenue system of this country. It was formed so as to protect the people who paid it from oppression, and secure to the sovereign his full and legal rights."

38. Ep. Rep. 1908 paras 76 & 77.

village accounts, to settle the boundary disputes between villages, to estimate the crop before it was cut, and so on.

This system of village government turned the villages more or less into small republics. It however became rigid in course of time, and prevented the growth of the several elements that composed the village community, by investing the age-long social custom with a halo of sanctity, and imparting too much power to tradition and usage, with no deviation whatsoever from the past. Occupations and professions crystallised into castes and communities which became either exagamous or endogamous. Occupations became hereditary with the progress of time. Any public work undertaken in the interests of the village was done on the basis of mutual co-operation and by free or forced labour.

The economic plenty of the village made its isolation more marked, and the residents of the village generally never felt the need to break out of this isolation by laying out good roads from village to village and otherwise improving the means of communication and travel. Patriotism narrowed down and no one was generally able to see beyond the limits of one's own village. For want of proper communications, travel was difficult, and contact with distant places and peoples was seldom made. The social advance of the community as a whole was held up. The village in ancient times was the bulwark of religion, tradition, and custom.

CHAPTER XIV

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.

We are not able to get much information regarding the administration of justice in the period under review, except a few references in contemporary literature, which are, however, of invaluable help to us in suggesting the procedure that might have been adopted in deciding some cases. These references, when studied in the light of the *Śmṛti* literature, afford us an idea of some of the methods of legal administration then in vogue. No doubt, the chief source of the law of the Hindus then, must have been the same as it is today, the *Smṛtis* or the codes of law by Yājñavalkya, Nārada and others. Vijñānēśvara's *Mitākṣara* on Yājñavalkya seems to have been the primary legal authority. Another legal treatise written in this period was the *Parāśara Mādhavīya*. Its author is the celebrated sage Vidyāraṇya, the spiritual teacher of the Vijayanagar kings, Harihara I and Bukka I. This work is believed to have been written by the sage to serve as a manual for the officers of the Vijayanagar kingdom.[1] It is not, however, known how far it was accepted as an authority during the period of the Reḍḍi rule in the coastal region of the Andhra country. Neither inscriptions nor literature of the period furnish any information regarding either the qualifications of the judges or the procedure adopted in appointing them.

Dharmāsana and Civil cases:

To administer justice and to punish the criminals were the duties of the king. He was the fountain-head of justice. He administered justice with the help of his councillors. The *purōhit* of the king, who was expected to be an authority on *dharma*, was probably the most important of the councillors. The court of justice was called *dharma sabhā* or *dharmāsana*. Members who tried cases were called *dharma sabhājanas*[2] or *Sabhyas*. The *dharmāsana* at Vijayanagar is alluded to in the *Vaiśyavaṁśasudhārṇava*[3]. In fact, this work is in the nature of a judgement, drafted by Mallinātha, the famous commentator on the dramas of Kāḷidāsa and other Sanskrit classics, in a civil dispute regarding a communal question. The *dharmāsana* at Rājamahēndravaram is referred to in one of

1. Wilk's History of Mysore, p. 169.
2. Sm.. Dv., I, iii, v. 102.
3. A volume of Indian and Iranian Studies, presented to Sir E. Denison Ross—The *Vaiśyavaṁśasudhārṇava* of Kōlacala Mallinātha by Dr. V. Raghavan, p p. 234 ff.

his *cāṭu* verses [4] by poet Srīnātha. Another reference to *dharmāsana* is found in the Telugu drama, *Krīḍābhirāmam.* [5] The court referred to in this work was temporarily set up to settle a dispute between a *vēśyā* and her daughter's lover. We are told that the policemen in the city brought and presented the *vēśyā* before the members of the *dharmāsana*. This reference in the *Krīḍābhirāmam* enables us to know that an arbitration court temporarily set up to decide a civil dispute was called *dharmāsana*. This court of justice decided all the cases as coming under the eighteen heads of *vyavahāra* mentioned in the treatises on law, such as disputes regarding lands, houses, debts, sales, purchases, assult, inheritance, violation of agreements and others. The judges examined witnesses and decided the case. There are references in the Telugu literature to *kūṭa sākṣulu*,[6] witnesses who gave false evidence.

Trial by ordeal:

There is a fine verse in the Telugu work *Simhāsanadvātrimśika*, which suggests another method of trying some of the law-suits. While describing the moon-rise, the author compares the moon to a red-hot iron ball held by the damsel of the East to prove her innocence to the Sun. The idea contained in this verse is this: the moon shiaes as if she were a red-hot iron ball held by the damsel, namely the Eastern quarter, to swear that the Sun, not knowing that she was true to him, had divorced her, though she wished in her mind only his rise. The phrase *maḍḍu paṭṭuṭa* used in this verse is very interesting and significant. The term *maḍḍu* in Telugu means a red-hot iron ball. Another Telugu work *Bhōjarājīyam* furnishes two more references to this term *maḍḍu* in two different passages. Of these two, one passage reads thus: *maḍḍunaku bōyunaṭl=oka-treḍḍeḍ=uḍuku pāyasambu decci yatani cēn=iḍḍa*,[8] that is, having brought a ladle-full of boiling rice-milk with sugur and put it in his hand as if pouring to a *maḍḍu*. Here, the term *maḍḍu* means an ordeal or a person undergoing an ordeal. The other passage runs thus: *agnistambhanambu paṭṭukoni*

4. "...విద్వాంసుల్ రాజమహేంద్ర పట్టణమునఁ ధర్మాసనంబు ఁడి ..."

5. Kr. Rm., vv. 264, and 265.

6. Rk. Cr., I. v. 164.

7. " తనయుదయంబె మదిఁ గోరుదు
నను విడిచె నితండు కల్లనాఁడ లేకుం
ట నెఱుఁగఁ డని పూర్వాశాం
గన జగమున మద్దుపట్టుగతి శశి పొడిచెన్." —Sm. Dv., I, iv, v. 106.

8. Bh. Rj., III, 59.

maḍḍu divicinaṭlu.[9] This passage means "like taking away a red hot iron ball acquiring the power to restrain fire by magical means." The verse and these passages in the literary works referred to above surely indicate the trial by ordeal which had been an ancient one. Some serious cases concerning offences and crimes committed secretly, or lacking in direct evidence to prove guilt, were decided by ordeals and on oaths. Ordeals were called *divyas*[10] in Sanskrit. It was generally believed that, in trials by ordeal, the divine agency would intervene to expose the guilt or vindicate innocence. Ordeals were generally performed in public before the judges in a court or before an idol in a temple. The fire ordeal was called *maḍḍu paṭṭuṭa* in Telugu, that is, to carry a red-hot iron ball in hand to a certain distance. If the hand of the person who carried the ball was not scalded he was considered not guilty. The *Smṛtis* mention a number of other forms of ordeals also. We do not know if other forms also were in practice during the Reḍḍi period. From one of the passages cited before, it seems that pouring some boiling liquid into the mouth was also another method of fire ordeal in practice.

That trials by ordeal were common in those days is known to us from the accounts of the Muslim historians and of foreign travellers as well. We are told by Amīr Khusru that, at the end of the victorious expedition of Khursu Khān against Warangal in the reign of Sultān Mubārak Shāh of Delhi, the Kākatīya monarch, Pratāparudra, in order to conclude peace with him "sent jewels, clothes, sandal, gold, horses, elephants and other valuables to the Khān (Khusrū Khān) by way of *Jizya*." But the Khān was not satisfied with them and demanded that every thing in his possession to be sent to him. Thereupon Pratāparudra affirmed that he had nothing left of his former wealth. "To this the Khān replied that, if the raja were speaking truth, he could have no objection to submit to an ordeal. He should thrust his hand into hot oil, and if he sustains no injury from the heat, no suspicion will exist against him.[11] This passage shows that even the Muslims who invaded the Deccan country were well acquainted with the Hindu method of trials by ordeal. "In criminal charges," observes Nicolo Conti, "oaths are allowed where there is no witness to prove the offence. There are three modes of swearing. In one, the person to whom the oath is administered, stands before the idol, and swears by the idol that he is innocent. Having taken

9. Ibid, VI, 181.

10. About the *divyas* (ordeals), vide, Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar's article in J.A.H.R.S. VII, pp. 195 ff; Julius Jolly's *Hindu Law and Custom* (Greater India Society Publication No, 2), pp. 310 - 317.

11. E. D., II, Appendix, *Nuh Sipihr* of Amir Khusrū, p. 560.

the oath, he then licks with his tongue a piece of iron, such as a mattock, red-hot; if he escape uninjured he is declared innocent. Others again, having first taken the oath, carry the same piece of iron, or a red-hot iron plate for several paces before the idol; if burnt in any part he is punished as guilty; if he escapes unhurt he is exempt from the punishment awarded for the offence. There is a third manner of swearing, and this is the most common of all. A vessel is placed before the idol filled with boiling butter. He, who swears that he is innocent of the offence charged against him, plunges two fingers into the butter which are immediately wrapped up in linen, and a seal impressed upon it, to prevent the covering being removed. On the third day the bandage is taken off. If any injury appear upon the fingers the accused is punished; if no injury present itself he is released.'' [12]

Criminal cases:

There is reason to believe that criminal cases were tried by the king himself or his officers. An Eastern Cāḷukyan record [13] of either the eighth or the ninth century refers to *daśāparādhas*, ten kinds of crimes; but it does not state what they are. The *Smṛtis*, however enumerate these crimes and state that the king himself should investigate and deliver judgement over them.

Investigation of crime and police organisation:

Investigation of crime was left in the hands of the police. Police organisation was one of the very important departments of the administrative machinery. Like other departments the policing also was organised on the basis of the village. It was the central column around which the whole edifice relating to defence and investigation of crime was reared up. The *Śukranītisāra*, a work on polity calls the policeman a *yāmika*, and details his duties clearly. According to this work a *yāmika* had his station either at the beginning or at the end of the residential quarters, and kept strict watch over all persons who arrived at and departed from the village, particularly strangers. It was his duty to study the character of each person, allow only those of good character and well-noted persons entering into the village, and others

12. Major, Conti, pp 81–82.

13. I. A. Vol. XIII, p. 187, *Bharati*, Vol. V. p. 99.

14. " దినసాయంతము గ్రామాంతము దిక్కుల నిండేశ
జనులు పను లడిగి రాకన్
అనుమానులై తిరుగఁజొచ్చి రాఁగట్టుమనుచున్ " — Sm. Dv., II, X, V. 117.

only after they provided surety or security. Once in every *ardha-yāma* he had to patrol the streets during nights. The policemen in Telugu are called *ārekulu* or *talārulu*. Even during the period under review the policemen continued to do this duty of patrolling streets day and night.[14] In the period of dark fortnights they used to patrol the streets with torches in their hands.[15] Policemen were remunerated for their services by periodical fees and other emoluments by villagers. If the village was a big one, there were more than one *yāmika* to discharge the police duties. The head of the policemen was called *pedda talavari* (head-policeman). The chief executive police officer in the village was designated *paṭṭalaka* or *paṭṭeḷa*, a patel. We come to know from inscriptions that the office of *paṭṭeḷa* existed in the Telugu country during the Eastern Cāḷukyan period.[16]

The duties of the policeman were twofold, to prevent crime and theft, and bring the offenders to justice. Theft was considered to be the greatest of all offences. If a theft was committed in any village it was the duty of the policeman to detect the thief. The responsibility of the policeman belonging to any particular village under his jurisdiction ceases only when he succeeds in tracking the thief to the limits of another village. In discharging his duties the chief of the policemen was assisted by the servants of the village, and if necessary, by all the villagers. If, when a theft was committed, a police officer failed to trace the thief and recover the lost property, he was bound to make good the loss and pay it to the sufferer. This was an age-long custom which had been in vogue in Ancient India from the *Śmṛti* and even the *Śūtra* period. The *Viṣṇu Smṛti* says that the king had to restore the goods stolen to their owners after having recovered them from thieves, and in case he was unable to recover them, he should pay out of his own treasury.[17] Similarly, the *Gautamadharma Sūtra*, a more ancient work than the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* says that the stolen property recovered from thieves should be returned to the owner, and if not recovered, should be paid out of his treasury (*cōra-hṛta-mapajētya yathāsthānam gamayet; kōśād vā dadyāt*).[18] The *talāri* or *āreka* had thus become one of the twelve

15. "...బురము లోన ఘనము గా, అంతర్యా
మారెకులును దివియ లందికొనుచుఁ
గల్లుప్టెఁ నడుచు నెల్లదిక్కులఁ జూడ
నర్ధంబుఁ జొచ్చి రతి విహస్తు లగుచు"—Ibid, v. 124.

16. A stone record at Buḍamanarāyalapāḍu*(now deserted) in the Nellore district mentions a certain paṭṭeḷa.

17 S.B.E., VII, *The institutes of Viṣṇu*, III, 66–67.

18. *Gautamadharma Sūtra*, X. 46–47.

essential servants of a village in the mediaeval period. He was held responsible for preserving law and order in his jurisdiction, to maintain internal peace besides preventing and detecting, as stated before, crime and theft. Police-watch, *kāvali* as it was called, was instituted not only over the village proper but over the crops pertaining to it. The fee that the *talāris* received for this service was called *kāvali-kaṭnam.*

Accu kāvali and Veli kāvali :

The *Local Records* inform us that the police system described before was in practice during the period of the rule of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu. The *kaifiyat* of Kōṭa informs us that, in the reign of Anavēma Reḍḍi, the Cōḍas, probably members of the Telugu Cōḍa dynasties, who were powerful in the Ēṟuva country and in the region around Tripurāntakam (Kurnool district), carried on predatory raids into some of the villages in the Reḍḍi kingdom, and robbed the produce of the fields escaping skilfully detection of the *talāris.* Thereupon, the cultivators (*saṁsāris*) approached the king and represented to him their grievance. We are then told that king Anavēma appointed for the *accu kāvali* a member of the Mutrāca[19] community, named Cippēṭi Bōḍiliṅgama Nāyaka, a capable servant in his court, made him the bailiff to keep watch over the Kōṭa and other *sīmas* and, to hold himself responsible for thefts and loss of property. *Accu kāvali* is an interesting term. It denotes the police system by which a watch-man or a *kāvaligar* was bound to make good the loss of property sustained by the owner, were he unable to catch hold of the thieves and recover the lost property. The same *kaifiyat* further states that the service of *veli kāvali,* that is, external watch was conferred on a certain Aḍapā Siṅgama Nāyaka.[20] The information which the above *kaifiyat* furnishes is very valuable to us, since it

19. This is a Telugu-caste most numerous in the Kistna, Nellore, Cuddapah and North Arcot districts. The Mutrāca s are hunters, palanquin-bearers and hereditary watch-men in villages.

సిద్ధిరాజా గారి రాజ్యపరిపాలన అనుభవిమ్మట అనవేమారెడ్డిగారి ప్రభుత్వం. యితని ప్రభుత్వంలో గ్రామాదుల పంటపరియాయ ధాన్యాదులు మొదలయిన మహాసూన్లు తలార్లు కావలి కాస్తూవున్నంతలో చోడుల వుపద్రవంచాత నిర్వాహకం లేక సంసార్లు ప్రభువుతో చెప్పుకున్నంతలో అప్పుడు చిప్పేటి బోడిలింగమనాయకుడు అనే ముతరాచ కొలువ్వడు కాడాయి వుండగా అతని సామర్థ్యంకు (?) అ[చ్చు]కావలి నిర్వాకం చాయగలడని ప్రభువుకు తోచి యీకోట మొదలయిన సీమలు కొన్నింటికి అచ్చుకావలి నిర్ణయం చేసినారు. అడపా సింగమనాయనికి వెలికావలి....”

20. Mack. Mss. No. 15-6-1; *Kaifiyat* of Kōṭa.

acquaints us with two forms of police service, namely, *accu kāvali* and *veli kāvali*. The *kaifiyat* referred to before does not, however, mention the terms on which the appointment was made, the kind of remuneration the policeman received, whether kind, coin or land grant. However, it appears to be certain that, from the custom prevailing in the country, he received *mēra*, fixed measure of grain annually, and *vartanas*, fees in the form of *talāri-kaṭnam* from people of different communities in the village periodically and on all important and auspicious occasions in their homes. The bound bailiff, that is, the *accu kāvaligar*, who had under his jurisdiction many *sīmas* or political divisions, had in all probability a special staff of policemen of his own choice for every *sīma* separately, who were aided by the *talāris* appointed in turn by themselves over every village in the *sīma*. It is thus patent that the *accu kāvali* system of police administration constituted itself into a big department unconnected with the regular government, though, probably supervised occasionally by the king's officers. The chief bailiff or the police commissioner in charge of several *sīmas* held himself answerable to the king for thefts and stolen property in the region under his jurisdiction. The *accu kāvali* system further shows that the police administration was not a whit different from what was prevailing in the *Sūtra* or the *Smṛti* period.

Veli kāvali appears to have been simple ward and watch as opposed to *accu kāvali*. The term *veli kāvali* means external watch. We have probably to understand by this the watch instituted at the main entrance or exit of the village. It was probably the duty of this *kāvaligar* entrusted with this watch, to note carefully the arrivals and departures of strangers and bad characters at and from the village respectively. It is also probable that he had to keep watch over the crops belonging to a village, without their being devastated by wild beasts. As the Koṭa *kaifiyat* informs us that king Anavēma appointed one, Aḍapā Siṅgama Nāyaka, to this service of *veli kāvali* over some *sīmas*, as in the case of *accu kāvali*, it appears certain that the right of appointment of bailiffs whether bound or otherwise for a number of *sīmas* vested in the hands of the king himself, though the working out of details regarding police administration was entirely left in the hands of the chief bailiffs. It seems also probable that the number of *sīmas* entrusted to each bailiff was, by the very nature of the work, not uniform. In the *veli kāvali* system of policing *bārikāpu* seems to have been the policeman on the lowest rung, connected with a village.

The mountain passes, where there was every possibility for thieves and highway robbers to hide themselves and attack the merchants and passers-by, were specially guarded by policemen.

Punishments:

Criminal cases were tried and punishments were awarded in accordance with the laws of the penal code. High treason was punished with death. The traitor who was awarded this punishment was made to put on red clothes[21] and was taken by policemen to the *vadhya-śila* (the stone of execution) to be beheaded there. It was customary to show to the brāhman some amount of lenience as regards punishment. Punishments in criminal cases were no doubt very severe. They varied according to the nature of the offence committed or of the crime perpetrated. The fundamental principle in awarding such severe and cruel punishments appears to be to make them exemplary to strike terror in the minds of the people, in order to discourage and dissuade them from committing such crimes any more. If the tortures referred to in the Telugu works of this age are taken to be real and not exaggerated, then it may be said that there were various kinds of inhuman and horrible punishments awarded to the criminal, like the amputation of his hands and feet, placing him in stone mills and crushing him to death by working them, flaying him alive and so on.[22]

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21. " అనుచు వధ్యచిహ్నమైన రక్తాంశుక
ముడిగి మ్రొక్కినంత ...." — Sm. Dv., I, V. 211.
" యత్తవారిచ్చిన యరుణాంశుకంబులు
వధ్యచిహ్నములకు వలను గాఁగఁ
బులకించి చని వధ్యశిలఁద్రొక్కి ...." — Ibid, V, 216.

22. " అనుడు నారాయణాయని వీనిఁ బట్టి త
త్తొలిపింపఁదగునని పలుకువారుఁ
గాళ్లుచేతులు గనియలుగాఁబట్టి
చిదిమింప దగునని పదరువారుఁ
గాయంబు నుగ్గుగాఁ గలుగాముగలఁ బెట్టి
త్రిప్పంట తగునని తెలుపువారు
మేన కొంటులు చుట్టి పై నగ్గి తగిలించి
మిడికింపఁదగునని నొడువు వారు." — Ibid, III, v. 60.

" అప్పుడు గొంద తీయ న్యాయ శిలనిఁ
బట్టి కొట్టింపఁ బాడియండ్రు
కొంద తీతని సందు సందులు చక్కగా
బాడిద నలికింపఁ బాడియండ్రు
కొంద తీతని కండ లందందఁ దిగఁ జెక్కి
భక్షింపుమని పెట్టఁ బాడి యండ్రు
కొంద తీతనిఁ దల క్రిందుగాఁ గట్టించి
పైచర్మ మొలిపింపఁ బాడియండ్రు
కొంద తీతనిఁ బచ్చిగుండి మూల మోదించఁ
బాడియండ్రు ...." —Bh. Rj., V, v. 316.

However, no positive evidence can be adduced to prove that all these varieties were in use, though they were not unknown to this age. Almost all these punishments were awarded to criminals in the territories under Muslim rule. Instances may be quoted from the Muslim chronicles themselves. Sultān Fīrūz Shāh of Delhi writes thus in his *Futūhat-i-Firūz Shāhi*: "In the reigns of former kings the blood of many Mussalmans has been shed, and many varieties of torture employed. Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses, tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing man asunder, these and many similar tortures were practised ... All these things were practised that fear and dread might fall on the hearts of men, and that the regulations of government might be duly maintained."[23] Viewed in the light of this passage it seems probable that some of the above mentioned punishments were practised by the Hindu kings of this age in the Reḍḍi kingdom also. The Reḍḍi kings were not above the spirit of the age in which they lived.

Punishments awarded in civil cases seem to have been not so cruel and inhuman, though severe, as in the criminal cases. Default to liquidate a debt was punished very severely. A verse[24] in the *Rukmāngadacaritram* enumerates the various punishments inflicted on a

23. E.D., III, p. 375.

The Telugu works of this period do not refer to the punishment of executing criminals by elephants. Abdur Razzāk, the Persian ambassador who visited the court of Vijayanagar during this period however refers to them. He writes: "Sometimes they order the criminals to be cast down before the feet of an elephant, that they may be killed by its knees, trunks and tusks (E.D. IV, p. 111). Ibn Batūta gives a detailed description of how the elephants execute the criminals. "The elephants which execute men," he writes, "have their tusks covered with sharp irons, resembling the coulter of the plough which turns up the ground, and with edges like those of knives. The driver mounts the elephant, and, when a person is thrown in front, the animal winds his trunk round him, hurls him into the air, and, catching him on one of his tusks, dashes him to the ground, when he places one of his feet on the breast of the victim. After this he does as he is directed by his rider under the orders of the Sultān. If the Sultān desires the culprit to be cut in pieces, the elephant executes the command by means of the irons above described; if the Sultān desires the victim to be left alone, the elephant leaves him on the ground, and (the body) is then stripped of its skin" – E.D., III, Appenpix, p. 618.

24. "కట్టిరి కొట్టిరి రీడ్చి రధికంబుగ లాఁగిరి గుండు ఱొమ్మునన్
బెట్టిరి చెంగఁ ద్రోఁచిరి తపింపఁగ నెండల నిల్పి రంటుఁ గాఁ
జొట్టిన పచ్చడంబు వడిఁ జూఁడఁగ దోఁచిరి పట్టుకారులన్
బట్టిరి పెట్టుపాసములఁ బాలుగఁ జేసిరి నిరశనంబునన్." – Rk. Cr., IV. v. 112.

person who was unable to pay the tax or to repay his debts. Even Śrīnātha, the court poet of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma Reḍḍi was subjected to much humiliation and severe punishments in his last days for his inability to pay to the royal treasury the stipulated tax of seven hundred *ṭaṅkas*. A *cāṭu* verse[25] full of pathos, which is said to have been composed by the poet himself, refers to the punishments he had undergone. These do not differ much from those that are enumerated in the verse in the *Rukmāṅgadacaritram*, referred to above. Śrīnātha says that he was made to stand in hot sun with the *pogaḍadaṇḍa* around his neck, that his feet were fettered, that bamboo fetters were applied to his fore-arms, and that a heavy ball of black granite stone, usually kept at the entrance of the gate of the royal palace was placed on his arms. Though the brāhman was exempt from capital punishment in those days, he was not allowed to go scot free for not paying taxes to the State, for not repaying debts and, for committing other civil offences.

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25. " కవిరాజు కంఠంబు కౌగిలించెనుగదా
పురవీధి నెదురెండ పొగడదండ
ఆంధ్రనైషధకర్త యంఘ్రియుగ్మంబునఁ
దగిలియుండెనుగదా నిగళయుగము
వీరభద్రారెడ్డి విద్వాంసు ముంజేత
వియ్యమందెనుగదా వెదురుగొడియ
సార్వభౌముని భుజాస్తంభ మెక్కెనుగదా
నగరివాకిటనుండు నల్లగుండు
కృష్ణవేణమ్మ గొనిపోయె నింతఫలము
బిల బిలాక్షులు తినిపోయెఁ దిలలు పెసలు
బొడ్డుపల్లెను గొడ్డేటి పోసపోయె
నెట్లు చెల్లింతుఁ దంకంబు లేడు నూర్లు.

CHAPTER XV.

MILITARY ORGANISATION AND WAR.

It was customary to describe the army as consisting of the traditional fourfold division of chariots, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers. In fact, chariots formed, in very ancient times, the chief division of the army. We find representations of chariots which were in use in the Andhra country in the early centuries of the Christian era, in the battle scenes sculptured on the Amrāvati marbles, now housed in the Government Museum, Madras. With the lapse of centuries, chariots as a division of the fighting force, went into disuse. During the period under review the king's army consisted of elephants, horses and foot-soldiers.

Elephants :

Elephants played a very important role in the warfare of the mediæval period. Though they were not the chief division of the army, they formed the most important section. Victory in battle in the middle ages greatly depended on them. Till the time of the Western Cālukya king Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara, that is, till the twelfth century A.D., the Kaliṅga forests are said to have been noted for fine elephants. King Sōmēsvara says in his *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* that the elephants obtained in the Kaliṅga country were the best.[1] We are told by Ferishta that prince Ulugh Khān, after the conquest of Warangal, proceeded in person towards Jājnagar, and that, on that occasion, he took forty elephants from the Rāja and sent them to his father.[2] But during the period under review Andhras imported elephants greatly from Ceylon.

A wooden seat, called *Cauḍōlu* in Telugu, with a canopy above, was provided on the back of the elephant for holding warriors with bows and arrows and other weapons. How this seat was decorated and the elephants accoutered for war, is known from the fine descriptions given in the *Palnāṭivīracaritra*[3]. The description given in this work

1. Abh. Ct., Vol. I, v. 1194, p. 186.
2. Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, pp. 405—06.
3. మావంతు లప్పుడు మదనమున నిలిచి
పగవారలకు నెల్ల భయములు చేయు
బహుతళ్కులైన భద్రగజంబు
లైనిబల్యమ్ములు పరగుచున్న

refers to the king's elephant. From this we may suppose that the elephants of other military chieftains also were similarly decorated, though not so elaborately. It is interesting to note from the description given in the work referred to above, that sharp weapons were fastened to the tusks of the elephant. This statement is corroborated by the foreign travellers, like Nikitin and Varthema, who visited South India at the end of the fifteenth century. Of these, Nikitin says "The elephants are clad in ornamental plates of steel. Large scythes (weighing three pounds) are attached to the trunks and tusks of the elephants, and the animals are clad in ornamental plates of steel. They carry a citadel, and in the citadel, twelve men in armour with guns and arrows.[4]"

తగటు పటంబులు దంటగాఁజేసి
కూర్చిన గంతలు కుదురుగా వెన్ను
పైఁ గప్పి ముఖఝూలు పరపులు జేసి
పదునారు వన్నియ బంగారుతోడ
రచియించి దానికి రత్నముల్ దాపి
తీర్చిన చాడోలు తెచ్చియుఁ గట్టి
మణిగణ తపనీయమయమైన యట్టి
చప్పరం బొక్కటి సమకూర్చి మీఁద
పద్మరాగ ప్రభాపటలిచే మించు
బంగారు శిఖరంబు బాగుగ నిల్పి
గంటలు మువ్వలు గట్టిగాఁ గట్టి
చుట్టు ముత్యపుఁజేర్లు శోభిల్లఁజేసి
మణిమయ మంజరి మధ్య వ్రేలాడఁ
జిఱుతగంటల పేర్లు చెలువైన కరికిఁ
గరమునందునఁ జేర్చి ఘంట సంధించి
పంచవర్ణంబులు ఫాలమం దుంచి
ముత్యాలజల్లులు మొనసిన పటము
కుంభస్థలంబునఁ గొమరొప్పఁ జేసి
శుభ్రదంతంబుల శోభిల్లనట్టి
తపనీయ వలయముల్ దట్టించి మొనల
ఘనశాతి శస్త్రముల్ ఘటన గావించి
బంగారు గొలుసులు పదములఁ గట్టి
గంటలు ప్రక్కల గణగణ మ్రోయఁ
తొండంబు గొలుసులతోడ రంజిల్ల
శృంగార మీరీతి శీఘ్రమె చేసి."—Pv. Cr., pp. 29-30.

4. Major, Nikitin, p. 12.

Varthema also gives a good description of an elephant ready for battle, and of an elephant fight. He, however, observes that the number of men carried on the back of an elephant was seven (including the elephant driver), and not twelve as stated by Nikitin. "When an elephant goes into battle", says Varthema, "he carries a saddle, in the same manner as they are borne by the mules of the kingdom of Naples, fastened underneath by two iron chains. On each side of the said saddle he carries a large and very strong wooden box, and in each box there go three men. On the neck of the elephant, between the boxes, they place a plank the size of half a span, and between the boxes and the plank a man sits astride who speaks to the elephant, for the said elephant possesses more intelligence than any other animal in the world; so that there are in all seven persons who go upon the said elephant; and they go armed with shirts of mail, and with bows and lances, swords and shields. And in like manner they arm the elephant with mail, especially the head and the trunk. They fasten to the trunk a sword two *braccia* long, as thick and as wide as the hand of a man. And in that way they fight But if at any time they are put to flight it is impossible to restrain them; for this race of people are great masters of the art of making fireworks, and these animals have a great dread of fire, and through this means they sometimes take to flight.[5]"

Abdur Razzāk informs us that the Vijayanagar king, Dēvarāya II had more than one thousand elephants.[6] Every time the Musunūri chief Kāpaya Nāyaka, the king of Warangal, concluded a treaty with the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga, we are told by the Muslim historians that he gave them elephants also in accordance with the peace terms. The kings of Kondavīdu also had an elephant force even though their actual number is not kown to us. In fact, king Anavēma Reddi's title *paricitānēka-gativiśēṣa-vāraṇa-māraṇ=ōpāya*, mentioned in his Śrīśailam record,[7] suggests that the success he attained in his victorious eastern campaign was due to his mastery in the science of elephantology. Nicolo de Conti says, "This animal (elephant) is so intelligent that when he is in battle he frequently receives the javelins of the enemy on the sole of his foot, in order that those whom he carries on his back, may not be injured."[8] These extracts from the accounts of foreign travellers are given in order to enable the readers to understand the full importance of the elephant force in those times.

5. Varthema's travels, pp. 126-127.

6. E.D., Vol IV., p. 105.

7. Ep. coll., No. 20 of 1915.

8. Major., Conti, p. 12.

***Horses*:**

Cavalry[9] was the next important division of the army. Horses also were beautifully decorated and ornamented in diverse ways like elephants. Though many of the horses employed in warfare were mostly imported from Arabia, Persia and other countries in their neighbourhood, there were some of the indigenous breed also, especially reared in Sindh and Āraṭṭa countries on the west coast of India. Horse-breakers are called *rēvantulu* and cavaliers *rāhutlulu* in Telugu. Prince Doḍḍā Reḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram, son of Allāḍa Reḍḍi, was a cavalier of great repute. He is said to have performed a great feat by making his horse on gallop jump, at a stretch on one occasion, a distance of twenty four cubits in length,[10] in the neighbourhood of a certain town. Cavalry was the all important and preponderating division of the army of both the Emperors of Delhi and the Sultāns of the Bahmanī kingdom. They were reputed to have possessed more cavalry than their Hindu contemporaries. The Vilasa grant[11] of Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family states that the Sultān of Delhi possessed nine lakh horse (*navalakṣ-āśvasādhanam*). Consequently, the Muslim rulers were known as *Aśvapatis*, lords of the horse, and the Hindu kings of South India as *Narapatis*, lords of men (foot-soldiers).

***Infantry*:**

Infantry consisted of four divisions of warriors, namely (1) *Selogōla balamu*, (2) *Vilukāṇḍru*, (3) *Kaijīṭagāṇḍru* and (4) *Ekkaṭlu*.

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9. Duarte Barbosa gives a description of the cavaliers he had seen in Goa. "They ride on high pommelled saddles", writes Barbosa, "and make much use of zojares and fight tied to their saddles, with long light lances which have heads a cubit long, square, and very strong. They wear short coats padded with cotton... and many of them kilts of mail. Their horses are well caparisoned with steel head-pieces. They carry maces and battle-axes and two swords (each with its dagger), two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle, with very long arrows, so that every man carries arms enough for two" (Barbosa, Vol. I, p. 180). Since the manners and customs of the people and the culture of South India was essentially the same, it may not be wrong to say that the above description might be as well true of the cavaliers of the Andhra country also. The differences, if there were any, might have been very little.

10 "హరి దాఁటించెఁ బురోపకంఠమున వాహ్యాళిప్రదేశంబునం
దరుదై యల్లయరెడ్డి నందనుఁడు దొడ్డయ్యక్షమాధీశ్వరుం
డిరువై నాలుగుమూళ్ళు మీర నవఁగా లెక్కింపఁగా నేల య
ద్ధరణీనాథుని కీర్తి దాఁటెఁ గకుబద్ధండించి బ్రహ్మాండముల్." —Ka. Kh., I, V. 53

11. *Forgotten Chapter*., Appendix I.

Each of these regiments got its name either from the weapons it used in fighting, or from the way the services of the warriors were remunerated, or from its distinguishing feature and work in the army.

Selagōla in Telugu means a javelin or spear. *Selagōlabalamu* was the force of spearmen or javelineers. A short spear or a javelin was called *nējā, iṭe*, or *ballemu* in Telugu. Though the main form is the same there are sharp diffierences between them.

The section of *vilukāṛu* (or *vilukāṇḍru*) was the army of archers or bowmen. The bow was one of the most important weapons of warfare in Ancient India. Arrows were carried in a quiver, called *tūṇīra* in Sanskrit and *dona* and *ammula-podi* in Telugu. The Reḍḍi kings were expert archers. Prōlaya Reḍḍi, his son Vēma Reḍḍi and his son Anavēmā Reḍḍi were specially praised for their skill in archery. The use of bows and arrows did not become obsolete even by the beginning of the sixteenth century. Duarte Barbosa states, "They (the foot-soldiers) carry strong round shields covered with silk. Everyman carries two swords, a dagger, and a Turkish bow with very good arrows ; others carry steel maces. Many of them wear coats of mail and others jackets quilted with cotton.[12]...... ...." "Their bows are long like those of England." [13] The Russian traveller Nikitin observes, "The Hindus carry a shield in one hand, and a sword in the other. Some of the servants are armed with straight bows and arrows." [14] Bows and arrows were used in war-fare both by the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Expert archers had their names painted or incised on the shafts of the arrows they used in warfare in order to strike terror among their enemies. This is suggested by a verse [15] in the Telugu work, *Haravilāsam* written by Śrīnātha. This custom of shooting signed arrows was not a new innovation of the mediaeval period. It was in vogue from the earliest times till the time

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12. Barbosa, Vol. I, p. 119.

13. Ibid, p. 181.

14. Major., Nikitin, p. 12.

15. "చిత్రగతిఁ దోఁడ హేమాదిపుష్కరములు
చేసి మధుమాసశాఖంబు చిత్తజునకు
వలికులంబుల పేర నామాక్షరములు
వరుసనివ్రాసెఁ గుసుమింపఁ దానియందు."—Hr, VI., III, v. 57.

of the Mahārāṣṭra kings[16] of Tanjore, that is, till so late as the seventeenth century.

The third section in the infantry was made up of *kaijītagāṇḍru* (plural of *kaijītagāḍu*). Generally the term *kaijītam* means fee for manual labour. Warriors of this category drew their wages daily or weekly and were called *kaijītagāṇḍru*. A late work the *Āndhrabhāṣārṇavam*, a dictionary of pure Telugu words, written by Kōṭi Veṅkanārya, a court poet of the rājas of Pudukkōṭa, gives the meaning of *kaijītam* as a *śapathāyudhaniṣevi*,[17] one who takes a vow not to retreat from the field of battle. These *kaijītam* corps probably consisted of temporary recruits for the period of war such as the members of the Vīra Balañjya samaya, the praśasti of whose Telugu and Canarese records bears testimony to their military activity also. There is reason to believe that a large section of the members of the mercantile unions joined the army in times of need and fought with great bravery and skill. The Polonnaruva inscription of Vijayabāhu I of about the twelfth century refers to Vēlaikkāra forces, which "consisted of the three divisions of the *Mahātantra*, the *Valañjiyār*, and the *Nagarattār*."[18] The Valañjiyār and the Nagarattār seem to have been identical with the Vīra Balañjyas and the Nagaras mentioned in the epigraphical records found in the Telugu country. The Tamil records of the Cōḷa kings inform us that their armies consisted of a large section of the Vaḷaṅgai troops.[19] In the light of these foregoing facts it may be probably said that the *kaijītam* force of the army of the Andhra kings was mainly drawn from large sections of the Vīra Balañjya, and Nagara communities, and from the Vaḷaṅgai community. As the *kaijītam* forces were not regular troops, it is but proper that their wages were paid daily, or once in a week, either in kind or in cash.

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16. Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., (formerly Archaeological assistant, Government Museum Egmore, Madras) contributed a valuable ariticle on *'Signed arrows'* to *Prof. K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyyangar Commemmoration Volume* (pp. 155 ff). Therein he writes, "This custom of marking the arrows is a very ancient one and there are innumerable references to such arrows in Sanskrit literature." In the concluding para of his article he says, "Actual examples to corroborate literary evidence will be most welcome and are bound to be of great interest. There are two such arrows in the arms collection of the Madras Museum. They bear the name of one of the Tanjore rājas Sarabhōji and are thus very late."

17. "శపథాయుధ నిషేవి చనున గైజీతమం
చనగను . . . ." — II. p. 59, v. 185 (Kṣatriyavargam).

18. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 332.

19. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, Vol. II, part I, p. 225.

Another important division of the infantry was *ekkaṭlu*, the plural form of the term *ekkaṭi*, a contracted form of Ekkaṭīḍu.[20] *Ekkaṭi*, otherwise called *Onṭari*, was, as his name indicates, brought into the field of battle almost at the end of the fight, when it was a losing game, and was ordered to take part in hand to hand fight. *Ekkaṭi kayyamu*, the combat of singles, began only after every prospect of victory was lost. The *ekkaṭi* forces served probably as the reserve army, and each fighter in this division was probably a great wrestler and wielded also heavy weapons like maces and the like. There were *ekkaṭis* in every important town and village in the kingdom. The *ekkaṭis* of Velanṭūru (Vellaṭūru), Taṅgeḍa and Pōlēpalli are mentioned in the records[21] of the Reḍḍi period. From the way in which these *ekkaṭis* made gifts to local gods, we come to know that they were remunerated for their services by grants of land. All these sections of infantry are mentioned in the *Palnāṭivīracaritra*[22], produced in this period. In this work *ekkaṭlu* are referred to as *Onṭarlu* (*Selagōla prajalanu heccu vanṭarla; Vanṭari* is the corrupt form of *Onṭari*). *Ekkaṭi* and its synonym *Onṭari* seem to have been the vernacular equivalents of the Sanskrit word *Ēkāṅgavīra*, the hero who fights the combat singly. These *ekkaṭis* of the Reḍḍi period gradually formed into a separate military caste or community, and are now popularly called *Vanṭarlu*. These now form one of the three sections of the Telaga community of the fourth caste, the other two being the Telaga[23] (proper), and the Kāpu.

Weapons:

The traditional list of weapons of the Hindus consists of thirty two weapons. These include swords, sabres, daggers, maces, javelins, spears, battle-axes, discs and so on. Besides these there were artillery engines to discharge stones (*pāsāṇa yantrās* or catapults). Friar Jordanus observes thus : "Two things there be which cannot be withstood by arms; one is the bolt of heaven; the second is a stone from an artillery engine."[24] We come to know from Ferishta that the

20. "ఒంటరి రౌక్త్ర-టీఁ డొంటరీఁ డొంట్రటించు
నా కేళధటువకు. నాముమునను ..."—An. Bn., II, p. 59, v. 185.

21. Ep. Coll., Nos. 827 and 828 of 1937 and 867 880 of 1926.

22. Pv. Cr., p. 20, p. 28.

23. H. A. Stuart writes "Telagas are a Telugu caste of cultivators who were formerly soldiers in the armies of the Hindu sovereigns of Teliṅgānā."........"A *Vanṭari* was in olden days, a sepoy, and as such owned *inam* (rent free) lands. Even now he has a prejudice against ploughing *jirayiti* (ordinarily assessed) lands." (*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VII, pp. 13–14).

24. *Foreign notices*, p. 206.

Hindus of this period used guns also in warfare. He informs us that, in the battle of Ādōni, Sultān Muhammad Shāh's booty, according to Tohfut-oos-Salāteen, consisted of three hundred gun carriages and battering rams besides other things.[25] If the Hindus of Vijayanagar used guns, there is no reason to disbelieve that their contemporaries, the Hindus of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom, also used that weapon in their warfare. Every warrior was armed to the teeth and put on armour to protect his head and body. Each warrior was equipped with bow and arrows, sword and shield and other necessary weapons of offence and defence. The shield, called *arige*[26], *keḍemu* or *ḍāluvāṛu* in Telugu, was commonly made of hide, in different sizes and shapes. The comparison of the *arige-billa*[27], used in Telugu to denote a shield, with a tortoise indicates that it was circular in shape. Representations of rectangular shields also may be seen in some of the scenes sculptured on the Amarāvati slabs.

Recruitment:

From the brāhman to the śūdra members of all the four castes were recruited to the ranks of the army. Several regiments consisting of large sections of people of trading communities were also formed in times of necessity.

There were special officers to enlist recruits to the army. These were called *kālarulu*[28] in Telugu. These officers were busy collecting the army when the king made up his mind to invade a country. The tests, the recruits into the army had to satisfy, are not known to us. However, in the matter of recruitment the procedure and the tests adopted in the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom might have been more or less akin

25. Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 312.

26. " . . . అశ్వంబులకున్
శరభటులును శరభటులకు
పరిగెలవారలును బన్నిగ గ్రేసరులై"—VK. Cr., IV, v. 85.

27. " అరిగబిల్లలు కమఠాకృతి మెఱయంగ
నడిదంబులును మీల ననుకరింప... " — Sm. Dv., I, i, v. 156.

28 " ఖండేందు ధరుని మీఁదను
దండెత్తఁగ వలయు ననుచుఁ దన బలములఁ బి
ల్వంపని కాలరి తమ్మిద
కండములఁ మరుడు పంపఁ దద్దయు వేడ్కన్ " — Vb. Vj., II, vv. 87-88.

"దండయాత్రా సముత్సుక సనాథుండై సాహసాంక మహీనాథుండు
" Vk. Cr. IV Pr. 40.

to those adopted in the Vijayanagar kingdom. Barbosa describes how the recruits were collected there (South India). He writes thus, "The officials of war in choosing a man for the army strip him naked and look at him to find out how tall he is, what is his name, in what land he was born, the names of his father and mother, and in this way he is appointed without leave being given to him to go to his country, and if he goes without leave and afterwards is captured, he is very evilly treated"[29]

The March:

After assembling the forces, war drums were sounded. After consulting the *jyōtiṣkas* and *śākunikas* and after worshipping his tutelary diety and the local gods, the king marched out of the city with his troops on an auspicious day and at an auspicious moment. Generally, the period in the year most suitable for leading an expedition was the *Śaradṛtu* or the autumn season. Different kinds of musical instruments, like *kāhaḷa* (clarion), *būra* (trumpet), *ḍamāyi* (kettle drum), *kanakatappeṭalu* (another variety of drum), *śaṅkha* (conch), gongs and so on, were at play during the march of the army and the battle. *Vēgarulu*[30] or spies were sent before-hand to trace the movements of the enemy and *dāḍikāṇḍru*[31] or scouts were sent in advance of the army to clear the way and lay out the roads and look to other arrangements.

The equipage followed the army in march. Tents and tent materials, different kinds of cots woven with broad tape, thick and broad seats made of board, spitoons, different kinds of chests laden with treasure, umbrellas, boxes containing musk, sandal, camphor and other things, were carried on bullock carts, camels and other beasts of burden. Pairs of palanquins, horses kept ready with bridles, servants carrying cages containing birds, shop-keepers with their travelling shops of food-grains and other necessaries of life, and yoke-men carrying in their yokes boxes filled with treasure, all accompanied the

29. Barbosa, I, p. 212.

30. "ఘనముగా వేగులవారి వింటి".—Pv. Cr.,

31. "ఇది చనుదెంచెఁ జైత్రుఁ డని యుల్లసనంబులకుం బ్రమోదముల్
పొదలఁగ వేడికాండ్రుఁ గొని వోరన వచ్చిన దాడికాండ్రు దెసఁ..."

—Nr. Pr., II, v. 60.

Though there is a slight and subtle difference between the two terms, *vegari* and *daḍikaḍu*, they were both generally applied to scouts as well as spies in Telugu literature.

army[32] Certain classes of minstrels also attached to distinguished nobles and warriors accompanied the latter, singing their glories (*biridu padyas* and *gadyas*). If the Muslim historian, Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad, is to be trusted, nautch girls also accompanied Hindu kings to the field of battle[33]. Soon after crossing the frontier the invading troops devastated the enemy's kingdom. They pillaged "all the cattle and pastures of the enemy[34]" and burnt the outlying towns and villages. The king by regular marches reached the important outlying town of the enemy and invested the fort.

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32. "గొల్లెనల్ పొందలైన గురుతరభార
నిచయంబు తెల్లను నించిన బండ్లు
శస్త్రాస్త్ర చయమయ శకట సంఘంబు
సకలవస్తువులచే సాంద్రమైనట్టి
నానావిధంబుల నాణెంబు లుండు
కుందనంబులు గట్ట మగలక పోయు
కేడెంబుల నిచ్చి వీర సేవకుల
జీతపు రొక్కముల్ చేతిలోవేసి ..."—Pv. Or., p.
ఘనమైన కూలాలు గట్టిన యట్టి
శకటసమూహంబు సాగించి పిదప
బలు గుడారంబులు బరువులు మోయ
ఎద్దుల నొంటెల హెచ్చైన యట్టి
వేసడంబుల నెల్ల వేగంబ పూన్చి ...— Ibid, p. 29.
గొల్లెనల్ గట్టిన గొప్పలౌ బండ్లు
బల్లాని పెట్టెలు పట్టెమంచములు
తరుచైన పీటలు తమ్మపడిగెలును
వింతకుందనములు వెలయ గొడ్గులును
కాశ్మీర కస్తూరి గంధ కర్పూర
మూదిగా వాసన అమరు పెట్టెలును
బొక్కసంబుల బల్వ బోనకావళ్లు
జవ్వాజిపిట్టలు శారికాకీర
పంజరములు పట్టు పరిచారకులును
పడివాగెతేజీలు పాలకీజోళ్లు
అష్టభాగ్యంబుల యంగళ్లవారు
సందడిపడ దండు చయ్యన గదలె"—Ibid, p. 4.

33. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Pt. III, p. 16.

34. J. S. King's *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, p. 17.

Forts:

Forts were of four kinds in accordance with the position in which they were situated, namely, *sthaladurgas*, *jaladurgas*, *vanadurgas*, and *giridurgas*. *Sthaladurga* was an ordinary fort built on a plain and protected by a big moat around it and by a number of high enclosing walls,[85] for example, Rajamahēndravara and Niravadyapura (Niḍadavōl) were *sthaladurgas*. The remaining three were regarded as natural forts; for, it was considered difficult to reduce the forts situated in forests (*vanadurgas*), among the mountains (*giridurgas*) and those surrounded and protected by vast expanse of water around (*jaladurgas*), because of their location. Kāṭama Reḍḍi II, father of Vēmā Reḍḍi, the prime minister of king Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, was an expert in reducing *jaladurgas*, and consequently he got the title *jaladurga-malla*. King Anavēmā Reḍḍi is extolled in his Śrīśailam record as a veritable Balarāma in breaking the *sthaladurgas* (*sthaladurga-vidaḷana-Balarāma*), and a Raghurāma in subduing *jaladurgas* (*jaladurga-sādhana-Raghurāma*). Koṇḍavīḍu, Koṇḍapalli, Bellaṁkoṇḍa and Nāgārjunkoṇḍa were some of the great mountain forts in the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom.

Every fort was furnished with drinking water resources, enough of grain and other necessaries of life including salt; to with-stand a prolonged siege, and was protected by strong garrison.

Battle began at sunrise with the beating of war-drums and lasted till sunset. After sunset drums were beaten and armies returned to their respective camps[86].

Military Officers:

Before the investment of the fort, the army was formed into *vyūhas* or columns, and placed under the command of different officers. The rank of the generals varied in accordance with the number of troops under their command. The terms denoting generals in the Telugu works of this period are *paḍināyaka*, *paḍālu*, *paḍavālu*, *daḷavāyi*, and *daṇḍanāyaka*. The *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* mentions *paḍināyakas biruda-rāhuttas*[87] (distinguished cavaliers), and *leṅkas* (servants).

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85. " దుర్గంబు రాజ్యంబునకు చిర కాలనిర్వాహకం బదియు భూస్థలంబున నిర్మింపంబడిన ప్రాకారంబు స్థలదుర్గంబు జల వన పర్వతంబులు స్వభావదుర్గంబులయ్యును ప్రాకారంబు లేకయున్నఁ బరులకు గోచరంబులగు నీ చతుర్విధదుర్గంబులందును..."—

Sk. Sm., I, Pr. 8; Kr. Rm., v. 11 Vide, Description of the fort of Warangal.

86. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, pt. III, p. 85.

87. V. 19.

The term *paḍi* in *paḍināyaka* seems to be a variant of *paḍuva*, and equivalent to the Sanskrit term *paṭṭi*[38]. *Paṭṭi*, according to the Sanskrit work *Nītiprakāśikā*, an extract from a larger work devoted to the *Nīti Śāstra* ascribed to Vaiśampāyana, was the smallest unit of the army consisting of a chariot, an elephant, three horses and five foot-soldiers. According to the same work, a chariot had a retinue of ten elephants, one hundred horse, and one thousand infantry ; an elephant of one hundred horse, and one thousand infantry; and a horse of one thousand foot-soldiers, and each foot-soldier had ten followers.[39] We have no means to verify if this description of this *paṭṭi* held good in the period under review also. We, however, take *paḍi* as the smallest unit of the army, whatever might have been its volume. *Paḍināyaka* is styled *paḍirāya* in inscriptions at Simhāchalam, for instance, Śrī Rāma paḍirāyaḍu, Vijayadēva paḍirāyaḍu, and Kūnaṇḍi paḍirāyaḍu. The terms *paḍināyaka*, *paḍirāya*, *paḍālu* and *paḍavāḷu*, all seem to be synonymous. The term Baṇṭla paḍālu, an officer (commander) of a small regiment of foot-soldiers, finds mention in an inscription at Taṅgeḍa.[40] *Paḍavālu* and *daḷavāyi* do not seem to be synonymous, though they are taken to be such at the present day. *Daḷa* means a part or fragment. Hence, it seems reasonable to think that a *daḷa* was a detachment of the army consisting of a certain number of units, each unit being, as stated already, a *paṭṭi* or *paḍi*. *Daḷavāyi* therefore seems to have been an officer of a higher rank than *paḍināyaka*, *paḍavālu* or *paḍālu*, and a subordinate official to *daṇḍanāyaka*, otherwise called *daṇṇāyaka*, a commander-in-chief

Honours :

Kings granted badges of honour to those who distinguished themselves by performing great and valorous deeds. Each military honour consisted of a title, a badge of honour, a flag and other insignia. Flags of honour of such distinguished heroes were called *birdu paḍagalu* or *birudu-ṭekkemulu*. Each of the distinguished heroes was granted the privilege to have their *birudāṅkas* (titles of honour) sung by minstrels (*bhaṭṭuvāru*) in their services on all auspicious, public and state occasions. Special anklets of heroes of honour to be worn on the left leg (*ḍākāli-gaṇḍapeṇḍāramu*) were highly valued. There were umbrellas of honour (*birudu-goḍugulu*) also which were different from ordinary umbrellas. Each honour carried with it some

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38. The term *paḍuva* in the sense of army is mentioned in the Addaṅki stone inscription of Paṇḍaraṅga, general of the Eastern Cāḷukya king, Vijayaditya III (Vide *Bhārati* Vol. V, pt. i, p. 484).

39. Gustav Oppert, *On the weapons, army organisation, and polotical maxims of the Hindus*, pp. 4-5.

40. Ep. Coll., No. 867 of 1920.

distinguishing mark or privilege. Each honoured hero had to lay down his badges of honour, when he was defeated[41]; and it was the custom in ancient times for the victor to assume the titles and badges of honour of the vanquished. Besides these titles of honour, kings used to grant a village or some land to the warriors who distinguished themselves in war. This military grant also was known as *jīvitamu*[42] (military *jāgīr*).

Declaration of Armistice and Conclusion of Peace :

Armistice was declared by blowing a trumpet (*dāra*) called *dharmadāra*[43] in Telugu. Terms of peace were settled and written by an officer called *sandhi-vigrahin*[44], minister for peace and war, one of the

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41. " వాడె సింగయమాదఁడు వచ్చె నేఁగ
బాలు తెండని రవుతులఁ జీరఁబొంచె
ధీతి నన్నపోతారెడ్డి బిరుదులన్ని
వీటిఁ బోనంగ దన్నాలకోటబయుల " — Vv. Vm., v. 80.

జల్లి పల్లికడ రాజులఁ జంపి రణము గుడిపించి చలమర్తిగండబిరుదును, సోమకుల పరశురామ బిరుదును, సంతెంబరగండ బిరుదును, ధరణీవరాహ, చౌహత్తమల్లబిరుదులను వహించి, ధీమవరముకడఁ గావాటిని జంపి ఖడ్గనారాయణ, గాయగోవాళ, హిందూరాయసురత్రాణబిరుదులను వహించి ...... " V. Vm., pr. 86.

Any number of instances can be cited from the *Velugōṭiwāri Vaṁśavaḷi* to prove the statement made above. In this way these titles of honour used to migrate from place to place and from kingdom to kingdom.

42. " జీవితములకు ముసుజేసిన
జీవితములు చెలువ .... —Bh. Rj., III, v. 189.
" ముఱ్ఱ ! జీవితమంది రాచపనిచేయక పాలివపంద ......" —Ibid, VI, v. 15.

Later on, the term *jīvitamu* came to mean that which served as a means of one's livelihood. *Jītamu*, the Telugu term now in usage, is the corrupt but colloquial form of *jīvitamu*.

43. ....రాత్రిపో । లంచిద్రపథాతి కాలము పరిస్ఫుటమైనను 'ధర్మదార' వట్టించుచు సుస్ఫురాఁ దడ .... " — Kr. Rm.,

Vide, Introduction also, p. 115 (by Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu).

44. " అవనీపతి నిల్పిందగుఁ
బ్రవిమల మతిచతురు నిఖిలభూపాలకులన్
సవినయ శ్రీధుని శేఖను
వివిధవిధ ప్రౌఢు సంధివిగ్రహపదవిన్ " — Sk. Sm., II, V. 287, p. 88.

important State officials of the Hindu court. It was a general custom observed during the mediaeval period to present the victorious king girls also, besides jewels, elephants and horses.

Peculiar Customs and Rites:

Bomma peṭṭuṭa: Victors in battle took particular delight to disgrace, insult or deride their vanquished foes, particularly during this period. This inordinate desire of the victors to do so was responsible for a peculiar custom, namely, *bomma peṭṭuṭa* in Telugu. According to this custom the victor got an effigy of the vanquished prepared, and set it either on his spittoon or on his ornamental anklet of heroes[45] (*gaṇḍapeṇḍāramu*). The number of images either on the spitting-pot or on the *peṇḍāramu* increased in proportion to the number of heroes vanquished. This setting or fixing of an image (*bomma peṭṭuṭa*), came in course of time, to mean figuratively to destroy, or to disgrace. In this sense many poets of this age used this phrase frequently in their

45. While reviewing the wars between the Velama kings of Rācakoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa and the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya writes, "Māca was killed and his head was carried away as a trophy to Dēvarakoṇḍa by Vēdagiri, and was used by him as a spittoon to show his contempt for his departed enemy." (Vv, Vm., Introduction, p. 27). On another page he again writes, "Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma carried away his head to Koṇḍavīḍu, where, emulating Vēdagiri's example he had it fashioned into a spittoon." (Ibid, p. 28). In the above cases it is not correct to state that the head was carried as a trophy and fashioned into a spittoon. The following lines are the authority for the above statements.

"ఆకొమార వేదగిరి చేడే యనవేమారెడ్డి తమ్ముని మాచారెడ్డినిఁ గొట్టి తమ్మ్రపడి గానఁ బొదిగించిన, నాయనవేమారెడ్డి పినవేదగిరి వేనిఁ జంపి తమ్మ్రపడి గానఁ బొదిగించి ......" — Vv. Vm., p. 39.

The term తమ్మ్రపడి గానఁ బొదిగించుట means to get a figure or image in metal set on the spittoon. That only a metal image of the vanquished is set either on the spittoon or on the anklet (*andiya*) of the heroes is clear from the following verse from the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvali*, which describes the process of preparing the image concerned.

"ఎత్తి పుటంబుఁ బెట్టి కుదియించి కళంకము దీర్చి కాకహైం
నొత్తి ఘటించి లోహాకతి నొండొకరీతికిఁ దెచ్చి వన్నెగా
వత్తి నీరదాంబుజమునందియుఁ బెట్టిన రాజు అంధయుఁ
బొత్తముగట్టి పీ మలఁగుపోములు వేలురు రావు మాధవా!" —v. 87. Also refer to verse 108, p. 40.

kāvyas.[46] Inscriptions of this period also bear testimony to the prevalence of this custom during the period under review. An inscription of Arjunadēva of the Matsya line of Oḍḍādi at Siṁhachalam (Vizagapatam district), dated Śaka 1279, extols him as one whose feet shone with the glittering ornament containing the images of twelve kings[47]; (*dvādaśa-bhūpa-rūpakhacita-prōdbhāsi-bhūṣāñcita-śrīpādah*)"; this means that king Arjunadēva defeated twelve kings whose effigies were set on the foot-ornament (the anklet of heroes, *gaṇḍapeṇḍāram*). The victors took pleasure in getting figures of their vanquished enemies prepared and arranged according to their whims and fancies in order to satisfy their vanity and pride. Some got them prepared with outstretched hands and fixed them on their spittoons, so as to make them appear as if begging for the quid of their chewed betel[48]; and some with hands raised and folded as if making salutation.

Raṇamu kuḍupu: One other curious, but ghastly, rite that was in vogue during the period under review was *raṇamu kuḍupu*. This rite consists in offering rice cooked with the blood and bones of the enemy kings[49] to the *bhūtas*, spirits or goblins to satisfy them. We come to know about this rite exclusively from the Telugu work, *Velugōṭi-vāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*[50] Each and every member of the Rēcerla line is said to

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46. "... గండరచర్మమున్ దాఁటిగ్రక్కున లేమిక బొమ్మగట్టఁడే."
—Vk. Or., I, v, 78.

"పుర్వ్యమాపులకును బొమ్మవెట్టు ..." — Ibid, VII, v. 44.

"పేదర్మికిని బొమ్మవెట్టువారు ..." — Ibid, v. 124.

47. "अस्तिद्वादश। भूपरूपखचितप्रोद्भासिभूषाञ्चित
श्रीपादो भुविनिर्जिताखिलरिपु [:*] श्रीमत्स्यवंशोद्भवः
श्रीमानर्ज्जुनभूपतिर्ग्गुणनिधि स्तस्याधिकप्रेयसी··· "॥

48. "తమ్మ తమకంటె ప్రియమౌ
తమ్ముకు చెయిఁ జాచి రిపులు తలక్రిందై నీ
తమ్ముపడిగాన నుందురు
బొమ్మలక్రియ రావు దాచధూతరసింగా !" — Vv. Vm., p. 16, v. 58.

The term '*bommala kriya*' clearly shows that those were figures of enemy kings set on the spittoon. Also, refer to verses 112 and 118, page 41.

49. Vv. Or., v, 62.

50. Ibid, V. 88; "కుంట్లూరిమ్మడింటి బాటి ధూ । తల్గా సంధిడె గొల్లపల్లి బయలన్ ..."
—v, 87; pr. 49; v. 58; v. 54; pr. 59, 60 etc,

have revelled in performing this rite after winning the war or crushing the enemy. Consequently, there are many verses and passages in the above-mentioned work which either refer to or describe this rite of *raṇamu kuḍupu.* From these we come to know that the heads themselves of the enemies, slain on the battle, field, were placed as stumps to form the fire-place or hearth, that the blood of the captive kings was extracted by throwing them into stone mills and working them, and that food was cooked with blood as *esaru* (boiled water for cooking food) in the skulls of fallen enemies[51]. The authors of *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśacaritra* describe *raṇamu kuḍupu* in their work[52] as an Āgamic rite of making, on the field of battle (at the place where the enemies were slain), in the middle of night singly, stark-naked, besmearing body with ashes and unfastening the lock of hair on the crown of the head, an oblation of food mixed with the blood of enemies, placing it in their skulls, to Ḍākinī and other *bhūtas*, chanting *mantras* relating to *bhūta-bali.* The *bhūtas* and deities that were invoked at the time of making this oblation are Digambarī, Kāḷī, Mahākāḷi, Śākinī, Ḍākinī, Bāyilā, Kāyinī, Vīra Bētāla, Bhairava, Vīrabhadra, Raṇa Pōturāja, and other *kalahādhidēvatas.*[53] After first worshipping these the oblation of food was made.

51. Ibid, v. 64.

52. Page 26, foot-note 2 with a star.

53. Vv. Cr., pp. 19–20.

HISTORY OF THE REḌḌI KINGDOMS.

PART II: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL.

INTRODUCTION

In the succeeding chapters an attempt is made to describe some aspects of the social and religious life of the people in the Reḍḍi period. The account may not be full, as it is pieced together from various sources, from travellers' accounts, Telugu poems, and inscriptions of this period. The accounts of travellers are very meagre though not untrustworthy. They had little scope to come into contact with people, especially of the upper classes, unless they happened to be ambassadors or government officials. Their accounts, however, furnish good information, either first-hand or corroborative, regarding some aspects of social life, and are therefore valuable. The Telugu poems also, when properly studied, provide much useful information. It is, however, true that the heroes of the poems around whom the stories revolve, are either mythical or imaginary, and as such, they do not have any direct bearing on contemporary life. Moreover, by about this time the Telugu *kāvya* became highly conventionalised. In spite of these limitations we are able to glean something of contemporary life reflected through some of the words, similies, and other figures of speech, used by the Telugu poets of this age. Terms like *pōḍu* and *maḍḍu*, or usages like *maḍḍu paṭṭuṭa*, are pregnant with meaning and connote a whole system or a live institution then in vogue. The similies and other figures of speech were drawn from the life around the authors, and the description of heroes, whether imaginary or mythical, and their activities, were based on contemporary life. We have therefore to probe deep into these descriptions and bring out the full meaning of the terms used, and get glimpses of the life of the day. The dress and ornaments worn by the characters in the poems, their games and amusements, their customs and manners, their moral precepts and their various impious deeds and practices were all primarily drawn from contemporary life, and as such, the Telugu poems, when studied with caution and discrimination, supplement the travellers' accounts regarding many aspects of life. Inscriptions, by direct statement and indirect reference, also throw some light on the social life of the period.

In addition to the general inadequacy of material, there is yet another difficulty, that of properly interpreting the age we deal with. As we are living today far removed from that period, and under conditions almost totally different from those prevailing then, and in a civilisation greatly influenced by western ideas and institutions, a proper and sympathetic understanding of the age appears quite difficult.

The succeeding pages may not give a complete picture of the life of the period in all its aspects. Yet, they may indicate, the broad outlines of the social life of a bygone age, rich in colour and variety.

CHAPTER I

SOCIETY

Society is always a complex problem and more complex is the pattern of Hindu society. It is not easy to give a clear and detailed picture of Hindu Society as it evolved through centuries of its development, with its many exogamous and endogamous divisions, nor is it very necessary for our present purpose. A brief account of the principal castes constituting it, as they obtained in the middle ages, chiefly in the period of the Reḍḍi sovereignty, will be given below.

The pattern of Hindu society, as revealed by a study of immemorial tradition, continued to give the State the usual pyramidical structure with śūdras and the caṇḍālas at the bottom and the vaiśyas, kṣatriyas and brāhmans forming the super layers. It is needless to discuss the mythical or professional basis of these divisions; but by the time of the Reḍḍis, the Muslim invasions and the economic conditions prevailing then in the country had greatly affected the castes, the brāhman accepting military employment and clerical service in the State and taking even to agriculture, the kṣatriya becoming a practical farmer, and the śūdra following trade as a profession and even rising to be a king. The Reḍḍi kingdom was the result of a spirit of revivalism among the Hindus, and during that rule, naturally, we find the various castes sliding back into their usual avocations, though not strictly adhering to them; for, the changes wrought by the Muslim rule did not fail to bear lasting effects.

Brāhmans :

Brāhmans, the custodians of religious and sacred knowledge, were considered to be the highest in rank of all the sections of the Hindu society. They were held in respect by members of the other three castes or *varṇas*. The brāhman caste consisted of a great majority of *smārtas*, and of the followers of the Hindu religious schools like Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

A scrutiny of the list of *gōtras* of brāhman donees mentioned in the copper-plate records of this period, and of the number of the Vēdas, and the Sāstras in which they are said to have been proficient, establishes the fact that the kings of this age extended their patronage mostly to the *Yajurvēdins*, brāhmans well-versed in the *Yajur Vēda*,

and experts in the ritual connected with Vēdic sacrifices. This was in accordance with the spirit of the times. Prōlaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family claims that he had made pure the sacred places of the Andhra country which were desecrated by the Mussalmans, by setting again in motion the Vēdic sacrifice which was stopped during the Muslim rule.[1] Prōlaya Vēma, the founder of the Reḍḍi kingdom, assumed the interesting and revealing title of "*anavarata-purōhita-kṛita-sōmapānā*[2]", one who had the *Sōma* juice taken incessantly by purōhits in sacrifices. Grants of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu testify to the revived sacrificial activity after the re-establishment of Hindu independence. It had become the self-imposed duty of the early kings of this age to recover and re-grant the old *agrahāras*, to brāhmans, which had been formerly in their enjoyment, having been granted to them by kings of yore, but were lost to them during the Muslim occupation of the country. Vēdic sacrifices became the order of the day. It is, therefore, no wonder if many of the donees mentioned in the grants of this age were the followers of the *Yajur Vēda*, who were adepts in sacrificial lore and ritual. Among them we find the followers both of the *Kṛiṣṇa Yajur Vēda* and the *Śukla Yajur Vēda*, the two schools into which the *Yajur Vēda* is divided. The *Śukla Yajur Vēda*, otherwise known as the *Vājasanēya śākhā*, named as such after Vājasanēya, consists of fifteen śākhas, of which the Kāṇva and the Mādhyandina śākhas are the prominent ones. Brāhmans of the Vājasanēya school appear to have immigrated into the coastal Andhra country from the north in large numbers, in the early centuries of the Christian era, during the Pallava period. According to an undated stone inscription[3] at Upputūru (in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur district) Trilōcana Pallava[3a] alias Mukkanṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi, a Pallava king, whose name is preserved only in tradition and whose identity has not yet been finally established, granted Lavaṇapura or the modern Upputūru as an *agrahāra* to one thousand brāhmans, followers of Yājñavalkya, who are said to have come from the town of Ahicchatrapura on the banks of the Ganges. A copper-plate grant[4] of the time of the Kākatīya monarchs corroborates this statement. According to another stone inscription[5] king Kākati Gaṇapatidēva confirms an earlier grant of the village of Īḍupulapāḍu (in the Bapatla taluk, Guntur

1. *A Forgotten chapter*, Vide Appendix, No. I, p. 104, v. 37.
2. S. I. I., VI, No. 243.
3. Ep. Coll., No.779 of 1922.
3a. For the traditional account about Trilōcana Pallava, See Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's work "*Trilōcana Pallava and Karikāla Cōḍa*".
4. CP. No. 4 of 1916-17: Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, pp. 346 ff.
5. Ep. Coll., No.803 of 1922.

district) made by Trinayana Pallava to brāhmans of various gōtras who were learned in the Vēdas and were the followers of the Kātyāyana Sūtra and the Kāṇva śākha (*Śukla Yajurvedins*). Another inscription at Kōlavennu[6] (in the Bejavada taluk, Kistna district) records that a minister of Kākatī Gaṇapatidēva granted an *agrahāra* to several brāhmans of the Yājñavalkyakula.

From the study of the grants of the Reḍḍi period we come to know that brāhmans who followed the *Yajur Vēda*, whether it be of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajus* school or the *Śukla Yajus* school, formed the majority of the brāhman caste. The number of those who followed the *Rig Vēda* and the *Sāma Vēda* was comparatively less than that of the followers of the *Yajur Vēda*. We do not come across *Atharvavēdins* or followers of the *Atharva Vēda* in the inscriptions of this period. Some of the brāhman donees mentioned in grants were *dvivēdins*, experts in two *Vēdas*, either in the *Rig Vēda* and the *Yajur Vēda*, or in the *Yajur Vēda* and the *Sāma Vēda*.

Brāhmans were further subdivided into a number of clans (*gōtras*[7]) which are supposed to derive their origin from ancient Ṛiṣis. The *gōtras* represented in the grants of this period, numbering nearly thirty, are given below: This number is not exhaustive.

(1)	Ātrēya	(11)	Kāśyapa	(21)	Śalaṅkāyana
(2)	Bhāradvāja	(12)	Kauṇḍinya	(22)	Śaṇḍilya
(3)	Bhārgava	(13)	Kauśika	(23)	Śaunaka
(4)	Dēvarāta	(14)	Lōhita	(24)	Śrīvatsa
(5)	Gārgya	(15)	Maitrēya	(25)	Śuṅgabhāradvāja
(6)	Gautama	(16)	Maitrāvaruṇa	(26)	Vādhūla
(7)	Harita	(17)	Maunabhārgava	(27)	Vaśiṣṭha
(8)	Kāmakāyana	(18)	Parāśara	(28)	Viṣṇuvardana
(9)	Kāṇva	(19)	Purukutsa	(29)	Viśvāmitra
(10)	Kapi	(20)	Rathītara	(30)	Yāska.

The list given above merely indicates the *gōtras* of brāhman donees figuring in the copper-plate grants issued by kings of the

6. Ep., Coll. No. 580 of 1925.

7. "The word *gōtra* has a curious history. In Ṛig Vēdic times it meant an enclosure for cows. They were kept in them during the night to prevent depredation by wild animals and thieves. At day-break they were let loose for grazing in fields, *gōṣṭhas*. Naturally the cows belonging to one family used to be kept in one *gōtra* which thus came to mean a family. The *gōtrapati*, like *kulapati*, the head of the family, became the *gōtra Ṛiṣi*. The grazing ground *gōṣṭha* would, on the other hand, find room for cows of many families; hence the word came to mean a number of allied families, or of persons meeting together for a common purpose, a club."—Prof. J. C. Ray in The *Modern Review*, June, 1930.

coastal region of the Andhra country during this period. By its very nature it is limited, and does not contain the *gōtras* of brāhmaṇs who were not recipients of *vṛttis*. A perusal of the list of donees mentioned in grants shows that there were experts in the *Rig Vēda* and the *Yajur Vēda* among the brāhmans of the Bhāradvāja, Gautama, Kāṇva, Kāśyapa, Kauśika, Śrīvatsa, Vādhūla, and Vaśiṣṭha *gōtras*, and in the *Yajur Vēda* and the *Sāma Vēda* among the brāhmans of the Ātrēya, Kapi and Kauṇḍinya *gōtras*, and in the first three Vēdas, among the brāhmans of the Haritasa *gōtra*. We come to know also that the donees belonging to the Lōhita, Maunabhārgava, and Viṣṇuvardhana *gōtras* were adepts in the *Rig Vēda*, and those of the remaining *gōtras* in the *Yajur Vēda*. The primary classification of the brāhman society was in accordance with the Vēda each individual professed to follow, in the performance of his sacrifices and ritual. This accounts for the presence of the same *gōtrins* among brāhmans following different Vēdas. The number of brāhmans belonging to the Dēvarāta, Kāmakāyana, Maitrāvaruṇa, Maunabhārgava, Rathītara, Śuṅgabhāradvāja, Viṣṇuvardhana, Viśvāmitra and Yāska *gōtras* in the coastal Andhra country appears to have been very limited, as it is even at the present day; for, rarely do we come across names of these *gōtras* in the copper-plate records. On the other hand, brāhmans belonging to the Bhāradvāja, Hārita, Kāśyapa, Kauṇḍinya, Kauśika and Śrīvatsa *gōtras* appear to have been strong. Mention of these *gōtrins* in the grants of this period is very common.

There was yet another subdivision among brāhmans based on a territorial origin. This appears to have been in existence from a considerably early period. The age in which this subdivision came into vogue, cannot however be ascertained with precision, with the evidence at our disposal. The geographical divisions, which brought about this classification among brāhmans, are existent from about the fifth century. The Telugu country, from times immemorial, was divided into a number of divisions or districts known as *hāras* or *āhāras*, for example, Kudūrāhāra, Sātavāhanihāra and so on. Later on, the term *hāra* changed into *vāra*, as in Pāvunavāra and Gudravāra. At a still later date, the synonymous terms, *viṣaya* and *rāṣṭra* denoting a district, came into use and were suffixed to proper names; e.g., Vēṅgīviṣaya, Kammaviṣaya, Pakaviṣaya, Vēṅgīrāṣṭra, Pākarāṣṭra, Kammarāṣṭra and so on. *Nāḍu* or *dēśa* is the Telugu equivalent to *viṣaya* or *rāṣṭra*. Like *viṣaya* and *rāṣṭra* the term *nāḍu* also was added to the name of the district. There are cases where both the synonymous terms *nāḍu* and *viṣaya* were added on to the name of the division, as in Vēṅgināṇḍuviṣaya and Velanāṇḍuviṣaya. But these instances are rare. How, why and in what manner these *nāḍus* came into being is not known. Among such *nāḍ* or *viṣayas* of the

Telugu country Vēṅginādu, Velanāḍu, Kammanāḍu, Pākanāḍu and Mulikināḍu are important to our discussion. Kammanāḍu corresponds to the area covered by the Narasaraopeta, Ongole, and Bapatla taluks, and Mulikināḍu roughly to the taluks north of the Pennār in the Cuddapah district. The brāhmans of each *nāḍu* formed into a kula or a compact group of their own, which derived its name from the *nāḍu*, their original habitat. This kind of division among brāhmans has been in existence at least from the time of the Eastern cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī; for, an inscription of Ammarāja II Vijayāditya records the grant of an *agrahāra* to a Kammakulaja brāhman, that is, a brāhman born in the Kammakula, the Kammanāṭi brahman community, belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.[8] By the time of the establishment of the Reḍḍi power, we find these groups, formed after geographical divisions, well crystallised into communities in the brāhmin society. According to a Sanskrit *cāṭu* verse, which has been current in the Telugu country for several centuries, Prōlaya Vēma granted in all forty-four *agrahāras* to brāhmans, of which he gave three to the Vēgikulīnas (brāhmans belonging to the community of Vēgināḍu), thirty six to brāhmans of the Velanāṭikula or Velanāṭi community, and five to the Drāviḍa brāhmans[9]. This *cāṭu* s'lōka clearly proves that the brāhman society was already divided into communities based on geographical divisions, even by the beginning of the Reḍḍi period[10]. It appears that the brāhmans of Kammanāḍu (the Kammanāṭi brāhmans) merged in the brāhman community of Ṣaṭsahasradēs'a or Āruvēlanāḍu, and of Karṇāḍu or karṇināḍu.

Surnames or house-names of brāhmans in the grants of this period reveal another interesting feature of the brāhman caste to us. There is evidence to show that the Telugu people had surnames from almost the eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era[11]. The surnames of brāhmans do not however find mention in either the lithic or the copper-plate records before the fourteenth century. The copper-plate records of the early Reḍḍi period generally provide names of the *gōtras* of the *vṛtti* holders and the Vēda or Vēdas in which they

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8. *Sarada*, Vol. II (1928), p. 816.

आसीच्चिचपुरवास्तव्यो देवार्यो देवनन्दनः

भारद्वाजान्वयः कम्मकुलजः कुलवर्धनः॥

9. See, Pt, I. p. 87, f. n. 48.

10. Of such communities that of the Teligāṇyas is one. These Teligāṇya brāhmans derived their name from Teliṅgāṇem or Telinga (modern Telaṅganā). Teliṅga seems to have been originally one of the districts of the Andhra country, corresponding to the territory around Manthena on the Gōdavarī in the Hyderabad State, where their number is predominant.

were proficient, and do not give their surnames. It is only from the latter half of the Reḍḍi period that we come to know the surnames of the brāhman donees. A list of the surnames of the brāhman families with their *gōtras*, known from inscriptions of the period, is appended to this chapter. The list is not exhaustive.

A study of the surnames leads us to conclude that most of them were derived from villages; and that brāhmans who had a common surname do not necessarily belong to the same *gōtra*, but have different *gōtras*; for example, among the members of the Ākunūri family there are some who belong to the Kauśika *gōtra* and some to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Some of the members of the Jallipalli family belong to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* and some to the Vaśiṣṭhasa *gōtra*. We find Haritasa *gōtrins* and Bhāradvāja *gōtrins* also among the members of Pedapūṇḍi family. Some of the members of the Rājukoṇḍa family belong to the Yāska *gōtra*, and some to the Kaśyapa *gōtra*. Similarly, we find Bhāradvāja *gōtrins* and Śrīvatsasa *gōtrins* among the Rāmpallis, Kāśyapa *gōtrins* and Haritasa *gōtrins* among the Siṅgarōmis, and Bhāradvāja *gōtrins* and Kauṇḍinya *gōtrins* among the members of the Vallūri family. These examples are enough to show that house-names are not the sure tests to determine the *gōtras* of brāhmans, and that family names do not contribute to the division of the society into communities. Followers of certain religious sets and some Drāviḍa brāhmans also like the Kaṟṟas figure as donees in the grants of this period. The Drāviḍa brāhmans having the surname Kaṟṟā are found even today in the East Godavari district; and the Kandāḷas, a Vaiṣṇava family, is known from the inscriptions of Mummaḍi Nāyaka of Kōṟukoṇḍa. Dēvare Bhaṭṭa [12] of the Peñcēṭi family was a Śaiva learned in *Śivāgamas*.

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11. Inscriptions at Buḍamanarāyalapāḍu, a deserted village in the Podili taluk, Nellore district, bear testimony to this statement. These records are undated; yet, the palæography of these inscriptions, and the very archaic language employed therein unmistakably leads us to the conclusion that they belong to the eighth century. One of the inscriptions at that place mentions a certain Komarapōlu Koṇḍayya, the writer of the record. Here, Komarapōlu, a corrupt form of Komarāprōlu (modern Komaravōlu) is certainly the surname which was derived from the village bearing the same name.

12. Dēvare Bhaṭṭa was a *Śivarcaka*, a Śaiva priest. He was well-versed in the *Śaivāgamas*. The Brahmans of the Vaikhanasakula became priests in the Viṣṇu temples The donee of the Komaragirivaram grant of Kaṭaya Vēma, dated Śaka 1330, was a certain Aubhaḷārya, a member of the Vaikhanasac ommunity of the Vaiṣṇavas. Siṅgaya and Veṅgaḷa of the Vaikhānasa comunity were the priests of god Gōpinātha-dēva of Rajamahēndravaram, to whom king Kumaragiri had granted the village of Anaparti in the Śaka year 1312. The custom, among the Vaiṣṇavas, of appending the suffix *ācarya* to their names, as is done at the present day, does not appear to have been in vogue during the period under review.

Brāhmans of this period were generally learned in the Vēdic lore and Śāstras, and in the Purāṇas, and Itihāsas also. Some are said to have been proficient in two and even three Vēdas. They were experts in the *avadhānas* like *jaṭā*,[13] *dēśa*,[14] and *carcā*[15] relating to the Vēdas. Some were skilled in the *citrāvadhāna* in the *Yajur Vēda*, some in *krama*, some in *jaṭā* and so on. Some of these Vēdic scholars are stated to have been *śūrādhyētas*,[16] and some *śūrādhyāpokas*.[17] There were many reputed scholars who attained great proficiency in different branches of learning like Tarka, Śabda Śāstra or Vyākaraṇa, Ṣaḍdarśanas, Jyōtiṣa, Gaṇita, and the Āgamas. The qualifying phrases like *padavākyapramāṇajñaḥ*, *Śabdaśāsana-Pāṇiniḥ*, *culikıt-āpāra-gambhira-Gaṇit-ārṇavaḥ*, *Gaṇita-Brahmā*, *Śabda-Śāstra-Patañjaliḥ*, *tīrṇa Vyākaraṇāmbudhiḥ*, *Vaiyāsikamatapraudhaḥ*, *Jyotirdṛṣṭa-jagad-vidhaḥ*, *kḷpta-dvividha-Mīmāṁsaḥ*, *Gurutantraviṣāradaḥ*[18], which find mention in copper-plate records bear eloquent testimony to the high standard of their proficiency and scholarship in different Śāstras.

Agrahāra was the home of scholars devoted to learning and intellectual pursuits. A scholar who was a master in one or more Śāstras

13. "*Jaṭa* is one of the four peculiar methods of repeating the Vēdic text; the other methods are *pada*, *krama*, and *ghana*. *Padas* are the different words of a *mantra* repeated seperately. *Krama pāṭha* is the mode of "progressing step by step." In this method the words are taken in pairs, the first word is repeated along with the second, the second with the third, the third with the fourth, and so on. In *jaṭā pāṭha* each pair of words is repeated thrice. In this arrangement "the first word and the second, the second and the first, and the first, and the second again are repeated together, joined by the sandhi rules and having sandhi accents. In the same manner, the second and third, the third and the second, and the second and the third are put together, and thus it goes on, each word in successio beginning a new *Jaṭā* arrangement, upto the end of half-*Ṛik* or of a *mantra* when the last word is simply repeated, as in the *krama*." *Ghana pāṭha* is mo complicated and artificial one than the *jaṭā pāṭha*.

14. *Dēśa* means 'place'. It appears to refer to the skill in reciting the *mantras* whic include the given words.

15. *Carcā* is the repetition of a word in reciting the Vēda, especially while adding (Monier Williams). This occurs in the *krama*, *jaṭā*, and *ghana pāṭhas* of the Vē

16. *Śūradhyētas* are champion reciters of the Vēda.

17. *Śūradhyapakas* are champion-instructors; those who are capable of training e dullards in reciting the Vēda correctly.

18. The term *Mīmāṁsā* is used both for *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā* and *Uttara Mīmāṁ* *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā* is also known as *Tantra* or *Gurutantra* and *Bhāṭṭam*, a n derived from the great logician Kumārila Bhaṭṭa who expounded the *Pū* *Mīmāṁsā sūtras* of Jaimini. *Uttara Mīmāṁsā* is also known as *Vēdānta*. founder of this school is said to be *Vyāsa*, also called Bādarāyaṇa. Becaus Vyāsa, it also acquired the name of *Vaiyāsikamata*. The term *Tantra* is gene used to denote *Mīmāṁsā*.

or in any branch of Vēdic learning, was in the enjoyment of a whole *agrahāra* (*ekabhōgam*) or had some *vṛittis* in it. Such learned scholars attracted, from far and wide, students who specialised in one or more Śāstras of their choice and stayed for years in their teacher's home, their *gurukula*. They maintained themselves by *mādhukaravṛtti* in the *agrahāra*, and it was the pious duty of the brāhman residents therein to cater to the students ungrudgingly. The teachers spent their whole life-time in imparting knowledge to their pupils and spreading and maintaining the Vēdic culture and learning. Undisturbed by kings and their officers, teachers and students spent a peaceful life in the *agrahāras*, uncontaminated by the allurements of city life. *Agrahāras* were thus the veritable *vidyāpīṭhas* of old, great educational centres and repositories of ancient culture. Poet Śrīnātha describes, in his works *Kāśikhaṇḍam* and *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, the prosperous condition of brāhmans in the *agrahāras* on the banks of the Gautamī, while Vēma made his brother Vīrabhadra rule. It is stated of course in an exaggerated way, that brāhmans residing in *agrahāras* learnt to wear rings set with rubies on their fingers, which were used to the *darbha* (*kuśa*) grass before, to make caste-marks with musk on the *gaṅgamaṭṭi*, river-mud worn on the forehead, to put on pearl necklaces (*tārahāramulu* and *mutyālasarulu*) by the side of their sacred threads, and to stick, in the middle of their crests, red water-lilies delicious in odour, while gold and silver rolled in confusion in their homes.[19]

Generally brāhmans of all communities, the Vēgināṭis, the Velanāṭis, the Mulikināṭis and the like, all endeavoured to preserve and propagate Vēdic knowledge and culture. In addition to this, some brāhmans came forward to bear the burden of the State from very

19. ధరియింప నేర్చిరి దర్భ వెట్టెడు వ్రేళ్ళ
లీల మాణిక్యాంగుళీయకములు
గల్పింప నేర్చిరి గంగమట్టి మీఁదఁ
కస్తూరి పుండ్రకములు నొసల
సవరింప నేర్చిరి జన్నిదంబుల ప్రోలఁ
దారహారములు ముత్యాలసరులు
చెరువంగ నేర్చిరి శిఖల నెన్నడుమలఁ
గమ్మని క్రొత్త చెంగల్వ విరులు
ధామముల వెండి పైఁడియుఁ దడఁబడంగ
బ్రాహ్మణోత్తము లగ్రహారములయందు
వేమభూపాలు ననుజన్ము వీరభద్రు
ధాత్రి యేలఁగ గౌతమీతటము నందు.—Ks. Kh., I. v. 37.

early times. This additional task, voluntarily borne by them, brought a change in the brāhmaṇ community which manifested itself markedly during the Reḍḍi period.

Ṣaṭsahasradēśiyas:

It was during this period that the cleavage, between those who were employed in State service, and those who stuck to their duties as enjoined by the Śāstras, became more marked than before. In fact, some of the brahmans accepted employment in State service from very early times, and acted as accountants, generals and advisers. Nevertheless, they maintained their brāhmanical ritual while following a *kṣatriya* career. A study of the Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions makes this fact clear. Those who were appointed to a *niyōga*, commission, charge or office, were called *niyōgins*, officials or functionaries. The term *naiyōgikavallabha* finds mention in a grant[20] of the Eastern Cāḷukya king, Maṅgiyuvarāja of the early eighth century. In this way a *laukika* sect of brāhmans came into existence. Though there is evidence to show that there were such *laukikas* from the Eastern Cāḷukyan times or from a still earlier date, it cannot be said that they hardened into a separate community then. The lithic and copper-plate records of the Telugu country before the thirteenth century make this point clear. The terms *amātya*, *mantrin*, and *saciva* form the only evidence to prove the existence of this *laukika* community. These terms do not find mention in inscriptions prior to the thirteenth century. If they were used anywhere, they are generally found attached only to the names of those who were actually employed by the State. Their descendants followed closely in the footsteps of their forefathers, and took to service in the State. Later on, it became conventional to affix the terms to their names, irrespective of holding any office in the State. We can distinguish *laukika* and non-*laukika* brāhmans mentioned in the records of the early mediaeval period with the aid of the suffixes noted above. The names of non-*laukika* brāhmans end in *ārya*, a common term of respect, added to the names of brāhmans in general[21]. It appears that during the middle Kākatīya period this *laukika* section gained greater influence in politics and higher social distinction, and in the early post-Kākatīya period

20. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 289, 11. 25–26.
"ग्रामेयकानल गतसर्वनैयोगिकवल्लभांश्च..."

21. The examples given in his article "*Niyōgi-Vaidika-bhēda-kāla-nirṇayamu*" (Vide, *Lakṣmaṇarāyavyāsāvaḷi*, Vol:I, pp. 10–13) by the late Sri K. V. Lakshmanarao to prove that the *laukikas* existed as a separate community before the thirteenth century, are not valid. Even though the term *mantrin* is found attached to the name of Beyyana in Apanta's *Bhōjarājīyam*, it cannot prove that this community

slowly crystallised into a separate community. The terms *amātya*, *saciva* and *mantrin*, denoting the identity of the members of this special section, are found attached to names of some brāhman donees in the grants of this period. Such donees, mentioned in the grants of Allaya Doḍḍā Reḍḍi and Allaya Vēmā Reḍḍi, are distinguished by sepcial titles like *rājakāryadhurandhara*, *kīrtibhūṣaṇa*, *rājamānya*, *rājavallabha*, *mantriśēkhara* and *rājyakāryavicakṣaṇa*. Some of them were experts in *Sangīta* and *Sāhitya*. This fact may serve to indicate that they took to the fine arts and patronised them. The number of *laukikas* or *rājamānyas* in the Reḍḍi period was greater than in any of the previous periods. They formed into a powerful political section and held positions of *durgādhipatis* (governors of forts), *daṇḍanāyakas* (generals) and *rāyasams* (writer-secretaries) besides serving as accountants of the *Sthalas* and the *Sīmas*.

Curiously enough, brāhmans of the Āṟuvēlânāḍu [22] or Ṣaṭsahasradēśa are called *niyōgis* at the present day. Now *niyōgi* means a brāhman of the Āṟuvēla community. It is difficult to say, with the

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was existent then; for, the author Anantāmātya might have affixed that term to his great grandfather Bayyana in accordance with the usage of his time. The author of the Telugu work, popularly known as '*Pāvulūri-Gaṇitam*', was called Mallanāmātya, probably because he was an accountant of a village in the reign of the Eastern Cāḷukya king, Rāja Rāja. The absence of names ending in *amātya*, *mantrin*, or *saciva* in the grants of the early mediaeval period proves the correctness of the surmise made above. Those who were proficient in the Gaṇita Śāstra were merely mentioned with the term *ārya* suffixed to their names, even in the grants of the 14th century. The *laukika* section of the brāhman caste appears to have hardened into a separate community by the middle of the fourteenth century.

22. Āṟuvēlanāḍu was the country consisting of six thousand *grāmas*. What the term *grāma* denotes is not known. It was an ancient custom in South India to attach a certain number to each territorial division; for example, Pākanāḍu, twenty one thousand (the country of twenty one thousand *grāmas*); Vēṅgī,

" అరుదండగు వెలనాటి చోడమనుజేంద్రాజ్ఞాపరం బూని దు
స్తరశక్తిం జని యేకవింశతిసహస్రగ్రామసంఖ్యాకమై
ధరణిం బేర్చిన పాకనాడు ...." — Kb Cr., I, v. 27.

sixteen thousand; Rēnāḍu, seven thousand etc. In a few cases the division or country was called by the number itself attached to it instead of by its actual name. Āṟuvēlanāḍu or Ṣaṭsahasradēśa is one of such cases. Inscriptions reveal the fact that the number six thousand was attached in ancient times to two contiguous tereitorial divisions, namely, Velanāḍu and Kammanāḍu. According to a lithic record at Valivēṟu in the Guntūr district (Ep. Coll., No. 671 of 1920). Velanāḍu was a six thousand country ("*āṟvēla-Velanāṇṭi-yagrahāram-aina Valivēṟu*"). The records of the Kōta kings of Dhānyavāṭi or Dharaṇikōṭa inform us that this

available data, if he was termed so, in this period. It is, however, certain that the *laukika* section comprised, among others, the Āṟuvēlu and the Pākanāḍu communities: Pākanāḍu and Āṟuvēlanāḍu were contiguous territories; for, the former, extending from the foot of Śrīśailam in the Kurnool district to the east coast, includes all the country to the south of the Brāhmakuṇḍi (Guṇḍlakamma) river and to the north of the river Penna. The region to the north of the Brahmakuṇḍi as far as the Kṛṣṇa comprised two districts, each an Āṟuvēla country, one Kammanāḍu six thousand, and the other Velanāḍu six thousand. Among the Velanāṭi brāhman community there are *laukikas* as well as non-*laukikas*; while the former are known as Velanāṭi niyōgis or Āṟuvēlavāru, the latter are called Velanāṭi Vaidikis. The Telugu literature also produced during this period illustrates amply the solidifying of this *laukika* group into a separate community. Many *niyogi* brāhmans of the present day, whose surnames end in *pregaḍa*, were the descendants of distinguished ministers, commanders and poets, like Rāma Pregaḍa, Mantri Pregada, Eṟṟā Pregaḍa, who flourished in this period. This was the age in which the surnames of brāhmans ending in *pregaḍa*, *mantri* and *rāju* had come into vogue, in addition to those formed in other ways.

Kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, and śūdras recognised the brāhmin as their religious leader in this period also, and made gifts and other endowments to him. They learnt from them their alphabet and the three R's, and *kalas* and sciences, like dance, music and archery and so on. Their relations with the brāhman were as cordial as ever.

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territory lay along the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā river ("*Kṛṣṇavenṇanadi-dakṣiṇa-ṣaṭsahasrāvanīvallabha*"–C. P. No. 5 of 1915—16). The villages, which are mentioned in ancient inscriptions to have been situated in this country, are now found in the Rēpalli, Tenāli, and the northern half of the Guntur and the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli taluks in the Guntur district. Records of the fourteenth century furnish the information that the country to the east of the Tuṅgabhadrā in the Guntur district is called Valanāḍu. This river is now converted into a drainage channel by the D. P. W. ("*Tuṅgabhadrātaraṅgiṇyāḥ prāgdēśam-Velanāṇḍ-iti*). From the Koṇidena inscription of Ōpilisidhi Cōḍa of the Telugu Cōḍa family, dated in Śaka 1146 (A. S. P. P., VIII, 5–6) we come to know that Kammanāḍu also was a six thousand country.

తన నిజవృత్తిమీఁద విదితంబుగ నోపిలిసిద్ధి పిన్నసి
ద్ధనకు ననుంగుదమ్ముఁడు ప్రశస్తముగం జని కమ్మనాఁడు నే
లిన గణపాలసీమ దయఁ గూడి తదాజ్ఞ వహించి యుండెఁ బా
లనమున నాఱువేలును సచక్రపరాక్రమవిక్రమంబుగన్.

From these references it can be concluded that a major portion of the Guntur district consisted of two six thousand countries in ancient times.

Kṣatriyas:

The Kṣatriyas of the Andhra country are popularly known as Rācavāru or Rājus. Allāḍa, the maternal grandfather of Māmiḍi Siṅgamantri, minister of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, is referred to by poet Srīnātha as the favourite son of Rācavāru who had the title "*pesaṇi-Hanumanta*"[23]. The particular dynasty of kṣatriyas who had that title, is not definitely known. A certain Ayyaparāja of the Vatsavāya family of the fifteenth century had the same title *pesaṇi-Hanumanta*[24]. Vatsavāyas *form one of the important* kṣatriya families belonging to the Solar dynasty. Ēnugu Lakṣmaṇakavi of the 16th century describes this family in his Telugu kāvya '*Rāmavilāsam*', written under the patronage of king Vatsavāya Timmajagapati of Peddāpuram. According to this work, the name of the ancient Cāgi family was, in course of time, changed into Vatsavāya. The reason for this change is given thus: Rāmarāja, brother of Telugu rāja and son of Cāgi Erapōtarāja, made the town of Vatsavaya his permanent abode in the early post Kākatīya period, and his descendants, therefore, came to be called Vatsavāyas, instead of Cāgis.[25] Rācavāru referred to by Srīnātha might or might not have been the Vatsavāyas.

There might have been other kṣatriya families having the title *pesaṇī Hanumanta*. Besides the Vatsavāyas, the Cōḍas of the Telugu country, the Cāḷukyas of Elamañci and Veṅgī, and the Uṇḍirājas of Sūravarapattaṇa, constituted, among others, the important kṣatriya families that flourished in the coastal region, during this period. The Rācavāru who are said to have had the afore-said title, may refer to

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23. 'పేషణి హనుమంత బిరుదాంకులగు రాచ
వారికి నెయ్యంపు మగనుతుండు' — Sr. Nd., I. v. 82.

24. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 102.

25. "ఆరామ రాజేంద్రుఁ డాజిరంగమ్మున
శత్రురాజుల గెల్చి వారిచేత
సుదగజ కంఖాణ మాణిక్య గాణిక్య
కనకాంబరము లుపాయనము లందె
యాచకశ్రేణుల కభిమతార్థము లిచ్చెఁ
బ్రజల సంరక్షించె ధరణి నట్లఁ
దగ వత్సవాయాఖ్య నగరంబు నిజనివా
సము చేసె. నది కారణముగ చాగి
వంశమునకు వత్సవాయ నామము లోక
సుప్రసిద్ధ మగుచు సొంపుఁ గాంచె..." —Rm. VI., I. Introd.

any one of the above families. The Telugu Cōḍa princes of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, the Uṇḍirājas of the Haritasa *gōtra*, and the Vatsavāyas belong to the Solar race, and the Cāḷukya princes of Elamañci, and Vēṅgī belong to the Lunar race. It is, however, *interesting* to note that the Cāḷukyas of the Manavyasa *gōtra*, who ruled the coastal Andhra country for nearly four hundred years, from the seventh century A.D., and left many collateral branches behind, do not constitute one of the primary kṣatriya families of the Andhra country, according to the *cāṭu* verse, called the *Kṣatriya-gōtra sīsamālika* in Telugu, enumerating the *gōtras* of several of the kṣatriya families of the present day. According to this verse which has come down to us from generation to generation, the Rācavāru of the Telugu country were the descendants of four major primary kṣatriya houses, namely, the Kākatīyas, the Kōṭas, the Paricchēdis, and the Varṇāṭakas of the Kāśyapa, Dhanañjaya, Vaśiṣṭha and Kauṇḍinya *gōtras* respectively.[26] Inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries confirm the fact that the Kākatīya and the Kōṭa kings belonged to the Kāśyapa and the Dhanañjaya *gōtras* and had their respective capitals at Waraṅgal and Dhānyavāṭi. They state that the former descended from Karikāla Cōḷa, and the latter from Dhanañjaya. Karikāla Cōḷa, from whom the Cōḍas of the Telugu country trace *their descent*, was, according to tradition, contemporaneous with his bitter enemy, Trilōcana Pallava. Besides the Kōṭa kings, the Paricchēdis, the Cāgis, the Haihayas, and the Velanāṭis were some of the feudatory families that flourished in the centuries mentioned above. Of these, the princes of the Cāgi family ruled on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā with Guḍimeṭṭa and Vijayavāḍa as their capitals. The later members of this family became Vatsvāyas as stated before. The dominion of the Haihayas, another feudatory family of the same period, Who trace their descent from Kārtavīryārjuna, was the Kōnamaṇḍala. The territory of the Paricchēdis also, like that of the Kōṭa princes, lay in the Guntur district. Very few of their inscriptions have come to light. Even these few have not yet been published. Hence, it is difficult to say if they refer to their *gōtra* in their inscriptions. The identity of the Varṇāṭakas referred to in the *sīsamālika*, is difficult to establish. Inscriptions of the early mediaeval Telugu country do not bring to light any family of this name. These Varṇāṭakas cannot be identified with the Velanāṭi *chiefs of* Dhanadaprōlu (Tsandavol in the Guntur district), as suggested by some

26 " శ్రీ మన్మహా పరిచ్ఛేది వర్ణాటక
కోట కాకతివంశ పాటవమున
నెగడు వసిష్ఠ కౌండిన్య ధనంజయ
కాశ్యప గోత్రముల్ గణన మీరు......"

scholars, for the simple reason that they belong to the caturthakula or the fourth caste:

The District Manual of Vizagapatam furnishes the following account about the Rācavāru or the Rājus. "In a poem called *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-vijayam*, the date of which is assigned to 1540 A. D., we are told of an immigration into Teliṅgānā of four Rājaput tribes, the Vas'iṣṭha, Dhanañjaya[27], Kauṇḍinya and Kāśyapa, under the leadership of one Mādhavavarma, in the five hundred and fourteenth year of the Sālivāhana era, corresponding to 591 A. D. This Mādhavavarma is claimed by the Vijayanagaram family as their ancestor, and it is certain that all the Rācavāru of the Northern Circars (that is, the coastal region of the Andhra country) look up to the Mahārāja of Vijayanagaram as their head. The Rājaput colonists settled at Bejavāḍa on the Kṛṣṇā, forming in course of time a petty principality[28]".

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27. It has to be pointed out here that there was a certain Dhanañjaya of Kus'asthalapura, one of the several kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha, who was defeated by the North Indian emperor, Samudragupta, during his southern campaign. (Fleet's *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 7). This Dhanañjaya of the Kus'asthalapura was, as S'ri B. V. Krishnarao states, probably the *gōtrakarta*, the progenitor of the Kōṭa kings, and the opponent of Samudragupta; S'ri Krishnarao identifies Kus'asthali with Kollipāka (Vide, his *History of the Early dynasties of the Andhradēs'a*, p.). This identification is not tenable; for, the Kōṭa chiefs had nothing to do with Kollipaka. It was the Paricchēdis who had the title *Kollipākapuravarādhīs'vara*, lord of the city of Kollipāka. The Kōṭas, on the other hand, claim to be the lords of Dhānya-vāṭi (*Dhanyavāṭīpuravarādhīs'vara*).

28. *A Manual of the Vizagapatam district*, p. 277. As the late S'ri Lakshmanarao rightly remarks (J D.L. 1924, p. 58), much reliance cannot be placed upon the date given in the poem of the sixteenth century. It is, however, interesting to find that date almost corresponds to 594 A.D., the date assigned by him to Viṣṇukuṇḍin Madhavavarman of the Pulembūru grant (C. P. No. 7 of 1913-14; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VI, pp. 17 ff; J. D. L. 1924; and *Bharati*, Vol. VII (1930), September issue).

The late S'ri K. V. Lakshmanarao identifies Madhavavarman, referred to in the above passage, with his namesake of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, the donor of the Pulombūru grant, and assigns him the date 594 A. D.

In this connection the late S'rī R. D. Banerji's remarks are worth noting. He writes, "The name Rajaput was not in existence the sixth century, and even if a migration into the Kṛṣṇā valley is admitted at that time from some unknown place in Northern India, it is not possible to connect such people with genuine Rajaputs of the divine Agnikulas of legends. The subsequent Rajaput intermarriages of the family are no proof of its descent, as, later on, all kings became kṣatriyas, geneologies were provided for them as late as the 16th and 17th centuries (the Koches of Kuch Bihar and the Ahoms of Assam), and in the nineteenth century most princes became Rajaputs."—Quoted from his "*Rajaput Origins in Orissa*, in the *Modern Review*, for March 1928, p 286.

The date given above for the immigration of Rajaput families is not a final one. If at all this immigration was true, its date has yet to be settled. There is one Mādhavavarman of Vijayavāḍa or Bejavāḍa, who figures in the Telugu and epigraphical literature as well, and about whom many traditional stories are current in the Telugu country. He is mentioned in an undated Pallava lithic record[29] at Bejavāḍa. This inscription records the following story about him.

"In the Kali age again, as early as the Saka 117, there was a king famous on earth by name Mādhavavarman. The son of this king having killed a child of the woman who eked out her livelihood by selling shoots of the tamarind tree, the king sentenced him to be hanged in order to meet the ends of justice. On seeing this, god Mallēśvara was pleased and rained on him a shower of gold which brought back to life the deceased prince, and the dead baby of the beggar woman. Thus, god Mallēśvara established in this world the fame of that great king (Mādhavavarman)."

In an old *cāṭu* verse[30] in Telugu, king Mādhavavarman of Bejavāḍa, to meet the ends of justice, is credited to have cut off the head of his own son, for having killed the son of a woman selling shoots of tamarind. This king is no dout identical with Mādhavavarman of the Pallava inscription referred to above. It is, however, interesting to note that, whereas the inscription ascribes him to Śaka 117, the *cāṭu* verse furnishes Śaka 514 as the date of the above event, a date identical with that given by the *Kṛṣṇavijayam*, referred to in the *Manual of the Vizagapatam District.*

Another epigraphical reference to Mādhavavarman is provided by the Anumakoṇḍa inscription[31] of Kākati Prōla II of 1117 A. D. His contemporary, Ugravāḍi Mēḷarasa, claims to be a descendant of Mādhavavarman who possessed a great army consisting of eight thousand elephants, ten crore horse, and limitless infantry. References

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29. Ep. Coll., No. 536 of 1909; Ep. Rep. 1910, para 8.

30. అయుతకీర్తి సజ్జనకులాగ్రణి మాధవవర్మ చింతలం
గాయలు కోసి యమ్మెకొను కట్టెలగుండ(?డి) తనూజుచావుకై
శ్రీయుతుఁడైనపుత్త్రుతల చేతికి నిచ్చె బెజాడ పాడినా(?)
సాయక నిల్చె (?ల్పె) వార్ధి శశిబాణశకాబ్దములైన కాలమున్॥
—Ct. Mm., II, p. 76.

31. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 264, l. 91.

to king Mādhavavarman of Bejavāḍa in other *cāṭu* verses[32] and in the Telugu works[33] of a later date, show that he was the same as the one mentioned in the Anumakaoṇḍa record. So, whatever might be his date,[34] it is certain, that tradition and literature maintain that the Rācavāru or the Rājus were the descendants of the four families, the Kākatīyas, the kōṭas, the Paricchēdis, and the Varṇāṭakas of the Kāśyapa, Dhanañjaya, Vasiṣṭha and Kauṇḍinya *gōtras* respectively. Their descendants had, in the Reḍḍiperiod; probably different surnames, which it is not possible to identify with the help of the available material. The present day kṣatriya families, like the Dāṭlas, the Dantulūris, the Mandapāṭis, the Vatsavāyis, the Pūsapāṭis and so on, claim descent from the afore-said four houses. Of these, the Dāṭlas

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32. ఎనిమిదివేల దొరగల యేనుఁగులన్ వడి నేల ద్రొక్కు త్రో
క్కని దశలక్ష వాజులను గాలుఁడుగాని ... ...
ఎనయఁగ దుర్గ యిచ్చె ధన విద్ధధనంజయభీకరాంకుడున్
మనుజవరేణ్యతం బరగు మాధవవర్మకు గారవంబునన్

—Ct. Mm., II, p. 77.

While the number of cavalry according to the inscription is ten crore, it is only one million according to the above verse.

33. Vide, *Bhārati* (1930), Vol. VII, p. for extracts relating to Mādhavavarman from the Telugu works.

34. The so-called immigration of the Rajaput families must be placed before the southern campaign of Samudragupta, that is, before 350 A. D., if his adversary Dhanañjaya, is taken to be identical with the *gōtrakarta* of the Kōṭa chiefs. Consequently, an early date has to be assigned to Mādhavavarman, the hero of the epigraphical as well as of the literary tradition. A Mādhavavarman is mentioned as the progenitor of the kings of Hanumakoṇḍa, a town adjacent to Warangal (in the Hyderabad State), whose descent is described in two late Telugu poems, the Dvipada kāvya *Siddhēśvaracaritram*, and its later poetical version, *Sōmadēvarājīyam*. The former states that this Madhavavarman ascended the throne in Śaka 280 and ruled the country for a period of one hundred and sixty eight years. This period for one reign is, no doubt, an exgaggeration. In spite of the disparity in dates, Mādhavavarman of the *Siddēśvaracaritram* and his namesake mentioned in the Bejavāḍa inscription, appear to have been one and the same. The date assigned to him in the *Siddēśvaracaritram* may not be correct, as many of the incidents and campaigns ascribed to him are supported neither by inscriptions nor by literature. The traditional date recorded for him in the Bejavāḍa inscription may or may not be correct. The two authorities cited above, however, confirm the fact that there was a Madhavavarman in the early period, who flourished before Samudragupta's Southern campaign. It appears likely that this Madhavavarman was the leader of the kṣatriya immigrants. We have, however, to leave this problem to be solved by future research.

trace their descent from the Kōṭa kings[35] of Dhānyavāti. In this connection, it may be recalled that Gannabhūpāla, who accepted dedication of the Telugu work *Dhanañjayavijayam* from Śrīnātha, was a descendant of Harisīma Kṛṣṇa of the Lunar race, the progenitor of the Kōṭa chiefs of Dhānyavāṭi, and belonged to the Dantulūri family.[36] Harisīma Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in a inscription[37] at Appāpurām (Guntūr district) dated in Śaka 1327, as having been one of the rulers of the Kōṭa *Bhūmi*. It may be interesting to note in this connection that Sūrāmba, wife of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍavīḍu, was the daughter of Gannabhūpāla who had the titles *Dhānyavāṭipurādhipati* and *Kṛṣṇavēṇṇājalōki ḍāvinōdumḍu.*[38] The name and the titles tempted some scholars to identify this Ganna with his name-sake who accepted dedication of *Dhanañjayavijayam.*[39] But this Ganna was a kṣatriya, and there might have been another Ganna, a chief of the fourth caste, the father-in-law of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. The kṣatriyas of this period in the coastal region had, in general, a chequered political career. They were unsuccessful in building a powerful kingdom and in spreading their power far and wide, like the members of the Sangama family of the Yādava clan. Probably, many of the kṣatriya families were wiped away in the battles waged to save Waraṅgal, and to protect the Kākatīya house. Many of the members of the surviving families either fled away from the country like Annamadēva, the brother of Kākati Pratāparudra, or took a long time to recover themselves from the rude shock of the fall of the Kākatīya power of the Solar line. It is likely that many of the families, in course of time, migrated to Vijayanagar, and took up service under the rising kṣatriya power of the Sangama line.

Vaiśyas.

Vaiśyas constituted the third caste in the Hindu social system. Trade was their exclusive occupation, though early in this mediaeval period some of the members of this caste distinguished themselves as

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35. The Telugu poet, Maṅgalagiri Ānandakavi, of the 18th century states in his Telugu poem *Vijayanandanavilāsam* that the progenitor of the Dāṭla princes, to whom he dedicated his work, was Kōṭa Kēṭaraja, a descendant of Harisīma Kṛṣṇa of the Lunar race. Members of the Mandapāṭi family are the descendants of Kākatīyas of Waraṅgal, and belong to the Kās'yapa *gōtra* and Sūryavaṁs'a. The Solar kings of the Pūsapāṭi family of Vijayanagaram in the Vizagapatam district trace their descent from the Paricchēdis of the Vas'iṣṭha *gōtra*.

36. Vide, Dantulūri Bāpāraja's *Mūrtitrayōpakhyanam* (A.S.P.P., Vol. V, pp. 319–20; Tr. Cat. Tel. Mss., (1910–11 to 1912–13) Vol. I, Pt. iii. R. No. 50, p. 159).

37. Ep. Coll., No. 402 of 1915.

38. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff, The Phirangipuram record.

39. Chilukuri Virabhadrarao's *Srīnāthakavi*, p. 149

commanders, and won the favour of the rulers of the country. They were great merchants and bankers. Avaciśeṭṭi was the banker of king Vēmā Reḍḍi and financed him for building steps to S'rīs'ailam and Pātāḷagaṅgā, and probably for raising armies. The Avaci family served the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu loyally and faithfully, and obtained from them many honours and privileges. Vaiśyas claimed generally to have been born in the lineage of Kubēra. However, Avaci Tippaya,[40] a contemporary of Kumāragiri, is described, by poet S'rīnātha, as "an ornament to the lineage of the sage Maṅkaṇa" ("*Maṅkaṇamaunivaṃśa maṇimaṇḍana*"). From this it is evident that there were some vais'ya families that traced their descent from sages also. Vais'yas claim to have been lords of Penugoṇḍa, Ayōdhyāpura, and Ahicchatra. Of these the last two are well-known; the first is in the West Godavari district in the Telugu country. The vais'yas were the devotees of god Nagarēs'varadēva (*Nagarēśvaradēvadivya śrīpādapadmārādhaka*).

The *Vaiśyavaṃśasudhākaram*,[41] a Sanskrit work purporting to be a report of a judicial character produced during this period, provides, some interesting information regarding this caste. It appears from this work that, during the reign of Prauḍha Dēvarāya, king of Vijayanagar, some social controversy arose regarding the social status of the vaiśyas and the vaijātiyas. To set this controversy at rest Prauḍha Dēvarāya entrusted this case to the *dharmāsana* or Civil court at his capital, Vijayanagar, and wanted the issue to be decided once for all, on the basis of an inscription in Kāñcī (Conjeevaram), which recorded a previous decision on the same question. This inscription, Kāñcīn which has not yet come to light, was therefore brought to Vijayanagar at the king's command. The great scholiast, Kolacala Mallinātha, appears to have either presided over the *dharmāsana*, or to have been one of its chief members. He was the author of the report referred to above. In this report Mallinātha alludes very frequently to the

40. It is interesting to note that there is an inscription of a certain Tippiseṭṭi in the Anantapur district (Janigaravaṇḍlapalli, a hamlet of Vanavolu, Hindupur taluk), dated in S'aka 1345 S'ōbhakṛt. He seems to be a member of the Avaci family, as this record mentions S'iriyaḷas'eṭṭi of Tiru-Kāñcinambikula, presumably his ancestor. As he was the son of Nāgi S'eṭṭi and grandson of Tambi Seṭṭi, he cannot be identified with Tippaya S'eṭṭi, to whom S'rīnātha dedicated his work "*Haravilāsam*"

In the *pras'asti* given in this record, (No. 814 of 1917) these vais'yas are stated to have been experts in the examination of the nine gems. It is further stated that "Agastya was their *purōhita*, Garuḍa, the favourite of Kamalāpriya, i. e. Viṣṇu, was the banner (*dhvaja*)" of S'iriyāḷas'eṭṭi. "The title Ayōdhyapuravarēs'vara (lord of Ayōdhyā, the best of towns) is applied to another member of this sect who is said to belong to the Kaṇva-Risi-*gōtra*".

41. I. I. S., pp. 284 ff.

inscription at Kāñcī. This inscription defines the two terms vaiśya and vaijātīya, the two common names, then in vogue, of those that were engaged in trade and commerce. According to that record, the nāgaras, ūrujas and tritīya-jātīyas are vaiśyas, and one who is borne to a vaiśya through a woman of the lower caste is a vaijātīya. Vaiśyas are entitled to the privileges of svādhyāya, yajana, and dāna, of marrying within their own caste, and of following the occupations of trade, agriculture and tending cattle. The Kāñcī inscription includes the vaṇik, the kōmaṭi, the vāṇivyāpāri, the vāṇijya - vaiśya and the uttarādi vaiśya under vaijātīyas, and states that only the vaiśyas, and not the vaijātīyas, had the exclusive right to trade in all commodities in the twenty-four cities, and the one hundred and eight *divya tirupatis* (holy shirnes). This seems to be the privilege gained by being counted as a member of the vaiśya community. Kōmaṭis, according to the above inscription, had only the right to buy and sell paddy (*kōmaṭistu dhānya-vikrayamātrē-adhikar-ōsti-yuktam*). The *dharmāsana* in Vijayanagar subjected the verdict of the inscription to searching scrutiny again in the light of the Vēda, Smṛti, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Kāvya and Kōśa, and their well-considered opinion is embodied in the *Vaiśyavaṁśa-sudhākaram*, drawn up by Mallinātha, obviously on behalf of the *dharmāsana*. A versatile scholar like Mallinātha, with a liberal outlook, proved, with the evidence at his command, that the terms vaiśya, ūruja and nāgara, and vaṇik, kōmaṭi, vāṇivyāpāri, and vāṇijya-vaisya denoting the two sections of the trading class alluded to above, were really synonymous and refer to members of one and the same caste, the vaiśyas. Consequently, the distinction of the mercantile community into vaiśyas and vaijātīyas was once for all abolished, and all the merchants who were called by different names mentioned above, were declared to be vaiśyas, members of one and the same community.

Analogous to the subdivisions among the brāhman caste, it appears that there were, in early times, sub-divisions among the kōmaṭis also, formed on a geographical basis. We come across the term kamma-kōmaṭi[42] in the inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Telugu country. kamma-kōmaṭi, like kamma-brāhmaṇa, means a kōmaṭi of Kammanāḍu. There must have been other similar sub-divisions also, though references to them are absent in the inscriptions of this period. Evidently, by the time we come to the Reḍḍi period, this division into communities

42. S.I.I., Vol. V. No. 179.
Ibid, Vol. III, No. 196.
Ibid, Vol. IV, No. 1279.

formed on a geographical basis, lost its special significance owing to development in trade, and all those of the same caste who pursued trade as their profession merged together under pressure of circumstances into one corporate body or single community. According to the Telugu work *Haravilāsam*, written by Śrīnātha, the vaiśya caste consisted of one thousand *gōtras* or families.[43] This is corroborated by the *Dharmapālacaritam*, a Telugu work in *dvipada* metre, now lost, but cited as evidence in the Sanskrit work *Vaiśyavaṁśasudhākaram*. This work eulogizes the vaiśyas as the pure people of the thousand *gōtras* (*sahasra-gōtra-pavitrulu*). This number reminds us of similar communities of one thousand families, like the Telikis (the Teliki one thousand), and the Velamas (the Velamu one thousand). What the number 'one thousand' indicates is unknown. It cannot be said that the vaiśya community consisted of only one thousand families and not more. From the earliest times, vaiśyas formed into a corporate body, well organised for carrying on trade and commerce in the country. It might be that, at the time when this community turned into a corporate body, there were only one thousand families; or that the membership was restricted to only one thousand *gōtras*, and that the traditional number persisted ever since.

The number of pure *gōtras* among the vaiśyas of the Andhra country at the present day is generally stated to be one hundred and two. Originally it was six hundred and twelve. How this number decreased into one hundred and two is explained by the story of Vāsavīkanyakā. It is said that Rāja Rāja Viṣṇuvardhana of the Cāḷukya family of Rājamahēndranagara invaded Penugoṇḍa, the chief seat of the Andhra vaiśya community, with the object of capturing the beautiful damsel Vāsavīkanyakā, whose father Kusuma Seṭṭi had refused to give her in marriage to the king. Vāsavīkanyakā immolated herself in order to save her honour and that of her family, by throwing herself into a 'burning pit, specially prepared for the occasion. The vaiśya elders of only one hundred and two *gōtras* followed her example, while the rest fled to different quarters to save their lives.[44] Ever

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43 "వైశ్యాన్వయంబున వసుధ వర్ణనకెక్కె-
వేయిగోత్రంబుల విశుద్ధిఁ గాంచి." —Hr. Vl., II. v. 199.

నందగోప వంశవర్ధనులును, తులాధారి వంశసంభవులును, సిరియాళవంశ పావనులును,
అరుళధ్వనంది కులదీపకులును, సహస్రగోత్ర పవిత్రులును ... ... "

—From the *Dharmapālacaritam*, quoted in the *Vaiśyavaṁśasudhākaram*.

44. This story which is elaborated into a Purāṇa, named the *Kanyaka* or the *Vasavi Purāṇa* by Bhaskarāchārya, the *guru* of the vaiśya community, appears to be of a late origin. The mention of Rājarāja Narēndra, the ruler of the land, son of Viṣṇuvardhana in the inscriptions of private individuals of the vaiśya community in Penugoṇḍa recording gifts to local deities, casts a doubt on the veracity of the above story.

since that time Vāsavīkanyakā became the tutelary goddess of the vaiśya community, and vaiśyas of only those one hundred and two *gōtras* are considered to be pure. These vaiśyas of Penugoṇḍa seem to have formed into a separate sect of their own in the composite vaiśya caste consisting of one thousand *gōtras*, and were called Nāgaras or Paṭṭaṇasvāmins. The collective name of this community, as given in inscriptions, is *Nakaramu* which seems to be a corrupt form of *Nagaramu*. A grant made by a member of this community, to a temple at Ghaṇṭasāla [45] (Kistna district) in Saka 1142 (1220 A. D.) was placed under the care of *Nakaramu* 102, that is, vaiśyas of the 102 *gōtras*. This record proves the existence of the vaiśya community of one hundred and two *gōtras*, as early as the thirteenth century.

The following *gōtras* of the vaiśya caste were taken exclusively from inscriptions of this period. It is possible however to gather names of some more *gōtras* from the records of the previous and later periods:

Varidāla *gōtra*	Appanaṅgakula *go..*
Puccakola *gōtra*	Cenuśeṭṭi *gōtra*
Yeraśeṭṭi *gōtra*	Silakula *gōtra*
Bodarakula *gōtra*	Śenaśeṭla *gōtra*
Veṇukula *gōtra*	Punagōsila *gōtra*
Vivarisiṭla *gōtra*	Mau(mai?)trēya *gōtra*

It is worth noting here that Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* [46], an altogether different *gōtra* name from the above, was the *gōtra* of the Avaci family.

It is well known that the kōmaṭis have separate code terms of their own. They converse with one another in code language about prices of different commodities, so that they might not be understood by members of other communities, if they are present on the spot. It is, however, interesting to find in the Telugu work *Navanāthacaritra* of

45. Ep. Coll., No. 851 of 1917; Ep. Rep. for 1918, para 84, pp. 174–75. Ghaṇṭasāla seems to have been a famous trading centre in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The temple of Jaladhīśvaramahādēva of that place contains many inscriptions registering gifts of vaiśyas, some of whom belonged to Nābela and Middikula *gōtras*.

46. "...పుత్రుండును, కౌండిన్యగోత్రపవిత్రుండును, చతుష్షష్టి విద్యాజన్మ భూమియు, నగరాధ్యక్ష స్వామియు..." —Hr. Vl., I, Pr. 7,

Gaurana, a passage[47] consisting of a few lines in *kōmaṭi-bāsa* (in the language of the kōmaṭis). The meaning of this passage is not yet known. We do not know if this above passage intermingled with Telugu words, is made up of the code terms of the kōmaṭis, or if it represents altogether a separate language of the kōmaṭis, now probably extinct.

***Śūdras*:**

The śūdras representing the great mass of people formed into several endogamous groups or communities, called *jātis*, *varṇas*, *kulas*, or *samayas*. Including these communities the Hindu society is traditionally said to comprise altogether eighteen *jātis*. Several lists of names of these *jātis* are furnished by Sanskrit literature. They do not however agree with one another completely. Nevertheless, the traditional number is the same eighteen. Two important factors seem to have chiefly operated in giving rise to these divisions in the fourth caste, namely, occupation and trade, and geographical divisions. The corporate activity in the fields of trade and occupation manifested itself in the formation of some communities, endogamous in nature. The ancient divisions of the country were responsible for some communal divisions among the fourth caste, like Panta, Kamma, Telaga, and Velama.

Some of the members of the fourth caste distinguished themselves by their bravery and skill in the art of warfare, and became reputed generals and officers of State. Kāṭaya Vēma was one of the great generals

47. "తక్కిటిసెట్టు సాతని బిలిపింపఁ
జేరి కోమటి బాసఁ జెప్పెఁ "బట్టింపు
ధూరాము సల్లిఁబు ధూరాము లొండె
మరికెంబు బోడదమ్మని నొండె నతని
దరిమి గాలము త్రాట దమ్మని నొండె
ములుకంపు బుడుగుల మాసల్లె దొండె
ములయాక కాలము మాసల్లెదైన
తెలుకుల నొండేను తెసఁ జెయ్యలోనఁ
దిలకింత మనుచుఁ జింతింపుచున్నాఁడు
చిరుపల పొట్టి జెచ్చెలి నొండుకదకు
మురిఁగించి మనము పంచలలోన నొసల
మనిపి చెరము వోవు నొరటిన భీతి
గొనదు కన్నెకయుండ గుణముగా దనిన..."—Nv. Cr., p. 276.

and statesmen of the age. Members of the Rēvanūri, Koppunūḷḷa, Paiśāla and other families distinguished themselves as great generals and able nāyakas and obtained from their over-lords parasol, umbrella, palanquin and other royal honours and privileges. The Koppunūḷḷa chiefs had the title 'Gajarāvu', a title similar to that of 'Aśvārāvu' of a later day. Almost all the States that had come into existence during this period were set up by members of the fourth caste. They bore the brunt of the struggle in the war of independence in this period, and held the reins of government after its re-establishment. Members of the Gurijāla family of the fourth caste established their authority over the province of Sabbināḍu on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī in the Hyderabad State with their capital at Rāmagiri and ruled the principality, probably as vassals of the rulers of Warangal. Members of the Mangipūḍi family set up, as we already know, their power at Kōṛukoṇḍa on the eastern bank of the Gōdāvarī in the East Godavari district. Koṭṭām of the Koppula chiefs was another principality of the members of the fourth caste. There is no need here to mention the kingdoms of the Musunūri chiefs, the Panṭa Reḍḍis and the Padma Velamas of the Rēcerla *gōtra*, who were the chief actors on the political stage.

The main occupations of the śūdras were agricultural labour and military service. It was in fact this fourth caste that supplied the great bulk of infantry to the rulers of the country. Some of the sects of the śūdra caste like Onṭarlu [48] (Vanṭarlu) exclusively took to military service. Similarly, a great majority of the fourth caste were employed in agriculture and its allied works. Some sects like Balañjas [49] (corrupttion-Balija) followed both trade and military service. Some others were engaged in handicrafts.

This period witnessed a change of attitude in the enforcement of the civil law, particularly with regard to the śūdras. The injunctions of the Dharma Śāstras relating to the fourth caste were not strictly adhered to, as in days of yore. As a matter of fact, with the rise of the śūdra communities to power, some amount of latitude was allowed to them in respect of certain civil laws and liberties. Some of the rules of conduct, and precepts of the Śāstras concerning the śūdra caste were either overlooked or disregarded; for instance, in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era, the right to make a gift of land either to the temple or to the brāhman, was according to the Śāstras, vested only in the ruling king, and not in either the commander-in-chief or even in the prime minister. Now, in the days

48. About Onṭarlu, see, pt. I, Chapter XV, 'Military Organisation And War'.

49. About Balañjas, see, pt. II Chapter VI on 'Industry And Trade'.

of S'ūdra political ascendancy, any one and every one who wanted to make such a gift, did so even without the formal sanction of the king. Similarly, in olden times, the study of Sanskrit literature by the S'ūdras was unknown. The *Smṛtis*, in accordance with the rules of division of labour framed by them, did not allow this privilege to them. In this period the S'ūdras not only studied Sanskrit *nāṭakas* and *kāvyas*, written by ancient poets, but also wrote new dramas, works on rhetoric and music, and commentaries on philosophical works. This was indeed a great change. These facts attest to the changing spirit of the times. The S'ūdra more and more asserted himself and gained gradually more rights and privileges.

Another noteworthy factor that brought about a marked change in the religious outlook of the common man and contributed to shake his absolute faith in the scriptures was the Muslim invasion. The Muslims who destroyed the temples and defaced the idols were not visited with divine wrath, in the way that the Hindus had always implicitly believed. This impaired, to some extent, the faith of the people in general, in the efficacy and the magical powers of religious rites and ceremonies. The conversion of some of the Hindus into Islām also had the same affect. These conversions into Islām mitigated the fear of sin in the ordinary man. As a result of these factors, the moral back-bone of the society became weakened, and the ethical structure, on which the Hindu society was primarily based, suffered a heavy blow. The gradual decrease in fear of sin in the common man is clearly borne out by the comparative change in tone in imprecations, and by the increase in number and variety of such verses at the end of donative records, both lithic and copper-plate, of the early mediæval and later mediæval periods. With the shedding of this fear, there had come a change in the mental attitude of the sūdra.

Another important factor that made the common people realise their power and strength, and infused in them self-confidence, is the glorious victory they won in the war of independence, without the leadership and guidance of the princes of the ancient Solar and Lunar royal families. Virtually, all these lifted up mentally the ordinary man from his stupor and brought about a change in the society.

Courtesans:

Any account of the Hindu society of the mediæval period is not complete without the mention of vēśyas or the courtesan class. They were the custodians of art, specially of music and dance. They learnt these arts from brāhman teachers, and acquired high proficiency

in them. By their accomplishments and skill in the fine arts they attracted wealthy people to their houses and made their living. Though they were members of the śūdra caste, they were honoured alike by the learned and the aristocracy. The houses of well-to-do courtesans were equipped with high-class artistic furniture. It was not deemed dishonorable to have in those days a courtesan as one's mistress, besides one's lawful wife. Wealthy courtesans who were the mistresses of great nobles and kings, exercised much influence in society, and probably in the administration of the country also, and were held in high esteem.

Caṇḍālas :

Besides the traditional four castes there was another caste that of the caṇḍālas, the lowest one, formed in course of centuries as an appendage to the four castes in the Hindu society. Even the very touch and sight of a caṇḍāla was considered to pollute a member of a higher caste [50]. As such, they were called '*aṇṭarānivāru*', untouchables. A caṇḍāla was prohibited from coming near and witnessing religious ceremonies performed in the house of *agravarṇas* and in temples. It was however considered to be a pious and meritorious act to provide him with food. [51] Though he was kept out of the pale of the Hindu society, he was indispensable for its economic well-being, and was the main stay of the agrarian labour. They had their habitations at a distance from the village. They worshipped goddess Ēkavīra and sang her praises and stories to the accompaniment of dance. They adored also village goddesses like Mahurāmma.

Mussalmans :

It is likely that there were small Moorish settlements in well-known seaports like Mōṭupalli, even before the Muslim invasions of the Deccan. The Arabs and the Moors engaged in coastal traffic and horse-trade, were visiting the Andhra country long before the thirteenth century. There was intercourse between the Muslim States in Northern India and the Hindu kingdoms to the south of the Tapatī, ever since 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khalji's first invasion of the Andhra country.

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50. " స్నానమొనర్చి ధౌతపరిధానము లక్ ధరియించి యంటఁగాఁ
గాని మనుష్యులం గనక ... ... "
—Rk. Cr., I, v. 95.

51. " కడజాతివాని యాఁకలిఁ దీర్చిన యతఁడు
కరమర్థి స్వర్గలోకమున నుండు ... "
—Ibid, II, v. 77.

The Bahmanī Sultāns, the Mussalman kings of the Deccan, extended their kingdom and power with the aid of religion and religious divines. They found at first that the Hindu kings of the Deccan were stronger and more powerful than themselves. They could not overcome them by mere strength of arms. They were aware that the common Muslim soldier cared only for his wages and plunder, and was not interested in the schemes of conquest of Hindu kingdoms, and territorial aggrandisement. Hence, they knew that some thing was wanted to fire the imagination of the soldier and implant in him a firm faith in the cause. This is true not only in the case of the Muslims but also of the Hindus. Here religion came in handy for achieving the ruler's ambitions. The Sultāns proclaimed religious wars against the Hindus and infused religious fanaticism into the minds of their co-religionists: Nizām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad writes, "Applying all his energies to the conquest of territory and reviving of the customs of religious warfare (*jehad*), he (Muhmad Shāh I Bahmanī) in the spring time of his reign, and in the beginning of his grandeur, collected a well-equipped army and started for Bilampattam" [52] (Velumputtam).

During one of the campaigns of Muhammad Shāh I against Vijayanagar, Bhōj-Mul, according to Ferishta, "commanded (on behalf of the king of Vijayanagar) the brāhmans to deliver every day, to the troops, discourses on the merit of slaughtering the Mahomedans, in order to excite the zeal of his soldiers. He encouraged the brāhmans also to rouse their indignation, and confirm their hatred of the enemy by representing them as the destroyers of temples, and of the images of their gods, and also as the slaughterers of cows [53]." It is said that ten thousand brāhmans were slain by Muhammad Shāh I in a single campaign [54]. In fact, the Muslim kings had recourse to these religious wars against the Hindus ever since the inception of their power in the Deccan. According to the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk*, 'Alā-ud-Dīn was advised by Shaikh Muhammad Ṣirāj Junaidi to collect an army and wage a religious war (*jehād*) till he brought the country of the unbelievers into the pale of Islām [55]. It is evident from this that it was only by waging a religious war (*jehād*) that the Bhamanī Sultāns succeeded in firmly establishing their power in the Deccan and extending their kingdom. Almost all the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga declared religious wars against the Hindus.'

52. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, pt. III, p. 18.

53. Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 314.

54. Ibid, p. 317.

55. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, pt. III, p. 285.

Successive waves of Muslim invasions tended to the growth of Muslim colonies in all the important political centres and provincial capitals. During their first occupation of the Telugu country, the Muslims wielded great political influence as the members of the ruling caste

The repressive policy, which the Muslim rulers unwisely adopted after the subjugation of the Andhra country, fostered discontent and resulted in rebellion. Later on, after the loss of Telingānā, the Muslim rulers realised the necessity of changing their policy, and tried to be on friendly terms with the Hindus. In spite of some withdrawals, most of the Muslims became permanent settlers in the country. Consequently, after the re-establishment of Hindu supremacy, they constituted a permanent factor in the population, and became the subjects of the Hindu rulers. They lived side by side with the Hindus and both the communities learnt to tolerate and understand each other. With the progress of time, each community reacted on the other in diverse ways, and both the Hindus and the Muslims were affected by each other's social traits, customs and beliefs.

During the Muslim occupation of the country there were conversions of the Hindus to the Islāmic faith, though on a small scale. Many Hindu prisoners of war were converted to the Muslim faith, and history records that Harihara I, the founder of the Vijayanagar dynasty, and his brothers were converts, orginally Hindu captives of war who purchased their liberty by embracing Islām. By their loyalty and faithfulness the Hindu converts won the favour of their lords and occupied high places in the State under Muslim rule. Shams-i-Ṣirāj 'Afīf gives, in his *Tarīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhi*, a short account of a native of Telingānā by name 'Kaṭṭu' (or 'Kannu'), an officer of the last Kākatīya monarch Pratāparudra, who was taken captive by the emperor, Muhamad bin Tughlaq, in his invasion of Warangal. He earned his liberty by embracing Islām and was called Malik Maqbūl after his conversion. He gained the favour of the emperor and eventually rose to the position of the Deputy Wazir of Delhi.[56] Many classes of Muslims from North India and from the neighbouring countries in the West, came in search of service in the civil and military administration and as traders. Religious divines and fakirs also came and settled in the Andhra country. Mosques were erected in important towns like Warangal and Rājamahēndravaram. Mention is made of '*Turkala masīdu*' (mosque of the Muslims) in the Telugu drama, *Krīḍābhirāmam*' written by Vallabhāmātya. The Mosque at Rājamahēndravaram was built in 1324 A. D. After the occupation of the coastal country

56. E. D., Vol. III, pp. 367-368.

the Muslim rulers converted many Hindu temples into mosques. In course of time, the Muslims settled in the Andhra country, joined the army of the Hindu rulers and held also small appointments in the State.

After the re-conquest of some of the provinces of the Andhra country by the Bahmanī Sultān, Fīrūz Shāh, the Muslim governors who were deputed to rule over them, were considerate and sympathetic to the Hindus. Some inscriptions[57] at Vēdādri (in the Nandigāma taluk, Kistna district) show that some Muslim governors "established feeding houses and water-houses for the benefit of the public, dug many tanks, and performed many marriages by benefaction". Though it is not explicitly stated in these records, the people for whose advantage these benefactions were made, were in all probability Mussalmans.

The affect of the mutual contact between the Hindus and the Mussalmans was perceptible in the sphere of culture to some extent. The new type of Muslim dance (*Pāraśīka-nartana*) attracted the Hindus so much that experts in *Nāṭya Śāstra*, like Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, introduced it into their treatises on dance in the name of *Mattalli-nartana* and wrote *lakṣaṇa* to it[58]. Belief in Astrology and Palmistry among the Mussalmans was great, and to some extent the former was responsible for the failure of the first invasion of Muhammad bin Tughlaq against Warangal. It is likely that there were some admirers of Hindu Vēdānta among the Muslims; Ṣūfism is believed to be much influenced by Vēdānta, and its counterpart in Islām.

57. Ep. Coll., Nos.306 and 307 of 1924.

58. Vide, Chapter VII, (Pt. II), on Games And Amusements.

APPENDIX.

Surnames and *gōtras* of some brāhman donees known from some of the records of this period.

Surname	*Gōtra*	*Surname*	*Gōtra*
Ākunūri	Kauśika	Jonnalagaḍḍa	Kauṇḍinya
Ākunūri	Bhāradvāja	Jallipalli	Śāṇḍilya
Aṁpada	Harita	Jallipalli	Vasiṣṭha
Anumakoṇḍa	Harita	Kalaṅgara	Kauṇḍinya
Artaṅgūri	Bhāradvāja	Kaljara	Kauṇḍinya
Ātukūri	Harita	Kaluvakka	Harita
Bālajyōsya	Kauṇḍinya	Kañcarepalli	Kauṇḍinya
Beldēvi	Kāśyapa	Kandāḷa	Vādhūla
Boḍḍapalli	Harita	Kandugula	Śrīvatsa
Boggara	Kauṇḍinya	Kandukūri	Harita
Bōṇagiri	Kauṇḍinya	Kappagantu	Kāśyapa
Bondalapāṭi	Suṅga-Bhāradvāja	Kaṟṟā	Ātrēya
Bonta	Kauṇḍinya	Kōlalapalli	Kāśyapa
Cadapalli	Kauṇḍinya	Kollūri	Bhāradvāja
Caṁṇipi	Harita	Koṇḍūri	Bhāradvāja
Candalūri	Kauṇḍinya	Kondaṭi	Ātrēya
Cēmakūra	Bhāradvāja	Kōruṁballi	Bhāradvāja
Cēṅjerla	Bhāradvāja	Kōruṁgaṇṭi	Śāṇḍilya
Ceṟuvu	Kāśyapa	Kōvūri	Kauṇḍinya
Cīlipeddi	Śrīvatsa	Kramadhāṭi	Bhāradvāja
Ciṭi	Harita	Krottūri	Harita
Cukkāboṭṭa	Śrīvatsa	Maddūri	Śrīvatsa
Dāsula	Kauṇḍinya	Mallela	Kāśyapa
Dēvarapu	Bhāradvāja	Malrāvu	Kauṇḍinya
Dhīrārla	Bhāradvāja	Mānapuri	Ātrēya
Duṇḍigaḍa	Kāśyapa	Maṇḍapāka	Parāśara
Dvādaśi	Harita	Maṇḍavalli	Kāśyapa
Elukuṟu	Harita	Maṇḍuṅgūri	Bhāradvāja
Gaḍḍapalli	Bhāradvāja	Māraṭūrita	Harita
Gannavara	Parāśara	Mare	Bhāradvāja
Golapalli	Śrīvatsa	Mirtipaṭi	Śāṇḍilya
Gūḍaparti	Kāśyapa	Muḍiya	Kauṇḍinya
Guḍivāḍa	Kauśika	Mañjapi	Kauṇḍinya
Guṇṭūri	Kapi	Narlūri	Vādhūla
Iṅguvu	Śaunaka	Narluvāda	Śrīvatsa

Surname	*Gōtra*	*Surname*	*Gōtra*
Nūṅtaki	Kauṇḍinya	Sarasvati	Kauṇḍinya
Pāmalapāṭi	Kauśika	Sādhu	Harita
Pannāla	Kauṇḍinya	Siṅgarēmi	Kāśyapa
Pedapūṇi	Harita	Singarēmi	Harita
Pedapūṇi	Bhāradvāja	Śrīkoṇḍa	Harita
Peñcēṭi	Bhāradvāja	Śrikoṇḍa	Kaṇva
Penuṁballi	Haritā	Subruvīṭi	Bhāradvāja
Peyyala	Kauṇḍinya	Sundila	Bhāradvāja
Ponuṅgōṭi	Ātrēya	Talletāta	Kauṇḍinya
Pōraṅki	Kauṇḍinya	Taṅgeḷḷapalli	Śāṇḍilya
Poṭnūri	Śāṇḍilya	Tettira	Bhāradvāja
Pōtri	Śāṇḍilya	Uṇḍrukoṇḍala	Gautama
Prēkōṭi	Ātrēya	Vaḍḍaṅguṇṭala	Bhāradvāja
Pulupāka	Kaśyapa	Vallūri	Bhāradvāja
Rājanaṁpāṭi	Śrīvatsa	Vallūri	Kauṇḍinya
Rājukoṇḍa	Yāska	Vāraṇāsi	Śālaṅkāyana
Rājukoṇḍa	Kāśyapa	Vaṭṭi	Śāṇḍilya
Rali	Kauṇḍinya	Veluṁpalli	Vādhūla
Rāṁpalli	Bhāradvāja	Yālavani	Kauśika
Rāṁpalli	Śrīvatsa	Yēṟuva	Mauna-Bhārgava.

CHAPTER II

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

We know very little of the fashions and modes, sartorial or otherwise, of the people in the period under review. The few references to dress and ornaments in the accounts of foreign travellers are more in the nature of generalisations, not giving any details and particulars. However, this information supplemented by literary references, gives us a general idea of the costumes and jewels which were commonly in use in this period.

Nicolo de Conti, the Venetian traveller, gives the following information about dress and ornaments of the Indians in general.

"The style of dress is different in different regions. Wool is very little used. There is great abundance of flax and silk, and of these they make their garments. Almost all, both men and women, wear a linen cloth bound round the body, so as to cover the front of the person, and descending as low as the knees, and over this garment of linen or silk, which, with the men descends to just below the knees, and with the women to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and for the same reason they only wear sandals with purpule and golden ties, as we see in ancient statues. In some places the women have shoes made of thin leather, ornamented with gold and silk. By way of ornament they wear rings of gold on their arms and on their hands; also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds, and studded with gems ...."[1]

The scanty dress of the Indians did not fail to attract the attention of foreigners. A still earlier traveller of the thirteenth century, named Friar John of Montecorvino, observes thus: "Indian men wear a cloth round the loins, and the boys and girls up to eight years of age wear nothing whatever, but go naked as they came from their mother's womb.[2]"

DRESS

Dōvati and *uttarīyam* formed the general dress of elderly men. There were many varieties in the silk and cotton *dōvatis* and *uttarīyams*

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1. Major, Conti, pages 22-23.

2. *Foreign Notices*, p. 189.

having different colours and a variety of exquisite borders. Telugu works of this period enumerate a number of such silk and cotton clothes which were available in this period.[3] Even in silk there were many varieties like *dāsūri paṭṭu*, *chīni pṭṭu* and so on.

Cīra (saree) and *ṛaika* (bodice) was the ordinary dress worn by women. There were many varieties in sarees and the cloth used for *ṛaikas* also. *Yamunāṛaika*,[4] and *bangāru-pūvula ṛaika* were two varieties worn by Bondilis[5] and rich people. Women stitched their bodices themselves at home. There were, however, tailors[6] (*kuṭrapuvāṅḍru*) also to stitch them for low class women.

Coloured cloth, either dyed or printed, found favour with the people of those times. The colours that were very fashionable and popular in those times among the aristocratic and high class people were scarlet, pink, rose, saffron and red, all different shades and varieties of the same red colour. *Nīrkāvi, ceṅgāvi, cendirakāvi dōvatis* and *cīras* were liked immensely both by men and women. Cloths dyed in deep red and blue also, are mentioned in contemporary literature. Striped sarees, those with three borders, and those with printed borders of swans, squirrels, parrots, lions, elephants, horses, and peacock-tails[7], appear to have been common. Sarees of golden border *pasiḍi-kammi, cīras* were worn by rich people.

Learned men and poets wore a kind of cap, called *kuḷḷā*[8], on head and tied *kōka*, long cloth round it. Poet Śrīnātha informs us that he

3. See, Chapter IX(Pt. II) on Industry And Trade. The Telugu work *Siṁhāsanadvātrimśika* mentions not less than forty-two varieties of cloths plain, printed, and dyed with different borders and colours, and six sorts of silk cloths.

4. "...నాగమతో౯ జేసిన సింధురంబు నుదుటం గాన్పింపఁ బయ్యంటయు౯ యమునారైకయు దాఁటె ... ..." — Ct. Mm., I, p. 124.

5. A sect of people who claim to be kṣatriyas.

6. The Telugu poet Vallabhāmātya gives a fine description of *kuṭrapuvaḍu*, a tailor, in his work, *Krīḍābhirāmam*.

7. Sm. dv., I, iii. 188; Hr. Vl., V. v, 38; Pn. cr. I, pp. 72 and 133.

8. It may be pointed out here that it had been an ancient custom in India for a scholar or a learned *vidvān* to wear a kind of cap. Commenting on the portrait of Diṅnagācārya, the Buddhist logician, which he published in his work, *the History of Indian Logic*, the late Sri Satis Candra Vidyābhūṣan writes thus :

"A peculiarity of the likeness is its cap. In the early Buddhist Church monks were not allowed to wear any head-dress ...... With the introduction of the Mahayana in the first century A.D., by Kaniṣka, a great change was effected in the dress of monks and caps of various shapes were invented. The hat worn here (by Diṅnagācarya) is called *Panchenshwa-dmar* or "*Paṇḍita's red cap*" with a pointed peak and long,

wore *kuḷḷā*, *kōka* and *mahākūrpāsam*[9] when he went to the court of the Vijayanagar ruler, Prauḍha Dēvarāya. This may well be taken as a courtier's dress of those times. *Mahākūrpāsam*, long coat, is otherwise called *niḍucaṭṭa* in Telugu. Short coat was called *arucaṭṭa*. It is likely that the *kūrpāsa* (*kūrpāsam*), whether long or short, was embroidered with silver and gold. It is needless to say that plain coats also have been in use. This form of dress worn by courtiers and nobles was in vogue in the early years of the sixteenth century also. Duarte Barbosa who visited South India in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, furnishes the following description about the dress of the people.

"The men are of good height with 'physnomies' like our own: the women go very trimly clad; their men wear certain clothes as a girdle below, wound very tightly in many folds, and short white shirts of cotton or silk or coarse brocade, which are gathered between the thighs but open in the front: on their heads they carry small turbans, and some wear silk or brocade caps, they wear their rough shoes on their feet (without stockings). They wear also other large garments thrown over their shoulders like capes, and are accompanied by pages walking behind them with their swords in their hands.[10]"

Mahākūrpāsa and *kuḷḷā* mentioned by poet S'rīnātha are, no doubt, identical with white shirts of cotton or silk, and silk or brocade caps respectively, described by Barbosa. The dress of the people in general in South India was almost the same during this period, whether they were the natives of 'the kingdom of Narsiṅga' proper, or of the kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu. This is attested to by the foreign traveller, Varthema who came to South India in the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was at Vijayanagar in 1504 A.D. He thus writes about the dress of the people there: "Their dress is this: the men of condition wear a short shirt, and on their head a cloth of gold and silk in the Moorish fashion, but nothing on the feet. The common people go quite naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle". He observed

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lappets. The lappets of the cap were lengthened in proportion to the rank of the wearer."

"It is not known when the "*Paṇḍita's cap*" was first introduced. It is said to have been taken to Tibet in 749 A. D., by S'ānta Rakṣita......"—p. 271.

It seems likely that the custom of wearing caps by men of letters was coming without a break from the Buddhist period. It is probable that the shape of the cap might have changed a little in course of centuries.

9. "కుళ్ళాయుంచిఁ గోకసుట్టి మహాకూర్పాసముం దొడిగిఁ-
వెళ్ళిఁ ... ... "—Ct. Mm., I.

10. Barbosa, I, p, 205.

that the laws, manner of living, dress, and customs of the people of Pulicat (in Ma'bar) were the same as at Calicut."[11]

There were rough as well as very fine cloth which was all hand-spun and hand-woven. Kings and nobles put on fine muslins, which, when worn, looked like the covering of the dew. There were some costly white muslin *dōvatis* resembling the foam of the flowing moonlight, and white sarees of the likeness of the flood of milk.[12] Kuruvas and other low class people used to cover their bodies with rugs woven of the wool of the sheep. These rugs were not gnerally articles of dress. They were greatly used for covering the body in the winter season.

The general form of the head-dress of men was turban. Turbans were tied by people in different fashions in and out of court. The wearing of a turban seems to have been essential for courtiers and nobles. The juggler's turban was different from that of others. He used to tie it a little to a side with a tire, leaving the ends of the garment hanging on the back like a tassel. Some of the servants of State and wrestlers also tied their turbans in a similar fashion[13]. *Rāca lenkas* (servants of kings) covered their bodies with shawls or blankets[14].

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11. *Varthema*, Jones, p. 195. With regard to Calicut, Ibid p. 143.

12. "జలమున జలకంబు చతురతఁ దీర్చి
మం చావరించిన మాడ్కి–ని జిలుగు
మించిన చీరెలు మెచ్చుగాఁ గట్టి... "

—Nv, cr., p. 58.

"పరపైన వెన్నెల సురుచుల పోలికఁ
దనరారు ధవళ వస్త్రములు గట్టి ..."

—Vs. Rm., I, v. 38.

"పిండుదు పాల్కడలి యను పేరిక పల్లముఁ గప్పఁ
బాలువెల్లువ వంటి చేలఁ గట్టి ... "

—Ct. Mm., I, p. 184.

"కట్టిరి సన్నపుం దనువుఁ గాని కటీతటి మెనిరిఁగపై ... "

—Vk. cr., IV, v. 160.

13. "తిలకంబు కస్తూరిఁ దిలకించి చొళ్ళెంబు
చెంగులపాగతోఁ జెన్ను మీరఁ ... "

—Sm. Dv., II, XI, v. 133

తిలకంబు దళముగాఁ దీర్చి చెంగులపాగ
తలముడితోఁ జొళ్ళె మలవరించి ... "

—Ibid, VII. V. 45.

14. "అవిసం దివియు మనుచు నయ్యెద్దణుం గప్పిన దుప్పట్లు
తొలంగఁజేచి ... "

—Ibid, VII, Pr. 80.

Contemporary Telugu literature furnishes descriptions of the costumes of brāhmans, shepherds, wrestlers, jugglers, pilgrims etc. The brāhman's and the labourer's dress was generally very simple. The former used to wear a *dōvati* and an *uttarīyam*, an under garment and an upper garment respectively; while the latter had a loin cloth or *kaupīnam*, a small piece of cloth worn over the privities, and a turban on the head. Shepherds put on *pīlipāgalu*, turbans adorned with peacock's tails or feathers of a thrush, a waist garment with a girdle cord of cotton or wool tied over it, and covered their head and body with a rug (*goṅgaḍi*) hanging over their backs[15]. Even in the statues representing shepherds in temples of the early and late Vijayanagar periods, we can recognise this rug which was characteristic of the shepherd's attire. They had also in their hands a long and stout bamboo staff, easily distinguishable from others. The wresstler's dress consisted of a cloth tied firmly over the loins, a girdle cord wound round it tightly, and a tasseled turban wound round over the head, combining the knot of hair as to form a tyre.[16] A juggler wore an anklet on his left leg, and amulets

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15. "పీలిపాగయు పెంపుఁ బెట్టిన పిల్లఁ
క్రోలు మాపున నిడుకొన్న గొడ్డలియు
నాసవు గా మసుగిడ్డ యొరగొంగడియు ...
గురిజ పూసల పేరు బొంగుఁ గోలయును
గాసె దట్టియు మీఁదఁ గదియ బిగించి ... " —Nn. Cr. I. p. 27.

16. The following verse gives a good picture of a wrestler of those times.

"కటికంచు వలిపెంబు గట్టిగాఁ గానించి
చలిత్రాడు కాసెపైఁ బలియఁ జుట్టి
దేహంబు కప్పుగా లోహకంచుక లీల
జిగిబిగి గల నల్ల జిగు రమర్చి
వక్షఃస్థలంబున రత్నపూసల పేరు
దండతాయెతులును దగ ధరించి
తిలకంబు దళముగాఁ దీర్చి చెంగుల పాగ
తలముడితోఁ జొళ్ళ మలవరించి

కేలఁ బుల్లతియును నీలినూలునఁబూని
కేలిగతిఁ గటారికోల కట్టి
సంగడీలు గొల్వఁ జనుదెంచె నొకమత్త
గజముభంగి కళహకంటకుండు" - Sm. Dv., II, VII, v. 45.

of tiger's claws, and a turban with a tyre. He had a sword and a shield with the figure of Hanumanta drawn over it in his hand. [17]

Both the Telugu poets, Gaurana and Pālkuriki Sōmanātha, provide us with beautiful descriptions of pilgrims visiting holy places. Besides the *dōvati* or nether-garment and the *uttarīyam* or upper garment they wore *kuppasamulu* or short coats, umbrellas and sandals. The other equipment of a pilgrim consisted in a wallet (*karatitti*), staff, and a yoke with slings attached to each end for carrying burden upon the shoulders. [18] Going to Kāñcī, one of the nine holy places for a pious and religious Hindu to visit, was believed to be a sacred act giving merit. Since a visit to Kāśī (Vārāṇasī) was attended with risk and danger to life, some of the Hindus of those days contented themselves by visiting only Kāñcī, for, in those days when there were no good roads, conveyances and efficient central police organisation, a journey to it was comparatively less difficult and dangerous than to Kāśī, though it entailed much trial and suffering. The pilgrim visiting Kāñcī used to fetch home a pilgrim's yoke called *Kañci kāvaḍi* laden with, besides his personal belongings, many things purchased at that holy place. Sōmanātha describes very elaborately the pilgrim caravan visiting the holy Srīśailam in his *Paṇḍitārādhya-caritram*. He gives in this connection a detailed description of the

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17. The following verse gives a good description of a magician or juggler of the times under review.

"అయ్యెడ నొకక్రొత్తయైన మహావీరుఁ
దండియు డాకాల నమరఁబూని
బాగుగాఁ బులిగోరు పట్టుదిండుగఁ గట్టి
నుచుపార మేనఁ జందన మలంది
తిలకంబు కస్తూరిఁ దిలకించి చొళ్యంబు
చెంగులపాగతోఁ జెన్నుమీఱి
హనుమంతు వ్రాసిన యరిగబిళ్ళయు వాలుఁ
గరమున జలుక్రిమ్మ గడలు కొనఁగ
నొకఁడు వచ్చె ......" —Sm. Dv., II, XI, v. 188.

18. "......................అందఱును
తీర్థయాత్రలు సేయు తెఱఁగు వటించి
కుఱుపట్టు గొడుగులుఁ గోలలుఁ గావి
యుఱల దోవతులు నొరచ్చు చెప్పులును
దేవపూజలుఁ గరత్తులుఁ గంచి
కావళ్ళు మాత్రలుఁ గైకొని వెడలి..."—Nv, Cr. V, p. 275.

gait, dress, and equipage of the different sections of the caravan of both the sexes.[19]

Growing long hair was a fashion and an age-long custom among men and women in the Hindu society. They took special care in dressing and arranging it in different beautiful fashions. A study of the hair-dress of men and women in both the Amarāvati and the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures shows that there were many varieties in looping, fastening and tying the hair. Different modes of arranging the hair were in vogue in the country from the early centuries till the middle ages. The truth of this statement is borne out by sculptural representations of men and women, especially of heroes and dancing women, found in temples belonging to the early and late mediaeval period, at many of the holy places in the Andhra country. Men had their hair arranged in different kinds of knots, tight and loose, and in different loops. This kind of knot was called *krummuḍi*. Some had these knots either on the crown of the head, or a little to its right or left above the ears. Some twisted their tresses and gathered them in a lump, or tied them in a conical fashion, or in the fashion of a semicircular fan or of a bun shaped knot. The head dress of warriors (*vīrapuruṣulu*), as represented in the statues found at Tripurāntakam, Waraṅgal, and other Śaivite holy places, gives us an idea of the different patterns then in vogue, in the coastal Andhra country as well as in Teliṅgānā. Women had their tresses either plaited or arranged in loops or twisted in different knots, in accordance with their individual tastes. *Kīljaḍa* (a woman's plaited hair hanging on the back) was one of the favourite patterns popular with young women of those times. Both men and women decorated their heads profusely with scented flowers, garlands composed of flowers of different colours, and costly ornaments. Children, boys and girls, had their hair plaited, and arranged in tyres.

Sandals :

Both men and women wore comely sandals. Each and every set of foot-wear was greatly beautified with tassels and other decorations revealing great workmanship and art. Sandals were made of light wood, leather, ivory and metal[20]. Some of

19. The passage is a very lengthy one. It extends to forty six pages in crown octavo. See, Pn. Cr., II, pp. 806-852.

20. "పాదవగు సంబువుల్ బెడఁగగు పసిఁడి
గోడఘల బావలుఁ గూడ లోహంబు
పావలు. దంతంబు పావలు, రాగి
పావలు, వాగెల పాదరక్షలును
దాడిగాని............... . ... " Pn. Cr., II, V, p. 807.

the sandals (*ceppulu*) produced, while walking, great creaking sound, while some were noiseless. *Malakavāḷḷa kiṟṟu ceppulu*, the creaking shoes of the Malakas, or Mussalmans, are referred to in the Telugu work, *Krīḍābhirāmam*[21]. Besides these there were other patterns also producing creaking sound, adorned with tassels of gold, silver and other materials[22]. Light wooden sandals with excellent finish having gold knobs[23] with pommelled heads in the fore part were worn by the Sādhus, religious people and others, during religious rites and indoor work. There were jingling sandals, made of porcelain glass[24] also worn by rich people.

Canes :

Generally no elderly person went out without either a walking stick, a staff or a cane in hand. The staff of a religious person was called *gauribettamu*. A cane or a staff was generally an ornament to the hand, and at times a necessary requisite also. There were canes of different patterns with gold, silver, or ivory handles of high workmanship, carved out into different shapes of birds and animals, and set with precious stones. When inlaid skilfully with appropriate stones of different colours, the handles of canes were made to look exactly like birds, or animals. Generally, they were fashioned into faces of lions, *makaras*, and elephants, and profusely ornamented with precious stones. There were different varieties of canes in use, canes of brilliant hues, toothed canes, notched or dart shaped canes, bamboo canes of golden hue, and Malaka canes[25] and so on.

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21. "క్రొత్త మలకవాళ్ళ కిఱ్ఱు చెప్పులు. ... " — Kd. Rm., v. 162.

22. "నిద్దమౌ కుచ్చుల యుద్దాలు కిఱ్ఱని మ్రోయఁగా ... "— Sm. Dv., II, x. v. 88.

23. "కనకంపుగొడుగు పాగాలు ... " — Hr. Vl., VII. v. 187.

24. "గాజుపింగాణి గిల్కు లపావలు ... " — Rk. Cr., IV, v. 85.

25. "... ... వన్నె బెత్తముల్ వలిబెత్తములును
కలయంబు బెత్తముల్ మలకబెత్తములు
గణ్కు బెత్తములును గౌరిబెత్తములుఁ
జక్కని వెదురు పొంజాయ బెత్తములు
పైరణఁ గోలలు కుందనంబులును
గైరంబు లాకులు గనుపదండములు
వనకుల కోలలు..... "—Pn. Cr., II, V, p.310.

Mention is made of *Malakavāḷḷa kiṟṟu ceppulu* in the Telugu works of this period. Here we have *Malaka bettamulu*. *Malakavāḷḷa kiṟṟu ceppulu* may mean

Umbrella:

Chatra, an umbrella is a dire necessity in a tropical climate. Umbrellas were in use in this country even from the pre-Christian era, as is attested to by the ancient Buddhist works. They refer to patterns with *maṇḍalabaddha* and *salākābaddha* frames[26], and prepared with matting or leaves. Representations of umbrellas which were in vogue in the early Buddhist period in the Andhra country, can be seen in the bas-reliefs from Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The Western Cāḷukya king, Sōmēśvara, describes in the section *Chattrabhōga* in his *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, white-clothed umbrellas, adorned with pearl tassels and pendants of sapphires, corals, and with a golden *kalaśa* at the top. Umbrellas with shafts of gold, silver, and ivory set with gems[27] and covered with gold and silk cloths, were worked out beautifully. Generally, they were of two varieties, one which is always kept open, and the other which is made to open and shut according to convenience. Both these varieties were in use in the times under review. The former, made out of palm leaves and *mōduga (Buṭea frondosa)* leaves, seems to have been the common variety in use in those days.

Umbrella acquired special importance by its inclusion in the royal paraphernalia. Hence, parasol was a badge of honour and distinction granted only by the ruler of the land. The wearing of special varieties of umbrellas was a privilege granted only to a few who were in the favour of the king. The use of a white silk umbrella, the State umbrella as it was called, was the exclusive previlege of the king and no one was allowed to wear it. Umbrellas covered with blue cloth were worn by kings and princes during hunting excursions. White umbrellas, umbrellas decorated with or prepared with peacook tails, pearl umbrellas, umbrellas of honour and distinction, white silk umbrellas and foldable umbrellas were some of the varieties mentioned in the *Paṅḍitārādhyacaritra*.[28] Marignolli,

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sandals worn by the *Malaka* people, probably Mussalmans. If this surmise is correct *Malaka bettamu* may be taken to mean a cane used by the Mussalmans in general. It is likely that they used canes, different in sort from those used by the Hindus. It is also possible to take the term to mean a *Malaka* cane imported from Malaca and the Far East.

26. C. Sivaramamurti—*Amarāvati Sculpturcs in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 96.

27. *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* III, xvii-xviii, vv. 1840—49, pp. 378—79.

28. "కడు సాంగమగు తెలి గొడుగులుఁ బీలి
గొడుగులు ముత్యాల గొడుగులు బిరుదు
గొడుగులు తెలిపట్టు గొడుగులు మోడ్పు
గొడుగులు......................"—Pn. Cr., II, V, p. 811.

a foreign traveller of the first half of the fourteenth century, was the first among the European travellers who visited India, to notice umbrellas which are made to open and shut. He says, "But as all the Indians commonly go naked, they are in the habit of carrying a thing like a little tent roof on a cane handle, *which they open out at will* as a protection against sun and rain. This they call *chatyr*." Barbosa also observed the use of umbrella by men in 'the kingdom of Narsinga,' and remarks that, of these umbrellas, some were made of finely worked silk[29] with many golden tassels, and many precious stones and seed-pearls. He further observes, "They are so made as to open and shut, and may cost three or four hundred *cruzados*[29a]"

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29. As time went on, there seems to have come into vogue other umbrellas also. In the early days of the East India Company there were in use umbrellas called *roundells* or *arundells* and *catysols*. The latter is of "the Chinese variety of paper with a bamboo handle, carried three or four feet or more above a man's head." A good description of the former is given in the following lines by Thomas Bowrey in his *Geographical account of countries round the Bay of Bengal (1669–1679)* (edited by Lt. Col. Sir Richard Temple Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. XII, p. 85).

"They (*Roundells*) are very light but of exceeding Stiffnesse, being for the most part made of Rhinocerots hide, very decently painted and Guilded with what flowers they (people) admire. On the outside exactly in the midst thereof is fixed a Smooth handle (made of wood) by which the Roundelliere (Roundell-boy) doth carry it, holding it up, with one hand, a foot or more above his Master's head directing the Centre thereof as opposite to the ☉ (*Sun*) as possible he may".

Probably, this type of umbrella of distinction came into use during the rule of the Kutub Shāhis of Gōlconḍa.

The editor furnishes the following interesting note in this connection.

"The use of umbrellas, especially of roundells, formed the subject of sumptuary regulations on the part of the Company for over a century. The allusion in the text (I ommitted that portion) is to a fulmination at Masulipatam during Streynsham Master's visit, 16th Aug. 1676 (Diary of Streynsham Master, p. 41)-- "There being an ill custome in the Factory of writers haveing roundells carried over their heads which is not used or allowed by the Government of the Towne, but only to the Governour and three next principall officers and to two or three eminent merchants of ancient standing and by the Dutch only their Chief, Second, and Third who are of their Councell, and at Fort St. George is allowed only to the Councell and Chaplaine, It is therefore ordered that noe person in this Factory shall have a roundell carried over them but such are of Councell and the Chaplaine."

Even in the days of the East India Company such privileges and honours were so zealously guarded by its servants also, just as among the Hindus.

29a. Barbosa, I, p. 207.

ORNAMENTS

Jeweller's art was in a flourishing condition. The references to ornaments, in contemporary literature and inscriptions of the period suggest that there was a great variety of ornaments in the time of the Reḍḍi kings than in the previous periods. The high class people had a taste for fine, and beautiful things, and went in for articles of fine workmanship. The low class people emulated their example, and bought things of beauty in different and cheap varieties. Thus, from the lowest to the highest, and from the poor to the rich, all cultivated an aesthetic taste for beautiful ornaments of some kind or other, and to enhance the charm of their person by wearing them. Foreign travellers who visited the country did not fail to notice the love of the inhabitants of the country for ornaments. Abdur Razak, who visited Vijayanagar during the reign of king Prauḍha Dēvarāya says: "All the inhabitants of this country, both those of the exalted rank and of an inferior class, down to the artisans of the bazaar, wear pearls, or rings adorned with precious stones, in their ears, on their necks, on their arms, on the upper part of the hand, and on the fingers.[30]" The Western Cāḷukya monarch, Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara of the twelfth century A.D., gives a detailed description of different kinds of ornaments, worn by people of his times in his work *Abhilaṣitārhacintāmaṇi* in the third chapter called *Upabhōgavimśāti* in the section of *bhūṣābhōga*, the luxury of ornaments. Almost all the ornaments described in this work were in use in the period under review.

There were ornaments worn on the head, ears, nose, neck, hands, chest, waist,- feet and fingers. Most of the ornaments were the same for both the sexes. Only a few were exclusively worn by women. Ornaments worn by women attracted the attention of Nicolo de Donti. He observes, "By way of ornament they wear rings of gold on their arm and on their hands; also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds, and studded with gems[31]." As time rolled on, the number and variety of women's ornaments increased to such an extent that it became the fashion among the rich and the wealthy to have seven sets of ornaments, ear-marked for wearing on each of the seven days of the week.

It may be supposed that fashions also changed in respect of ornaments. Merchants and nobles were generally instrumental in introducing into the country new varieties of jewellery which

30. Major, Abdur Razak. p. 26.

31. Ibid, Conti, p. 23.

were in vogue in other countries and kingdoms. Fashions changed in accordance with the popularity of the new varieties introduced.

Ornaments were made of different materials, metals like tin, copper, silver, gold, and alloys like bronze and brass. There were gilded ornaments also of silver and gold. Kings, nobles and the rich put on very costly ornaments made of gold, set with precious stones. Friar Jordanus, who visited India in the early post-Kākatīya period, writes : "But the kings have this distinction from others, that they wear upon the arms gold and silver rings, and on the neck a gold collar with a great abundance of gems.[32] "

People generally wore such kinds of ornaments as their purse and position permitted them to wear. The rich had even anklets made of gold, and jingling toe rings (*ravaḷi maṭṭelu*). Gold ornaments studded with precious stones were common among the rich and the royal families. While the rich wore jewelled necklaces, the poor put on necklaces of glass-beads, seeds and even grains like wheat. If the rich took pride in wearing jewelled ear-ornaments, the poor were satisfied by putting on in their ears tinted palm leaves. Whatever might be the material, each type of ornaments was made lovely to look at by beautifying it, not only by its finish and perfection, but also by every possible way by joining to it pendants, small tinkling bells, tassels with silk and golden threads and the like. Judged by the descriptions given by the Western Cāḷukya king, Sōmēśvara, the ornaments themselves bear eloquent testimony to the skill in workmanship and to the ingenuity of design of the ancient gold and silversmiths. Some of the costly ornaments described in Sōmēśvara's work are to be seen worn even to-day by women of the wealthy class in villages and towns also, in some parts of the Andhra country.

Head-Ornaments:

Ornaments worn on the head were of various kinds. *Cērucukka*[33], otherwise called *pāpaṭa boṭṭu*, the *sīmanta-bhūṣaṇam* was the chief ornament worn in the centre of the forehead by women at the parting of the hair. It was called *sajjatilakam* by king Sōmēśvara who gives a good description of this ornament in his work. It was a golden pearl ornament studded with precious stones. Another type worn on the head was *śaśi* and *ravi*. Even to the present day they are worn by women in villages remote from towns. They are now called *candravaṅka* and *rāgiḍi*, and resemble the crescent moon and the sun respectively.

32. *Foreign Notices*, p. 209.
33. Pv. Cr., p. 72.

The ornament *ravi* is bigger than *śaśi* and was elaborately worked out with gems. These two jewels are worn on either side of the *sīmanta* or the parting of the hair[34]. *Bimbamu* was another circular golden ornament set with gems, for wearing at the back on the head[35]. "In some places," writes Conti, "they (women) twist up the hair upon the top of the head, like a pyramid, sticking a golden bodkin in the centre, from which golden threads, with pieces of cloth of various colours interwoven with gold, hang suspended over the hair[36]." This was another ornament noticed by a foreigner. On the plaited tresses women used to wear a large circular golden ornament composed with emeralds called *paccaḍapu-gaṇḍa*[37]. Another ornament of women's braided hair (*koppu*) was called in Telugu *baṅgāru - pūcērulu*[38] or strings of golden flowers. *Kuppela mutyāla-kucculu*[39] were tassels of pearls with golden knobs worn above the ears on the head on either side. Women belonging to royal and wealthy families were in the habit of covering their heads with hair-nets adorned with pearls. This was called *muktāphala-jālaka* in Sanskrit, and *mutyāla-jalli* in Telugu.[40]

Necklets and Necklaces:

Many kinds of necklaces were worn both by men and women. Some of them hung down as far as the chest, and some descended still lower down as far as the navel, and some others were worn round the neck. These ornaments were called *hāras* in Sanskrit and *pērulu and sarālu* in Telugu. The *hāra*, the last of the above-said varieties was called *kaṇṭhikā* in Sanskrit, and *kaṇṭiya* or *kaṇṭe* in Telugu. Generally, these *kaṇṭhikas* were pearl ornaments, composed of pearls of one, three, five or nine strings knit together like a band. It is said that *ēkāvaḷi*, a single string of pearls of regal excellence, was considered the best of the *kaṇṭhikas* (necklets). After the fashion of the

34. "పాపట కిరుదంత ... శశి రవి భూషణయుగము..."_Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Major Conti, p. 28.

37. "జడకుచ్చులమీఁద............పచ్చడపుఁగండ..." Hr. Vl., II, v. 93.

38. "కొప్పుమీఁదను.......... బంగారు పూచేర్లు ..." Pv. Cr. p. 71.

39. Ibid.

40. Ks. Kh., IV. v. 183; Sm. Dv., I, iv. p. 74, pr. 188.
"గగన లక్ష్మిలతాతన్వి కబరి మీఁద
సంతరించిన ముత్యాల జల్లివోలె."—

41. Pv. Cr., p. 72.

mauktika kanthika, and *mutyāla paṭṭeḍa*,[41] another neck-ornament, gold bands to be worn round the neck came into existence This ornament was a pliable bar of gold bent round the neck in the form of a *kanthika*. Poor people who could not afford to go in for gold ornaments wore silver and brass *kanthikas*.[42] There were necklets of small black glass beads also, worn by poorer classes. Copper *kanthika* also may be taken to have been in use in those times, though we do not hear about that ornament in the contemporary Telugu literature. Similar to the *mauktika kanthika* there were *ratna kanthikas* also, set with diamonds and other precious stones.

Necklaces had different distinguishing names applied to them, in accordance with the variety, number and method used in composing the different gems. There were necklaces of one string, three strings, five strings and so on. In preparing these ornaments full use was made of the nine kinds of gems. Necklaces composed of different gems, like emerald, diamond, ruby, pearl, coral, sapphire, and topaz, and those composed of any one of them exclusively, find mention in the contemporary Telugu works. The former variety with one or more strings was called *bannasarālu* in Telugu. The term *bannasaramu* appears to be a *vikṛti* of the Sanskrit word *varṇasaram*. This *varṇasaram* was described by Sōmēśvara in his *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, where he says that it was a *hāra* composed of sapphires and pearls[43]. In practice, however, the necklace composed of precious stones or glass beads of different colours, was called *bannasaram*. Poor people wore necklaces of beads made of shells (*sankupūsala pērlu*), and of black glass (*nallapūsala pērlu*). Children put on necklaces of tiger's claws (*puli-gōrulu*) to serve as amulets.

Ear Ornaments :

There were many patterns of ear ornaments made of gold, silver, copper, ivory and probably brass also. These were either circular or square in shape, and resembled petalled flowers. Some were in the form of rings, *pōgulu* in Telugu. Ear ornaments which were composed of only four pearls were called *caukatlu*[44] in Telugu. These ornaments were generally made of gold, set with pearls or precious gems. Ear

41. Pv. Cr., p. 72.

42. "కంచు వెండి కంబంపుగంటియు..."—Hr. Vl., II, v.93

43. " तथैवनीलसंयुक्त मुक्तं पूर्वक्रमेणतु
कृतोवर्णसरोनाम दर्शनीयो मनोहरः॥ "—iii, viii, v. 1125.

44. Pr. Cr., I, p. 72.

ornaments are known by the names *tāṭaṁkas*, and *kuṇḍalas* in Sanskrit, and *kammalu* and *oṇṭulu*[45] (of one stone) in Telugu. *Mauktika tāṭaṅkās* and *ratna tāṭaṅkas* were commonly in use among the well-to-do people. The latter were also called as *pañju kammalu* in Telugu. There were also *rāgi kammalu*, ear ornaments made of copper. There was yet another variety of ear ornaments, called *vajrāla - kamma - genṭilu*.[46] These ornaments appear to have been large ear-rings attached with diamond *tāṭaṅkas*. There were other ornaments with tassels of pearls worn on the ears, called *bavirelu* and *kuṇṭenakucculu*[47] in Telugu. The former was a type of ornament worn on the tip of the ear. Jewels, called *bhramarakas*,[48] are known to us from literature. *Bavire* appears to be a corrupt form of the Sanskrit term *bhramara*. If this surmise is correct, *bavirelu* may be taken to have been made after the shape of bees. *Bavirelu* and *kuṇṭenakucculu*, large gold earrings with or without tassels, went together, and were twin ornaments. *Kuṇṭenakucculu* were probably *kunṭeḷḷu* without tassels or pendants. As their name suggests, they were large rings with tassels either of gold, silver, cotton or silk thread, or of pearls or gold chains, that hang down from the tip of the ears.

Nose Ornaments :

Nose ornaments were generally called *mukkera* and *nattu* in Telugu. *Mukkera* was a gold nose-ring, adorned with either seed-pearls or gems. *Mukkeras* with pearls (*mutyāla mukkera*), with crystals (*paṭikapu mukkera*), and with glass piece (*addapu mukkera*)[49], were common in those times. *Nattu*, a circular ornament adorned with precious stones, was worn by women on left nostril.

Ornaments worn on Hands :

Jewels worn on hands were many and varied. There were special circular ornaments to wear on the upper part of the arm which were called *keyūras* and *aṅgadas*. A good description of these

45. Sv. Mh., II, 61. Ear-rings of a particular pattern having a single stone worn by men, are called *Oṇṭulu*

46. Nr. Cr., I, p. 42.

47. Pv. Cr. p. 72.

48. Sm. Dv., I, iv, p. 74.

49. Pv. Cr., p. 72.

Pn. Cr., I, p. 183–84.

ornaments[50] is found in the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* referred to above. *Keyūra* (armlet) was an ornament worn on the upper arm (*bāhu-bhūṣaṇam*), which was made in the shape of *siṁhavaktra*, lion's mouth, and decorated with different kinds of precious stones, pendants, and fringes (*sūsukair=lambanair=yuktam*). Similarly, the gold ornament *aṅgadam* set with diamonds and pearls, and adorned with the feathers of an owl, was also an armlet, jewel worn on the upper part of the arm. Since it is called *bāhu-sandhi-vibhūṣaṇam*, it may be said to have been worn above the *keyūra*. These ornaments, the common name for which is *keyūramudralu*[51] and *bhujakīrtulu* in Telugu, were worn by kings. Those who could not afford to wear such costly ornaments, satisfied themselves by wearing circular armlets, made of silver, or copper, or even gilded ones,[52] on their upper arms. They were called *daṇḍa-kaḍiyamulu* in Telugu. *Kaḍiyamu* is a general term for a bracelet. Besides these, there were *rakṣā-hāṭak=ālaṁkāras*, ornaments of gold in the nature of amulets, containing tigers' claws, or other things, calculated to avert harm or calamity, or to bring luck to the wearer. These adorned with gold or silk-thread or pearl tassels were tied to the upper arms. These amulets were called *daṇṭa tāyettulu*.[53] Those who were too poor to wear any metalled amulets, put on those of herbs which were believed to possess supernatural powers.

Bracelets or ornaments worn on the wrists were called *kaṅkaṇa-mulu*, *valayamulu* or *murugulu*. These were primarily made of gold, and set with diamonds, sapphires, emeralds and other precious stones. There were emerald bracelets, entirely composed of emeralds, pearl bracelets and diamond bracelets. According to the design and decoration the patterns varied and were known by distinguishing names. Very poor class of people wore bracelets of shells (*śaṅku-kaṅkaṇamulu*),[54] and glass beads of various colours. Silver, copper and even tin bracelets also were not rare in those times. In addition to these bracelets women used to wear bangles, specially, of black and blue colours (*nalla gājulu*, and *nīlāla gājulu*).[55]

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50. सिंहवक्त्रसमाकारं नानारत्नविचित्रितम्
सूसुकैर्लम्बनैर्युक्तं केयूरं बाहुभूषणम्
सौवर्णमणिविन्यस्तमुक्ताजालकमङ्गदम्
पेचकापिच्छसंयुक्तं बाहुसन्धिविभूषणम् ॥— iii, viii, vv. 1419-50.

51. Sr. Mh., III, v. 56.

52. Pv. Cr., p. 72.

53. Ibid,

54. Vr, Vj., II, v. 168.

55. Pv. Cr., p. 72; Pn. Cr., I, pp. 133-34.

Rings worn on fingers of the hand, called *mudrikalu* and *uṅgaramulu* in Telugu, were very common. These were also made of gold in many designs and set with gems. Rings of different patterns having different names were described by Sōmēśvara. While writing about men in 'the kingdom of Narsinga', Barbosa says, "They wear many rings set with precious stones and many ear-rings set with fine pearls in their ears." About women he writes: "Their heads are uncovered and the hair is tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head, and in their hair they put many scented flowers. In the side of one of the nostrils they make a small hole, through which they put a fine gold wire with a pearl, sapphire or ruby pendant. They have their ears bored as well, and in them they wear ear-rings set with many jewels; on their necks they wear necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads, and bracelets of gold and precious stones and many good coral beads are fitted to their arms. Thus the more part of this people is very wealthy.[56]"

Waist Ornaments:

Girdles or ornaments worn on the waist were generally made of gold. The Sanskrit terms denoting a girdle are *kaṭi-sūtra*, *kāñcī mēkhalā* and *rasanā*. The equivalent Telugu term is *molanūlu*, an appropriate and correct translation of the Sanskrit *kaṭi-sūtra*. Originally a cord of twisted or plaited cotton threads was worn round the waist. This became the model later for a waist ornament of gold or silver. Hence, we have *mutyāla-molanūlu*[57] and *ratnāla-kaṭi-sūtramu*[58], names denoting waist ornaments set with pearls and diamonds respectively. The waist ornament, called *kāñcīdāma*, is said to be a gold ornament set with gems, and decorated with (gold) threads and pendants and with jingling bells.[59] The Telugu works mention *mēkhalas* with *kanaka ghaṇṭalu* (gold bells), *mūgalu* (otherwise called *mūvalu* or *muvvalu*, probably those that do not clink), and *gajjelu*[60] (rattling bells). *Oḍḍāṇam* is a gold ornament of a different pattern. It is in the shape of belt with or without screw, furnished with ornaments and pendants. It was a nice jewel of elaborate

56. Barbosa, I. pp. 207–08.
57. Hr. Vl., IV, v. 11.
58. Nr. Cr., I, v. 4.
59. सौवर्णरत्नखचितं सूसुकैर्लम्बनैर्युतम्
हेमघर्घरघण्टाभि निर्मितं रवसंयुतम् ॥
काञ्चीदामेतिविख्यातं कटिभूषणमुत्तमम् ॥— Abh. Ct., iii, viii, vv. 1170–71.
60. Nv. Cr., IV, pp. 186–87.

ornamentation and high workmanship, set with all or some of the nine gems in various designs. Another pattern of waist ornament was *vajrāla-kamaru*, a type of diamond girdle. We can probably have a good idea of these waist ornaments from what Paes writes. He says that women wore "many girdles of gold and precious stones which hung in order one below the other almost as far down as half the thigh[61]"

Anklets:

Anklets also were of many patterns and varieties. Some were called *kaḍiyamulu* (*kaṭakas* in Sanskrit), and some, *andiyalu* or *andelu* (*andukas* in Sanskrit). There were also ornaments of a chain variety. In each of these varieties there were many patterns and designs with or without screws. It may be mentioned here that all these ornaments were also made of gold and studded with precious stones. Boys, girls and women put on these ornaments. One or more strings plaited together, or small gold bells of various sizes, some dumb, and some producing jingling sounds, were profusely used in the decoration of these ornaments. Low and poor class people wore anklets made of tin[62], and plaited string belts of small bells made of brass[63]. The toes were adorned with rings of gold set with jewels. They were decorated beautifully in order to produce clinking sounds. These rings which women wore on their toes are called *maṭṭelu* or *maṭṭiyalu*, *pādamudrikalu* in Sanskrit. These were made of tin and bronze[64] also. Rings with *śikharas*, that is, peak-decorations, were called *śekharambulu*[65]. Rings worn by women on the third finger of their foot had a special name called *pillāṇḍlu* (sing. *pillāṇḍi*).

All ornaments referred to in the contemporary Telugu literature were not mere figments of imagination of poets, but were real. Most of them are in use even at the present day. Gold, silver and precious stones were in abundance. There were dimond mines, as Barbosa and Nicolo de Conti inform us, in the country. Barbosa writes, "All other precious stones are brought hither (into the city of Vijayanagar) for sale from Pegu and Ceilam (Ceylon), and from Ormus and Cael they bring pearls and seed pearls. These precious stones circulate here more freely than elsewhere, because of the great esteem in which they are held (for they deck their persons with them, for which reason

61. Sewell, p. 278.
62. Pn. Cr., I, pp. 183-84.
63. Ibid, I, p. 29.
64. Pn. Cr., I, pp. 183-84.
65. Sm. Dv., I, iv, p. 74, pr. 188.

they collect here in great quantities)"[66]. While writing about Pulicat, a great emporium, a little below Nellore to its south, he informs us that traders from Pegu brought "great store of rubies and spinels, and abundance of musk [which precious stones are good cheap here. for him who knows how to buy and to choose them]"[67]. What Barbosa states of Vijayanagar, and the kingdom of Narsinga was equally true of Koṇḍavīḍu, the kingdom and the city. Trade and commerce made these articles of luxury brought from far and near, accessible to people. The introductory verses in Śrīnātha's *Haravilāsam* also bear evidence to this flourishing sea-borne trade in pearls, gold, and other articles of luxury. This affluence which marked this age, kept its level in the succeeding centuries also, as is borne out by the chronicles of Paes and Nuniz, who visited the capital of the Vijayanagar kingdom during the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.

66. Barbosa, I, pp. 202–03.

67. Ibid, II. p. 131.

CHAPTER III

RELIGION.

The religious history of the Reḍḍi period is more or less a continuation of that of the age of the Kākatīyas. The dominating cult was the Pas'upata S'aivism. It profoundly influenced the life and activity of the people of this period as no other cult then flourishing did. In fact, it was the religion of the royal family. The Reḍḍi kings were Śaivites and most of their vassals and dependants also professed that religion.

S'aivism was an ancient cult, and of the many schools of S'aivism flourishing in the Andhra country prior to the Reḍḍi period, the Pās'upata school was the most important. According to tradition current among the S'aivas of the Andhra country, the Pās'upata S'aivism was propagated by *ācāryas* beginning with Śvēta and ending with Lakulīs'a of the Yōgācārya school. The latter is said to have been the last of the twenty eight *ācāryas* of that school. Lakulīs'a or Nakulīs'a was a historical personage who can be traced to the first century A. D. Kārōhaṇa, the modern Karwar (in the Lāṭa country), which is traditionally connected with Lakulīs'a, was the chief establishment of these Lakulīs'a Pās'upata Śaivas. It is said that Lakulīs'a had four pupils, namely, Kus'ika, Gārgya, Kauruṣa and Maitrēya[1] Each one of these *ācāryas*, who had his own *maṭha* or establishment, was the founder of a branch. Kārōhaṇa, Kadambaguha, Āmardaka[2], and Teṛambi were some of the seats of the early *ācāryas* of the Pās'upata school[3]. This Pās'upata S'aivism spread far and wide in the country to the south of the Vindhyas from very early times.

As early as the seventh century A.D., we come to know of the existence of the *ācāryas* of this Pāśupata school in the Andhra country from the copper-plate records of the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī. There is reason to believe that the early spread of the Pāśupata S'aivism in the Andhra country was mainly, due to the efforts of the *ācāryas*

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. I. p. 278.

2. "Rājēndra Cōḷa (the Cōḷa emperor) is recorded in the Āgamānta works to have brought Brāhman S'aiva teachers to the south from the Āmardaka *maṭha* on the banks of the Gōdāvarī with the following result:

"An impetus was given to the spread of S'aivism and very large number of original works belonging to the Āgama school of S'aivism was written." (T. A, Gopinatha rao in E. R. E., Vol. II, part i, p. 4, S. V. S'aivism),

3 Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 351-361,

whose pontifical seat was Teṟambi. The yet-unpublished Ellore plates of the Eastern Cāḷukya king Viṣṇuvardhana III of the eighth century A.D., mention two *Śivacāryas*, Vāma S'iva and Puruṣa S'iva, disciples of Brahma *Śivācārya* of Teṟambi.[4] This village seems to be identical with Teṟambi, modern Terahi, five miles east of Ranod, more commonly called Narod in the State of Gwalior.[5] Later on, this Pāśupata school was further strengthened and consolidated by *Śivācāryas* of the Gōḷakīmaṭha,[6] who originally belonged to one of the branches referred to before, with the active support and personal interest taken by their royal pupils, the Kākatīya monarchs of Warangal. They established their *maṭhas* in different parts of the country which were maintained by grants of villages.

The same Pas'upata school found ready support at the hands of the Reḍḍi kings who were also followers of the same order. The *Śivācāryas* were *gurus* of kings and *sthānapatis* of temples as in the previous period. Śrīs'ailam, Tripurāntakam, and Daksharam were some of the principal strongholds of the Pas'upata school. We are unable to know clearly the manners and customs, and rites and rituals of the Pās'upata S'aivas. No contemporary work of that school which describes them, has come down to us. However, a passage in the *Tarkarahasyadīpikā* (a Jain work), a commentary on the *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* composed by Guṇaratnasūri, pupil of S'rī Dēvasundarasūri (circa. 1363 A. D.) of the Tapāgaccha, refers to the manners and customs of the S'aivas. As this work was composed in the fourteenth century, we can rely on the information given in this work, though in some respects it is 'fantastic and incredible'. The passage is quoted below:

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4. This copper-plate, which awaits publication, was discovered in a village near Ellore (West Godavari district). The passage in the grant referring to the *S'ivācaryas* who were the *sthānapatis* of a S'iva temple in the village of Vasanthṛūru (identical with the modern village of Vasantavāḍa, Ellore taluk) is quoted below :—

" तेఆంविनिवासिब्रह्मशिवाचार्य्यान्तेवा[सि वा] मशिवपुरुषशिवाभ्या
माराधनीयानान्त्रयाणां देवस्थानानां नित्यपूजाबलिप्र[दानार्थं
दत्तं (?)] घनसुषिरावनद्धवाद्यवादकगायकनटकाचार्य्यविलासिनी
जनभृतये येतद्देवायतनखण्डस्फुटितनवकर्म्मादि कार्य्यकरणार्थञ्च ....,"

5. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 35.

6. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIII (1927), pp. 137. ff.

"Let the abstract, which will be narrated hereafter of the doctrine of the Naiyāyikas' (i. e.) of Saiva teachings, be heard. "Yaugas is another name for Naiyāyikas, (and) first their individuality constituted by special characteristics and others will be spoken of". And they bear staves (and) wear a broad piece of cloth over the privities. They cover (their upper body) with woollen blankets and bear matted hair. They smear their bodies with ashes, and put on the sacred thread. They hold water-pitchers, and take tasteless meals. They generally live in forests, bear gourds hanging from (their) shoulders, eat bulbs, roots and fruit (of trees), and take delight in the duties of hospitality. Some have wives and others not. Those without wives are the best among them. They are engaged in the performance of the five fire penances, and even bear a consecrated linga in their hands or matted hair. But those, who have attained to the perfect state of self-restraint, wander naked. After washing their mouth, feet, and so forth in the morning, they draw three stripes at a time of ashes on their body, while meditating on Siva. The lay-worshipper patron, while doing obeisance, folds his hands and utters "*Om*, a bow to Siva", and similarly the preceptor responds with "to Siva a bow". And they, in assemblies asseverate that even he, who, after resorting to the Saiva initiatory consecration for twelve years, gives it up, obtains absolution, be he a male or a female slave. To them Īśvara (Siva) is God, omniscient, and causing creation, destruction, and so forth. The following are his eighteen incarnations :- (1) Nakulī; (2) Saushva-Kauśika, (3) Gārgya, (4) Akaurusha, (5) Maitrya, (6) Īsāna, (7) Pāragārgya, (8) Kapilāṇḍa, (9) Mānushyaka, (10) Kuśika, (11) Atri, (12) Piṅgala, (13) Pushyaka, (14) Bṛihadārva; (15) Agasti, (16) Santāna, (17) Rāsikara, and (18) Vidyāguru. These are their *tirthēśas* to be venerated. The mode of their worship and prayers should be cognised from their scriptures .... They are distinguished into four sects, such as Saiva and so forth., It has been said; "The ascetics who use a seat, ashes, cloth for privities, matted hair and sacred thread, are four-fold, in consequence of the difference of their own practices and so forth." Saivas, Pāśupatas, Mahāvratadharas and Kālamukhas are the four principal divisions amongst these ascetics." Their sub-divisions, again, are Bharaṭas, Bhaktas, Laiṅgikas, Tāpasas, and so forth. As regards the taking up of the religions vow in the case of Bharaṭas and others, their is no restriction about the castes, such as Brāhmaṇas and so forth. He who has devotion for Siva may become any *vrati* (taker of religious vow), such as Bharaṭa and others. But in philosophical sciences, Naiyāyikas, being devoted to Sadāśiva, are called Saivas. Vaiśēṣikas, however, are Pāśupatas. Hence, the teachings of Naiyāyikas are designated Saiva and Vaiśesika philosophy Pāśupata. ...."

7. A.S.R., 1906-07, pp. 190-192.

The description given in the above passage refers to the Pāśupata Saivas in general. Hence, it may be taken to apply also to the Pāśupata Saivas in the Telugu country. The passage clearly shows that the Pāśupatas wore "a consecrated liṅga in their hands or matted hair". In fact, according to the Saiva scriptures liṅga has to be worn on *kakṣa*, *kara*, *kaṇṭha*, *uttamāṅga*, *vakṣasthala* and so on.[8] This is corroborated by the Telugu works, *Basava Purāṇām* and *Prabhuliṅgalīla.*[9] Even at the present day brāhmans of the Saiva sect in the Andhra country wear a consecrated liṅga on their bodies. The movement to revive Vēdic sacrifices, sponsored by the nobles and early kings of this period, was greatly responsible for averting the *avaidic* influences of the cosmopolitan cult of Saivism of the Canarese country, engineered by the great Saiva reformer Basavēśvara, minister of the Kaḷacuri king Bijjaladēva, and in maintaining the Vēdic character of Saivism, the principal religion of the Andhra country. The popular Saivism seems, however, to have been encumbered by a number of religious practices and beliefs, gathered around it during its contact with other schools of Śaivism, namely, the Yōgic Saiva cult of the Nātha Siddhas, and the Sākta Tantric cult which flourished in this period and had their own respective following. These two cults also left an indelible impress both on the Telugu literature and on the religious life of the people. The impress can be clearly detected from the different sets of terminology, peculiar to each of the cults, used in the contemporary Telugu literature.

The cult of the Siddhas or the Nāthas, who were adepts in the practices of four kinds of *yōgas* and were believed to have been perfect in all the *siddhis* including *kāyasiddhi*, was popular in this period. The followers of this cult are called Nāthapanthi yōgis or Siddhas

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8. " गुरुणादत्तलिङ्गंतु शिवमत्र धारयेत् (?)
मूर्ध्निकण्ठे भुजे हस्ते हृत्स्थलेनाभिमण्डले
एतेषा मेकदेशेतुधारयेच्छिवलिङ्गकम्॥ " –*Vatūlagama.*

9. "ప్రకట రుద్రాక్షసన్మకుట వర్ధనులు
సకలాంగభసితాది శాసన ధరులు
విరచిత వస్త్రోపవేష్టిత మకుటు
లురు జటాజూట విస్ఫురిత శాసనులు
కక్ష కరస్థల కంఠోత్తమాంగ
వక్షస్థలాదిక వరలింగధరులు
నుతసంయమీశ్వరు లతుల ప్రతిష్ఠ
లతిశీలు రితరపాకాది వర్జితులు" — Bs. Pr., II, p. 33.

The Nāṭha gurus are nine in number, of whom Ādi Nātha, the first *guru*, is Śiva himself. Mīna Mātha alias Matsyēndra Nātha, Gōrakṣa Nātha, Caurangi, Mēgha Nātha, Virūpākṣa Nātha, Siddha Nāgārjuna Khaṇika Nātha and Vyāḷi Siddha were the other Nāthas. It is said that Mīna Nātha heard, while in the womb of a fish, a discourse on yōga taught by Śiva to his consort Pārvatī, and after he was born, he entreated lord Śiva, the Parama Yōgin, to teach the yōga and bless him. Śiva, who was kindly disposed towards him, taught the yōga and made him an expert in all *vādas* (sciences), all *mantras* (magical formulas), all medicines, and all the *siddhis*. Svātmārama Yōgīndra in his "*Haṭhayōgapradīpikā*" refers to Matsyēndra Nātha and his disciple Gōrakṣa Nātha as the first teachers who propounded the science of Haṭhayōga[10].

This Nātha cult, or the Siddha cult as it is otherwise called, appears to have been closely allied to the Tāntric cult; for, we come to know that the *kulācāra* section of the Tantras is said to have been introduced by Mīna Nātha".[11]

The adventures of these Nātha gurus are described in the contemporary Telugu *dvipada* kāvya, *Nava Nātha Caritra*, written by poet Gaurana. By the time he wrote this work there was already a Telugu *padya* prabandha on the same subject, written by an earlier Śaiva poet, named Śrīgiri[12]. However, at the instance of Mukti Śāntarāya, the pontiff of the Bhikṣāmaṭha, one of the five Śaiva maṭhas situated on the Śrīparvata, the famous Saiva-kṣētra (Kurnool district), Gaurana wrote this *Nava Nātha Caritra* in *dvipada* metre and dedicated it to him. Nāgārjuna Siddha, one of the Nava Nāthas, is said, in this work, to have visited the countries of Malayāḷa, Barbara, Magadha, Andhra, Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa and propagated this Siddha cult,[13] and is referred to as *Rasayōga Śāstranirmāta*,[14] the originator of the science of *Rasayōga*, and as having written many works on this science. We are informed that Nāgārjuna Siddha, one of his disciples, came to Śrīśailam with the object of transforming that mountain into a lump of gold by his skill in

10. I. H. Q., Vol. XVI (1940), p. 807.

11. Ibid, Vol. VI, pp. 178 ff.

12. Vide, Chapter IX on Literature (Telugu). The work is now extinct.

13. "మళయాళ బర్బర మగధాంధ్ర పాండ్య
చోళభూములు చనఁ జొచ్చె విజ్ఞాన
శీలి నాగార్జున సిద్ధుఁ డంపార ..." —Nv. Cr., V, p. 211.

14. "రసయోగశాస్త్ర నిర్మాతయై మహిమ
నెసఁగు నాగార్జును శిష్యుఁడను ..." —Ibid. V. p. 219.

Rasavāda.[15] His attempt was however foiled by lord Viṣṇu, who came to him in the guise of a brāhman just at the critical moment[16] and killed him.

The prevalence of the yōgic cult of the Nātha gurus in the Andhra country seems to have been responsible for the production of the literature, dealing with the adventures illustrative of their supernatural powers and spiritual attainments. Works of this kind, no doubt, must have enhanced the popularity of this cult; and stories relating to the greatness of the attainments of the Siddhas were of common currency. These Nava Nāthas are alluded to in the Telugu works of the period like Jakkana's *Vikrmārkacaritra,*[17] and the influence of this cult is perceptible in some of the

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15. "అటఁ బెంపు మీఱ నాగార్జున నాథుఁ
డిట నట నటక మహీమండలంబుఁ
గలయఁ జరించి యొక్కనిఁ దన పేర
వెలయ సిద్ధునిఁ జేసి వివిధౌషధముల
మణిమంత్రయోగాది మర్మకర్మలను
నణిమాది సిద్ధుల నాత్మప్రణీత
రసవాద సారశాస్త్రంబులఁ దెలిపి
మసలక దేహ మేమరక నీ వింకఁ
దిరుగఁ బొమ్మని యంధ్రదేశంబు కతనిఁ
బనగ వీడ్కొలిపి ... ...।" —Ibid, V, pp. 232 - 33

From the above passage we come to know that there was one Siddha Nāgārjuna, an adept in *Rasavāda*, and a disciple of Natha Nāgārjuna specially trained by him.

16. *Ibid*, V, *pp.* 232–243.

17. "ఆదినాథుని యపరావతారము పూని
మత్స్యేంద్రనాథుని మహిమఁ దనరి
సారంగనాథుని సామర్థ్యమును బొంది
గోరక్షనాథుని గుణముఁ దాల్చి
సిద్ధబుద్ధుని బుద్ధి చిత్తంబునం జేర్చి
ఖనికు విద్యాధిక ఘనతఁ జేర్చి
మేఖనాథుని మంత్ర వైఖరి వహియించి
నాగార్జునునికళాశ్రీ క్రమించి
యావిరూపాక్షుఁ డితఁ డన నతిశయిల్లి
యర్థి నవనాథ సిద్ధుల యైక్యమైన
మోహనాకృతి యితఁ డను మూర్తిఁ దనరి
చిన్మయస్వాంతుఁ డగు నొక్క సిద్ధవరుఁడు —Vk, Cr., V1. v.,4

stories in it. *Siddhasārasvatamantra*, one of the numerous Siddha *mantras*, believed to make the practiser of that *mantra* proficient in all branches of learning, is referred to in the contemporary Telugu works[18]. Vallabhāmātya, son of Tippaya and the author of the drama *Krīḍābhirāmam*, is said to have been favoured with the wealth of *Siddhasārasvata* by the grace of god Bhairava[19]. The lore of the Nava Nāthas, as narrated by the famous Siddas, was read tc the people in public halls[20], like the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas in these days, and explained to them. This was one of the forms of literary propaganda carried on in those days to spread a cult. Even to this day the man in the street believes that the Siddhas go at their will to any place they wish, possess magical stones (*maṇis*) yielding their possessors all that they wish, know the art of alchemy (turning everything into gold) and all medicines and *mantras* that endow invulnerability and longevity and supernatural powers. As these Siddhas were adepts in *Rasavāda* (science of Chemistry), experiments in medicinal preparations using *rasa* (Mercury), and *gandhaka* (sulphur), were made, during this period, and *rasavaidya* was greatly improved in the Andhra country. This yōgic cult of the Siddhas was responsible for producing Vēmana, a hāṭhayōgin and an alchemist, towards the end of this period.

The prevalence of the Tāntric cult in the Andhra country during this period is suggested by the terms used in contemporary Telugu literature, like *Bhairavī cakra*,[21] *Bhairavayōgi*, *Yōginīcakra* and the like. Terms like these creep into the literature and language of the country, only when the cult to which they belong is prevalent there. In this way both the Telugu language and literature were enriched by the terminology of the respective creeds and philosophies that once flourished in the Andhra country. The Tantras enunciate the worship of Śakti, the female energy of Śiva, chiefly devoted to Ānanda Bhairavī.

18. "సిద్ధ సారస్వతమంత్రం బుపదేశించె నంతం దదనుష్ఠాన విశేషంబునకు శారద ప్రత్యక్షంబై యతని సముచిత విద్యా విశారదుం గావించిన ......—Vk, Cr., V, Pr 163.

19. "ప్రత్యక్ష మొనరించె భైరవస్వామిచే
సిద్ధ సారస్వత శ్రీవహించె ......"—Kd. Rm., V. 23.

20. "ప్రసిద్ధ సిద్ధ జన కథిత నవనాథచిత్ర చరిత్రవర్ణన ప్రమోదహృదయ సామాజిక విరాజమాన మణి మండపంబుల వలనను ... ..."—Vk, Cr., 11, Pr, 51, p. 35.

21. "In the *Bhairavi cakra*, or the circle of Bhairavi, where Kaulas gathered to worship Śakti, all castes were admitted, meat of every sort excepting perhaps beef was allowed, and every worshipper was required to contract a marriage which was to last to the end of the gathering ......"—*Maha-Parinirvaṇa Tantra*., VIII, 177; IX, 268-9--J.I.H., Vol. IX, p. 121.

This worship, being centred chiefly in mystic circles, is known as *Bhairavatantra* or *Cakrapūja*, in which there was free use of liquor (*madya*), eating of meat (*māmsa*) and fish (*matsya*), communion with women (*maithuna*) and eating a kind of food (*mudrā*) (generally known as *Pañca-Makāras*). Followers of this form of worship were called kaulas and the custom they practised was known as *kulācārā*. The *kulācāra* section of the Tantras is said to have been brought down to earth by the Siddha Mīna Nātha.[22] *Bhairavatantra* is alluded to in the contemporary Telugu work, *Krīḍābhirāmam*.[23] Bhairava yōgini is referred to in a story in Jakkana's *Vikramārkacaritra*.[24] Self-immolation was a Tāntric practice and the existence of *Campuḍu-guḍi*, a temple to commit suicide, was indicative of the prevalence of the Tāntric cult in the country. *Yōginīcakra* is referred to in one of the stories in the contemporary Telugu work, *Simhāsanadvātrimśika*.[25] *Raṇamukuḍupu*, a rite observed in this period to satisfy Bhūtas and Prētas by an offering of food soaked in blood in the field of battle at night, is said to have been a Tāntric rite.[26] In the contemporary Sanskrit work, *Vēmabhūpālacaritam* written by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, we find a passage describing the worship of the goddess Ādi Bhairavī in the temple of Caṇḍī (*Caṇḍikāyatana*) in the Vindhyan forest by king Peda Kōmati Vēma during one of his campaigns.[27] This worship, which was conducted according to the *kulācāra* rites, included the offering of *surā*, (liquor) also. All these instances unmistakably point to the fact that the Tāntric cult also spread in the Andhra country during the period under review. However, the extent of its popularity or of its following cannot be ascertained with the evidence available.

The influence of the gurus or *ācāryas* of these cults on the people of those times was very great. Members of the Ghōḍerāya family were the Śaiva gurus of the Reḍḍi royal families of Koṇḍaviḍu, Rājamahēndravaram and Kandukūru. Some of the members of this Ghōḍerāya family are known to us from inscriptions and Telugu literature. Ghōḍerāya Gaṅgayadēva was the guru of Prōlaya Vēmā

22. J.A.S.B., New Series, Vol. XXIX (1933). p. 75.

23. "టిట్టిభసెట్టిగారు వినుఁడీ యొకచోఁ గ్రుంపు జోగి తాయి తొ
వట్టిడి దీనితోఁ గలసి 'భైరవ తంత్రముఁ' దీర్చు మెచ్చి పా
ఘాట్టమునఁ లిఖించె నఖరాక్షరభంగిఁ దెనుంగుఁ బద్యముఁ
బుట్టువు పేరనాగతము భోగము భాగ్యము ప్రస్ఫుటంబుగన్".—Kd. Rm., v. 240

24. VK. Cr., VII, v. 15; Also see Hr. Vl., II, v. 109.

25. Sm. Dv., II, vii, v. 98.

26. VV., Cr., p. 26, f. n.

27. *Vēmabhūpalacaritam*, pp. 187–189.

Reḍḍi.[28] The latter is said to have acquired the grandeur of the kingdom only by the grace of his guru Gaṅgayadēva. Ghōḍerāya Tripurāridēva and his son Bhīmayadēva were the gurus of the kings of Rājamahēndravaram.[29] Both of them are mentioned in an inscription at Palivela[30] (East Godavari district), dated in Saka 1345 (corresponding to the cyclic year Sōbhakṛt). This record registers some gifts made by king Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi and his queen Anitalli at the command of their gurus, on the banks of the Gautamī during the *puṣkarm* festival. Here in this record the father and son are mentioned as Tripurārijiyyaṅgāru and Pinumayyaṁgāru (wrongly written for Bhīmayyaṁgāru). Sivaliṅgā Reḍḍi of the Kandukūru family furnishes commentary on the *Girīśaśruti sūktimāla* the following genealogy of his gurus, the descendants of Gaṅgādhara or Gaṅgayadēva.[31]

Gaṅgādhara
:
Tripurāntaka
|
Śrīgiri
|
Tripurāri
|
Bhīmēśvara — Śrīgiri

Besides these there were many other religious divines, like Śaṅkaramuni, who, for their scholarship, conduct, penance, and devotion to God, were highly esteemed by kings and people alike, and were their guides and philosophers.

28. Ep. Ind., Vol VIII, Madras Museum plates, v, 13. p. 15.

29. "ఈశ్వరుఁ డింటివేల్పు జగదేకగురుండగు ఘోడెరాయ త్రి
పురారిఁ డాత్మబంధు గురుడు... ..."—Ks. Kh., I.v. 50.
See also introductory verses in the *Sivalilavilāsam* (Appendix to chapter IX, Literature).

30. [ఘోడె*]యరాయ త్రిపురారిజియ్యంగారికిని ఘోడెమల్లు (ఘోడెరాయ) పిను
మయ్యంగారి (భీమయ్యంగారి) అనతి ప్రమాణను... ..."S. I. I., V. No. 114

31. " श्रीगङ्गाधरवंशवाधरजनीनाथस्य विद्यानिधे
र्नप्ता श्रीत्रिपुरान्तकस्य सुधियः पौत्रो गुरोः श्रीगिरेः
पुत्रः श्रीत्रिपुरारिदेशिकमणे र्भीमेश्वरस्यानुजो
यस्य श्रीगिरिदेशिको गुरु रभूत् श्रीकोमटयोगीकृत (?)" ||

Next to Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism was the most important religion of the period. Vaiṣṇavism underwent a great change after the death of Śrī Rāmanujācārya. He brought into his religion a cosmopolitàn outlook. There were other ācāryas who differed from him to a certain extent and interpreted their scriptures according to their own light. However, there was not a dominant personality who could stand comparison with that great ācārya and make his co-religionists follow him implicitly and accept his interpretation. Hence, the differences silently accelarated a cleavage in Vaiṣṇavism into two distinct schools, one consisting of the followers of Srī Rāmānuja and the other comprising those who were averse to his cosmopolitan outlook and love of reform.[32] This accelaration of differences seems not a little due to the revival of Vēdism. The Reḍḍi kings, after the establishment of a kingdom in the East, revived Vēdic sacrifices and patronised scholars who were proficient in Vēdic lore. There was a big movement in Vijayanagar also to resuscitate Vēdism, sponsored by Harihara I, and his brother Bukka I, under the able guidance of their guru Vidyāraṇya. These attempts indirectly resulted not only in preserving, as has previously been stated, the Vēdic character of Śaivism in the Andhra country, but also accelarated the progress of the revivalist movement in the Vaiṣṇava religion. This schism, which was dorment in the Vaiṣṇava Church for a long time, became more explicit during this period. Some of the Vaiṣṇava ācāryas were desirous of maintaining their hold on the people, and yet, of preserving the brāhman supremacy, and the purity and Vēdic character of their religion. Venkaṭanātha, or Vēdānta Dēśika as he is popularly called, and Piḷḷai Lōkācārya and his brother Aḷagiya Maṇavāḷa Perumāl Nainār became the leaders of the two parties into which the Srī Vaiṣṇavas were divided. Through the efforts of these ācāryas and their teachings, the two opposite schools of Vaiṣṇavism which were till then hazy, soon crystallised into two well-defined sects, the Vaḍagalai, or the Northern school, and the Tengalai, or the Southern school. Vēdānta Dēs'ika[32] was the leader of the Vaḍagalai school, and Piḷḷai Lōkācārya and his brother, of the Teṅgalai school. The social and religious conditions prevailing in the early post-Kākatīya period in the Deccan country, were indirectly responsible

32. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIV. pp. 126–136; 277 ff.

"An impersonation of orthodoxy and a doughty champion of Brāhmanical supremacy, the sole authority on the Bhāṣyas and the most profound living scholar and writer in sanskrit, he (Vēdānta Dēs'ika) represented all that was traditional and conservative in Vaiṣṇavism, and all that was obnoxious in the eyes of the new party (?) (Teṅgalaism). They (the leaders of Teṅgalaism) looked upon him, therefore, with a sullen and grim hatred. They considered him narrow and fanatical, reactionary and unsympathetic." —— Ibid, "*The life and times of Sri Vedānta Dēs'ika,*" by S'rī V. Rangāchari, M. A.

to a great extent for hastening this change in the Vaiṣṇavism, and this was one of the momentous periods in the history of Vaiṣṇavism both in the Tamil and the Andhra countries.

Though Vaiṣṇavism penetrated into the Andhra country long before the Reḍḍi period, and had, for its strongholds famous holy places, like Srīkūrmam, Śiṁhāchalam, Sarpavaram and Bāpaṭla, it really began to capture the hearts of the princes and the people alike, only during this period. Though *Vēdamārga-pratiṣṭhācāryas*, like Mārgam Pahiṇḍimukkula Vīra Tiruveṅgaḷakumāra, were able to secure the patronage of some of the local feudal chiefs of the Telugu Cōḍa dynasty[33], in the southern coastal region, the progress of Vaiṣṇavism in the Andhra country till this period was very slow, and the efforts of the earlier ācāryas to spread that religion on a large scale bore fruit only during this period. The many illustrious Vaiṣṇava families, like the Bhaṭṭars, the Kandāḍais, and the Tirumalais, came and settled in the coastal Andhra country, and propagated the Vaiṣṇava faith.

The Bhaṭṭars were an illustrious family of scholars of Śrīraṅgam. Śrīvatsacihnaguru, or Srīvatsacihnamiś'ra as he was generally called, was the first and foremost disciple of S'rī Rāmānuja, and the founder of the family of Bhaṭṭars. He is better known in the Śrīvaiṣṇava chronicles by the name of Kūrattāḻvān. He was born in the village of Kūram near Chingleput, and belonged to the Haritasa*gōtra* and Āpastaṁba Sūtra. His son was Parās'ara Bhaṭṭa I who was nominated to the pontifical seat at S'rīraṅgam by Rāmānuja. In this family, was born Parās'ara Bhaṭṭa, the seventh in descent, who went on a tour to the Andhra country, where many kings and nobles became his disciples. Mummaḍi Nāyaka whose capital was Kōṟukoṇḍa, near Rājamahēndra-varam, was one of them, and he made a grant of the village of Koṭṭāḷḷapaṟṟu to his guru as *guru-dakṣiṇa*. He was also called Śrīraṅga-vardhana, a title which he probably assumed, as Gōpinātharao thinks, after he became the disciple of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa.[34] It is probable that Parāśara finally settled at Kōṟukoṇḍa, for, from the Kōṟukoṇḍa pillar

33. N. I. D., Kr. Nos 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65 and 66.

34. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 85-88; S'rīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka, vv. 34-42, pp. 92-93, "The village granted to Parās'ara Bhaṭṭa VII was evidently enjoyed by him for some time before he died. His mother, who survived him (v. 48), seems to have thought of allowing the relatives of the deceased to inherit the village; but in the meanwhile she changed her mind and gave it away to the god Raṅganātha, taking Him, as she says, as the greatest of all relatives. Most likely the relatives began to trouble her and perhaps also to question her rights to the property, which must have goaded her to take the course which she chose." — p. 84. Verses 34-42 mention S'rīvatsacihnamis'ra, the founder of the Bhaṭṭar family of S'rīraṅgam, his son Bhaṭṭa Parās'ara, another Bhaṭṭa Parās'ara, the seventh person in descent from the founder (?), one of his illustrious relatives Vēdācārya Bhaṭṭ

inscription[35] of Mummadi Nāyaka we come to know that Parāśara died at that place.

After the death of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, Mummadi Nāyaka seems to have become the disciple of the Kandāḍais. An inscription[36] at Simhāchalam dated in S'aka 1286, mentions Mummadi Nāyaka as the disciple of Kandāḍa Ayyaṅgār. We do not know if this Kandāḍa Ayyangar had any thing to do with Kandāḍai Āṇḍan, a disciple of Brahmatantra Svatantrajīyar, who was contemporaneous with Vēdānta Dēśika.

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and later on another Parās'arā Bhaṭṭa. However, the genealogy given here, seems to be somewhat confused. According to the S'rīvaiṣṇava chronicles, Vēdācārya Bhaṭṭa, son of Sudars'ana Bhaṭṭa, alias, S'rutaprakās'ācārya, was the eldest brother of Parās'ara Bhaṭṭa, and his son was S'rīraṅgarāja Bhaṭṭa. "In all probability the Bhaṭṭa Parās'ara of our document was identical with the Bhaṭṭa Parās'ara, the son of S'rīraṅganātha Bhaṭṭa, and the grandson of Vēdācārya Bhaṭṭa" (p. 88, f. n. 1).

There is a Telugu manuscript in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, by name *S'rīraṅgarāja Bhaṭṭaru vaṁs'āvaḷi* (S/5–2–33) which furnishes an account of the Bhaṭṭars of S'rīraṅgam. The Bhaṭṭar families that settled in the Andhra country, find special mention in it. According to this work the genealogy of the Bhaṭṭars is given as shown under.

S'rīvatsacihnamis'ra

Parās'ara Bhaṭṭar (adopted Sarvajña Bhaṭṭar)

S'rī Ramapuḷḷa Bhaṭṭar (alias Vyāsa Bhaṭṭar)

Vāgvijaya Bhaṭṭar alias Raṅga Bhaṭṭar

Sarvajña Bhaṭṭar (adopted by Parās'ara Bhaṭṭar)

Sudarśana Bhaṭṭar (Śrutaprakāsācārya)

Vēdācārya Bhaṭṭar alias Vyāsa Bhaṭṭar.

Parās'ara Bhaṭṭar

S'rī Raṅga Bhaṭṭar alias S'rī Raṅganātha Bhaṭṭar

Parās'ara Bhaṭṭar.

The work states that it was Parās'ara Bhaṭṭar, younger brother of Vēdācārya Bhaṭṭar, and son of Sudars'ana Bhaṭṭar who came and settled at Kōrukoṇḍa. In that case he must be the fifth in descent and not the seventh (*tadādi Sapta puruṣamkulam*) from the founder of the family as the grant says. The statements made in this *vaṁs'āvaḷi* and the genealogy given there seem to be incorrect.

35. Ep. Coll., No. 44 of 1912: Ep. Rep. 1912, para 68, p. 87.

36. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 841. See also 1084, and 1090, and J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XI, pp. 212–213.

Another illustrious family of the Vaiṣṇava teachers was that of the Tirumalais. The Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher Tirumala Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti, also called Nallānu Cakravarti, came and settled in the Andhra country. He had five sons, Tirveṅgaḷa Cakravarti, Aḷaghari Cakravarti, Aubaḷa Cakravarti, Śrīdēva Cakravarti and Gōvinda Cakravarti.[37] This family seems to have belonged to the Guntur district. A record at Roṁpicherla[38] (Guntur district) mentions a certain Rāmadāsu, a disciple of Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti. Another record at Kāreṁpūḍi[39] (Guntur district) dated in Saka 1318, records the decision of his son Nallānu Gōvindā Cakravarti in a certain dispute.

Besides these there were other ācāryas also of the Drāviḍadēśa who toured the Andhra country and propagated their religion. During the tour, they visited many a royal court and had religious disputations with the teachers of other faiths there. Each ācārya who was successful in such wrangles, was assured of a big following of converts to his faith, besides innumerable presents in the form of jewels, land, etc. One of such ācāryas was Vēdāntadēśika's son and disciple Varadācārya, also known as Naināṛācārya. In a Vaiṣṇava sectarian work called *Guruparaṁparāprabhāva*, he is said to have gone to the court of a certain Sarvajña Siṅgama Nāyaka, son of Mādhava Nāyaka, and defeated Śakalya Mallu Bhaṭṭa and established the Vaiṣṇava religion. Thereafter the same chief became his disciple and honoured him with the gift of a palanquin and other paraphernalia.[40] Naināṛācārya's father, Vēdāntadēśika, is also stated to have composed three works, the *Subhāṣitanīvi*, *Tattvasandēśa* and the *Rahasyasandēśa* for the delectation of the same chief.[41] However, the identity of that chief still remains a puzzle, though he seems to be one of the Rēceṛla kings (Padma Velamas) of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa.

Though the earlier Reḍḍi kings, like Prōlaya Vēma, Anavōta, and Anavēma, and the rulers of Rājamahēndravaram, were staunch Śaivites, Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, Kāṭaya Vēmā Reḍḍi, and the later rulers of Kandukūru, were followers of Vaiṣṇavism. Their conversion to Vaiṣṇavism, however, did not affect their attitude to other sects. They were tolerant of other faiths and extended to them their patronge without any partiality.

37. Bj. Rj., I, v. 11.

38. Ep. Coll., No. 300 of 1915.

39. Ibid, No. 556 of 1909.

40. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 222; and Vol. XXV, pp. 323-24.

41. Ibid.

These Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava teachers were great scholars in Sanskrit and Telugu, and several Telugu poets of this period were the pupils of either the Śaiva gurus or Vaiṣṇava ācāryas. Many Telugu poets flourished during this period as a result of the interest created, and taste devoloped. in Telugu literature by these religious preceptors.

One notable development in the religious life of the people, which affected brāhmans as well as the other castes during this period, was the cleavage between the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. Vēdism or the religion of Vēdic sacrifice and ritual, though popular for a time at the beginning of the age, gradually lost its hold, yielding place to cults, like Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism, which were growing more and more popular and attaining great importance. Those were the times when Vaiṣṇavism strove hard to capture the hearts of the public and reign supreme. These two cults changed altogether the aspect of religion till then in vogue. The Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava teachers vied with one another, the former in maintaining the hold which they already had on the common people, the latter in spreading their religion all over the country. They both zealously tried to convert to their respective faiths the kings, and nobles the country and their subjects, and make them their disciples. They became the custodians of this neo-Hinduism of cults, the law-givers, and the interpreters of *dharma*. The teachers of each cult gathered around them as many disciples as possible, and revived the drooping spirits of the nation, which suffered greatly owing to foreign aggression and oppressive rule, and maintained their preeminent position as the accredited teachers of religion and leaders of society. With this new turn the religion had taken, the emphasis in this age shifted from caste to cult, and from sacrificial Vēdism to a popular religion of creeds and *vratas*. Members of the Hindu society, whatever the caste to which they originally belonged, became divided chiefly into the two important sectarian groups, the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. Teachers of these two *samayas* had their respective *maṭhas* or monasteries at different places in the country, with their regional pontiffs.

The Smārta brāhmans who belonged to neither of the two sects, were not unified like the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas under one or more religious heads. No doubt, it is true that there were *maṭhas*, founded by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya centuries before. The pontiffs of these *maṭhas* were, however, unable to make any headway, or to exert their influence on the brāhman society in general. This was probably due to the several political and dynastic changes, religious conflicts, and, above all, to the rise and expansion of Śaivism, which had been flourishing under royal patronage in the country south of the Vindhyas, for some centuries before the Reḍḍi period. The lack of royal patronage to the

premier *maṭha* at S'ṛingēri is borne out by the absence of inscriptions recording grants of land or *agrhāras* to it. In fact, inscriptions give us to understand that that *maṭha* became a religious and social power only from the middle of the fourteenth century, under the patronage of the first Vijayanagar dynasty.[42] The weakness and the disunion of the Smārta community, and brāhmanism in general, was recognised by some of the thinking section of the people, and the result was the revival of the religious and social power and influence of S'rī S'aṅkarācārya, 'the high-priest of the Smārta brāhmans'.

On the east coast in the Reḍḍi kingdom there was no such move. The Reḍḍi kings were S'aivas and had S'ivācāryas as their gurus and guides. They patronised S'aivism. However, after the downfall of Koṇḍavīḍu, the influence of the Jagadguru of the S'ṛiṅgēri *maṭha* spread over the eastern Andhra country which formed part of the Vijayanagar dominion. With the revival of the power of the pontiffs of the Śṛiṅgēri *maṭha* and the spread of their influence, the Smārta brāhman community also fell in line with the other sectarian communities.

The temple and the *maṭha* were the two prime religious institutions which exercised, as before, their beneficial influence, in strengthening the purity of the religious life of the people in general, and promoted some of the traditional arts and crafts. Both these institutions were maintained by royal as well as public patronage.

The temple in this period was a full-fledged institution with its elaborate service and office establishments. It was more or less a state within a state with its full administrative machinery of police, accountants, supervisors, treasurers and servants. The temple was the nucleus around which the ancient village developed. Hence, there was hardly any village without a temple. Towns grew, and commerce developed around famous religious centres, holy *tīrthas* and temples. The number of temples generally grew in proportion to the size and extent of the village, and in accordance with the intensity of the charitable and religious zeal among the public. The number of

42. "There are over 30 inscriptions recording grants made by or under gurus of the Śriṅgēri Maṭha ranging in date from 1392 to 1758 A.D., The S'ṛiṅgeri dharmapiṭha or religious throne was established, as mentioned above, by S'aṅkaracharya, the great S'aiva reformer of the 8th century. The celebrated scholar, Madhava or Vidyaraṇya (forest of learning), author of the Vedabhashya who was instrumental in founding the Vijayanagar empire in 1336, was the head of the establishment at that time. By his aid and advice, Hakka and Bukka, the first and third sons of Saṅgama, succeeded in establishing the new state and Hakka, the first king assumed the name Harihara ... ... In gratitude for Vidyaranya's services, Harihara established the maṭha at Śṛiṅgeri in 1346 and he and his brothers richly endowed it ... ..." —— *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. V, pp. 1176-77.

temples in towns and capital cities was great. Rāghavēśvara, Mūlasthānam Mailāradēva, Nagarēśvara and Aṅgaḍi Gōpinātha, were some of the temples at Koṇḍavīḍu, the capital of the Reḍḍi kings, that find mention in inscriptions.

In its conception, the temple was a sectarian religious institution. Saivas worshipped in Śiva temples, and Vaiṣṇavas in Viṣṇu temples. The popular forms of Śiva worshipped during this period were Svayaṁbhū Śrī Mahādēva, Tripurāntaka, Kalyāṇa Candraśēkhara, Iṣṭakāmēśvara, Mallēśvara or Mallinātha, Mailāradēva, Vīrabhadra, Kāla-Bhairava and so on. The aspects of god Viṣṇu known from inscriptions to have been worshipped during this age were many, and they are Gōpinātha (Ananta Gōpinātha, Varada Gōpinātha, Prasanna Gōpinātha, Bhuvanamaṅgaḷa Gōpinātha), Kēśava (Cenna Kēsava, Prasanna Kēśava, Prasanna Cenna Kēśava), Nṛsiṁha (Sānta Narasiṁha, Lakṣmī Narasiṁha, Yōgānanda Nṛsiṁha) and Rāma (Ghanṭāla Rāmanātha, Rāghavēśvara), and Janārdana. Śrīśailam, Tripurāntakam, Dāksharam, Pālakollu (Kṣīrārāmam), Bhīmavaram (near Sāmalkōṭ), Guḍipūḍi and Amarāvati, were the reputed Śaiva *kṣetras*, of which the last five were renowned as Pañcārāmas. Śrīkūrmam, Siṁhāchalam, Sarpavaram, Śrīkākuḷam, Bāpaṭla, and Ahōbalam were the principal Vaisnava *kṣetras* of this period.

Besides these Śiva and Viṣṇu temples, there were some others which were special to some communities. The Vaiśyas had their temple of goddess Kanyakāparamēśvari or Vāsavī kanyakā, their tutelary deity. Some of the trading communities had their own special temples to patronise and worship, like those of Nagarēśvara and Gaurēśvara. The horse-dealers worshipped the goddess, Guṟṟālaparamēśvari[43]. The members of the Viśvakarmakula also seem to have had their own temple for worship. Bāṇāla Liṅgana, a member of the Viśvakarma family, built in Śaka 1327 a temple of Cenna Mallikārjuna (Śiva), and endowed it with a grant of land.[44]

Another interesting feature of this period was the growth of *parivāradevatās* in the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. It was a prevalent custom of those days to get the images of Āḷwārs (twelve in number), and Hanumān consecrated in Viṣṇu temples. One other feature was to consecrate liṅgas in the name of deceased presons, and set them up in temples and worship them. A certain brāhman Mañcirāja brought two liṅgas from Śriparvata, after the death of his

43. Ep. Coll., No. 205 of 1936.

44. N I.D., Vol. III, O. 83, pp. 1050 ff.

eldest brother Mallinātha who was honoured by king Anavōta Reḍḍi and set up one of them in the temple of god Maṇḍūka Śaṁbhu of the village of Māṇikēs'varam, designating it Rāvinūntula Parvata Mallinātha liṅga in Śaka 1275.[45] Pinna Bhūpāla's servant, Nāra Bhūpala, Allāḍa Reḍḍi's commander, constructed a stone temple, and consecrated therein a linga called Allāḍēśvara liṅga, presumably after the death of his master, Allāḍa Reḍḍi, and granted some lands for worship to the temple.[46] The charities made to temples in the form of lands, villages and otherwise, were placed formally under the charge of the respective communities to which the temples belonged.

Matha was the other religious institution which played an important role in diffusing knowledge among the common people. The pontiffs of the Saiva and Vaiṣṇava *maṭhas* were highly learned and cultured personages, proficient in their respective scriptural lore. They encouraged learning and patronised scholars and poets. Of the five Saiva *maṭhas*[47] of the Kākatīya period, which were situated on the holy Śrīparvata, only Arasa *matha* and Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha* find mention in the scriptions[48] of [illegible] period. We do not know the pontiff of the Arasa *maṭha*. The he[illegible] f the Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha* during the period under review was Mu[illegible] Śānta Bhikṣāvṛttirāya. He encouraged the Telugu poet, Gaurana, to write *Nava Nātha Caritra*, an account of the Nava Nāthas as a dvipada kāvya in Telugu. At the instance of this same S'ivayōgīs'varc, poet S'rīnātha worte his *Śivarātri-māhātmyam* in Telugu, and dedicated it to his devoted disciple and attendant, Mummaḍi Sāntayya. In this way, the pontiffs of Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha* not only imparted religious education to their folk but also advanced the cause of Telugu learning by patronising men of letters. Gōḷakī *maṭha* "whose spiritual influence extended over three lakhs of villages" was a famous institution that flourished during the Kākatīya period, and had its branches at Mandāram (present Mandaḍam in the Guntur district), Tripurāntakam (Kurnool district), and Puṣpagiri (Cuddapah district). We find no references in the records of the post-Kākatīya period to the famous Gōḷakī *maṭha* established by Vis'vēs'vara S'ivācarya in S'aka 1183 at Mandāram[49]. Only the *maṭha* at Tripurāntakam anḍ Puṣpagiri[50] find mention in the inscriptions, though nothing is known about them.

45. Ibid, O. 78, pp. 1087 ff.

46. S.I.I., V, No. 185.

47. The five *maṭhas* situated on the S'rīs'ailam Hill were Arasa *maṭha* (also mentioned as Arasi*maṭha* in inscriptions), Bhikṣā *maṭha*, Gaṇa *maṭha*, Kalu *maṭha* (or Śilā *maṭha*) and Sāraṅga *maṭha*.

48. Ep. Coll., Nos. 380, and 809 of 1915.

49. Ep. Coll., No. 94 of 1917, Ep. Rep. 1917, para 83, p. 128.

50. Ep. Coll, No. 323 of 1905; No 272 of 1905.

We have no evidence of any of the Vaiṣṇava *maṭhas* that flourished during this period, either from literature or from inscriptions.

Popular religion consisted in the periodical worship of gods Śiva and Visnu according to the Śaiva and Vaikhānasa *Āgamas* respectively by Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites, observing *vratas*, and worshipping village goddesses, and other religious practices, like the performance of *japa* and *tapa*. Śaivas worshipped their god Śiva six times[50a] a day at fixed periods. The chanting of *Tiruvāymoḻi* and *Tiruppāvu* in the Vaiṣṇava temples of the Andhra country was in practice from long before the Reḍḍi period[51], and *vṛttis* in temples were granted for this service.

The worship of heroes, and hero stones also became part and parcel of popular religion. There are references in contemporary literature[52] to the worship of heroes with flowers and other offerings. Every year festivals were held in honour of local heroes in different localities and ballads[53] commemorating their deeds of heroism were sung to

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50 a. " अरुणाद्यर्धरात्र्यन्तु षट्कालाः परिकीर्तिताः
तेषु कालेषु कुर्वीत षट्कालाष्टविधार्चनम् ॥
भूत्यागन्धाक्षतापुष्पैः सपत्रैः फलदायकैः
धूपप्रदीपनैवेद्यै र्वीट्याचाष्टविधार्चनम् (?)॥"

51. S. I. I., Vol, V. 82, 66.

52. "నిరవధికభక్తి రసాతిశయ ప్రణవోపహార సమర్పణ మహావీర
వరశిలా ప్రతిరూపంబుల వలనను ... ... "—Vk. Cr., II, prose 51, p. 85.

53. The singing of some of these ballads which roused the enthusiasm of common people and infused and nurtured heroic spirit in them, was made into a regular profession and some communities lived by them. In this way, some communities were exclusively entrusted with the task of perpetuating these ballads; for instance, the heroic ballad of *Kaṭamaraju-katha* relating to Kāṭamarāju of the Yādava (Golla-shepherd) clan who gained a victory in his fight with Nallasiddhi, the Telugu Cōḍa king of Nellore, was entrusted to the charge of Kommu people, a community of the cobbler caste, who made it their profession to sing only that ballad and chiefly subsist by gifts and *vartanas* given to them by the members of that clan. The Yādavas respect the Kommu people greatly, in as much as they preserved and propagated the ballads glorifying them. It has been an age-long custom observed by the Yādavas not to take food without offering it beforehand to a member of the Kommu community, whenever he comes to his house. Some of the Pikilis (పికిలివాండ్లు-one of the communities of the Gollas) also made it their profession to sing this *Kaṭamaraju katha*. These professional ballad singers of the Pikilis and the Kommus attend the annual festivals of the goddess Gaṅgā, the tutelary deity of the Yādava clan. On such occasions, it has been the time-honoured custom among the Pikilis not to sing the *Kaṭamaraju* ballad unless and until it was first sung by

the accompaniment of music and dance. The Annual festival of the heroes was a solemn and grand festive occasion, which not only served to perpetuate the memory of the departed heroes but also to sustain and cultivate heroic spirit among people. This worship developed into a regular cult, called *Vīracāram* in the Telugu country, with some following.

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the traditional singers, the Kommu people. In this way, this cult of the heroes gave rise to some communities of professional ballad singers who were experts in the art of singing ballads.

The ballad of the heroes of Palnāḍu also was sung to the accompaniment of music and dance. This is referred to in Vallabhāmātya's *Krīḍābhirāmam*.

"ద్రుతతాళంబున వీరగుంభితక ధుం ధుం కిటాత్కారసం
గతి వాయింపుచు నాంతరాళికయతి గ్రామాభిరామంబుగా
యతిగూడం ద్విపద ప్రబంధమున వీరానీకముం బాడె నా
కృతి ప్రత్యక్షరమం గుమారకులు ఢీత్కారంబునం దూలఁగన్."

"గర్జించి యురజీ జంఘాకాండయుగళంబు
వీరసంబెటకోల చేయు నొకఁడు
ఆలీఢ పాదవిన్యాస మొప్పఁగ వ్రాలి
కుంతాభినయముఁ గైకొను నొకండు
బిగువు గన్నుల నుబ్బు బెదరు చూపులతోడ
ఢీత్కార మొనరించుఁ బెలుచ నొకఁడు
పటుభుజాస్ఫాలన పరిపాటి ఘటియిల్ల
ధరణి యాస్ఫోటించి దాఁటు నొకఁడు
ఉద్ది ప్రకటింప నొక్కరుం డోలనాఁడు
బయలు గుఱ్ఱంబు ధఁజుళ్ళ బఱపు నొకఁడు
కోడుము దాటింపుచును బెద్ద కొలువులోనఁ
బడతి కల్నాటి వీరులఁ బాడునపుడు."

From the above verses it is clear that the ballad of the Palnaṭi heroes was sung by a female, and that men playing the roles of different characters, danced expressing emotion and sentiment by gestures and movements in accordance with the spirit of the ballad sung, as in Kathakali, and that the *dvipada* prabandhas were sung and not merely recited, in olden days.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CUSTOMS, RITES AND FESTIVALS

The Hindu is not free to perform any ceremony, purely domestic or public (civil), according to his own will at any time. His whole life, from birth to death and from morn to eve, is regulated by strict discipline. The course of each and every function he has to perform, as a *gṛhastha* and as a member of the society at large, was all chalked out, and strict rules of conduct were laid down in the Smṛtis and Dharma Śāstras with their three-fold division of the *ācārakāṇḍa*, *vyavahāra kāṇḍa*, and *prāyaścittakāṇḍa*. Even a slight deviation from these rules of conduct, swerving even a little from the ordained path and strict discipline enjoined on him, was not appreciated, nay, tolerated. If the conduct of any Hindu was such that it affected the dignity of society and polluted it with irreligious actions, his guru, the religious head of his order, gave notice to the head of his family, and brought round the wrong-doer and his elders with a fine or punishment. Politics and judicature were the domain of the king. In religious life and ethics, the guru of each Samaya, and the religious pontiff of the Śṛṅgēri *maṭha*, ruled the people of the respective sects. The Dharma Śāstras laid down the rules of conduct to be observed for the first three *varṇas*, and the members of the fourth caste had to regulate their life, in accordance with the precepts of the elders belonging to the *agravārṇas*, and in consonance with the dharmas enunciated by the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas.

There was a new orientation in religion during this period, which saved the Hindu society from disruption, following the rude and severe shock it received from the Muslim invasions. There was a gradual decrease in the performance of *yāgas* and *yajñas* by brāhmans and a great increase in the tendency to observe diverse *vratas* and the innumerable *dānas* (as codified in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* by Hēmādri). The new turn religion had taken in this period, tended to mitigate the divergence between the members of the first three *varṇas* and knit them together more closely than before. The several *vratas* or religious observances, whether Saivite or Vaiṣṇavite, were thrown open to all Hindus irrespective of caste; and this nurtured a sort of fraternity and unity among them, which greatly contributed to the consolidation of the Hindu society, and the cohesion of its ingredient *aṅgas*. The members of the fourth caste were made to feel, for the first time in the course of their history, that the Hindu religion was as much

theirs as it was of the higher castes, and almost all the ceremonies to be performed, became common to all the members of the society. The feasts, the festivals, the religious observances, the *dānas*, *vratas*, and *parvas* or auspicious occasions, all became the common legacy of the Hindu folk in general.

Pañcāṅgam:

The *pañcaṅgam*[1] played an important role in the daily routine of the people of all communities. Their domestic and social activities were guided by a consideration of the auspicious moments for commencing them. From the brāhman who projected an important *yajña* down to the farmer who was eager to commence the agricultural operations in the new year, a reference to the *pañcāṅgam* for the correct time and the propitious moment was necessary. From times of yore the Hindus have been trained to do a thing at the auspicious moment. For the performance of each and every one of the ceremonies, the auspicious month, fortnight, week-day, *muhūrtam*, and the precise *lagna*, had to be ascertained and fixed correctly. The king, according to the *Nīti Śāstras* (works on Polity), had to perform and attend to many duties. Diverse rites and rituals had to be arranged in temples according to *Āgamas* at fixed intervals of the day. For this purpose, the Hindus in general divided the civil day from sunrise to sunrise into thirty *muhūrtams* (the day into fifteen, and the night into fifteen), and gave each *muhūrtam* a different name.[1a] As sixty *ghaṭikas* (*gaḍiyas*) make one full day, each *muhūrtam* is made up of two *ghaṭikas* of time, that is, forty eight minutes. The kings also were enjoined to divide the day and night alike into eight half-watches or *ardha-yāmas*, each half-watch coming to 3¾ *ghaṭikas*, or one and a half-hour, and spend each half-watch as directed by the *Nīti Śāstras*. It was believed that, to produce the desired effect and to achieve success and merit, correct moment for the commencement of the ceremony, rite or ritual, either social or religious, had to be ascertained. Even the slightest variation in the correct *muhūrtam* and the precise *lagna*, fixed by the jyōtirjñas, did not produce the desired result, but was also believed to do harm to the *yajamana*.

...ḍiyāram:

This over-emphasis on time in fixing the *muhūrtam* and the moment correctly, and announce it to the king, the priest and also to

1. The *Pañcāṅgam* or the Hindu almanack contains the five *aṅgas* or elements, namely, the *tithi*, *vāra*, *nakṣatra*, *yōga* and *karaṇa*, which are determined by the disposition of the *grahas* and the *nakṣatras*. It has been the thesis of the Hindus that human destiny is inseparably connected with the movements of the stellar bodies which are part and parcel of the Universe.

1a. F. E. Pargitar - *The Telling of Time in Ancient India* - J. R. A. S. 1915.

the people, necessitated the Hindūs to devise an arrangement to measure time. This device was called *gaḍiyāram*. The Telugu poets of this period, like Anantāmātya, Koravi Gōparāja, Śrīnātha, Vallabhāmātya, and Pōtana, all refer to *gaḍiyāram* in their works.

Gaḍiyāram seems to be the Prākṛit form of *Ghaṭikāgāra*[2] (gaḍiya, the tadbhava of ghaṭi or ghaṭikā, and āra, that of agāra). In Sanskrit this device is called *ghaṭikāyantra* or *ghaṭīyantra*. *Gaḍiyāram* therefore means a clock tower or a room or building containing this contrivance. In course of time this term came to be applied to the contrivance itself without reference to the room or building.

The common device to measure time that had been in vogue from ancient times is the water-clock. The Buddhist work, Divyāvadāna, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata* and the *Brahma Purāṇas* and some astronomical works, describe this clock. The antiquity of this contrivance to measure time is proved from the fact that the *Jyōtiṣa Vēdāṅga* of the *Rig* recension, contains its description. This contrivance of water-clock was very simple and consisted of a big vessel filled with water, and a small jar or bowl with a hole at the bottom. This bowl is called *pātra* in Sanskrit and *kuḍuka* in Telugu. The astronomer, Lalla, of the seventh century of the Christian era describes this bowl as "a vessel shaped like the lower half of a water-pot (*kalaśa*) made of ten palas in weight of copper, with a diameter of half a cubit (9 inches) at the top and a height of half of that, and having a hole made with a wire fashioned from 3⅓ māṣas of gold drawn out to a length of four aṅguḷas (3 inches).[3] Time could be observed in using this bowl in two different ways. The time taken by the bowl, for draining in, and sinking in water while floating in a large receptacle filled with water, and also the time for emptying itself when filled with water, was considered as a *ghaṭī*, *ghaṭikā*, *nāḍī*, *nāḷikā* or *nāḍikā* of time, that is, twenty four minutes. The more ancient form of this Hindu water-clock worked in the latter way, that is, by emptying itself in the course of a *ghaṭikā* (*gaḍiya*) of time.

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2. Cf. Bhaṇḍagara-Bhaṇḍara; Kṣīragara-Kilāra and so on. Vide-Sri V. Suryanarayana Sastri's-*Gaḍiyāram*—A. S. P. P., XXXII, pp. 9 ff.

3. Dr. J. F. Fleet - *The ancient water-clock*; J. R. A. S., 1915, pp. 218 ff., "In this variety, but in other sizes and materials," Dr. J. F. Fleet says, "the appliance has survived to the present day, and seems to be fairly well-known to people who have lived in Northern India where it appears to be still used sometimes by police guards in out-of-the-way villages." There is a water-clock in the Raja's palace at Venkatagiri in the Nellore district, where time is announced to the Public in *gaḍiyas* even at the present day.

The water-clock that was in use in the Andhra country during the period under review, was a late device that worked by drawing in water. The *ghaṭikā-pātra* or the bowl, which draws in water and sinks in the water in the big receptacle within a *ghaṭikā* of time, was called *gaḍiya-kuduka* in Telugu. Koravi Gōparāja compares very aptly the sun setting in the ocean with a *gaḍiya-kuḍuka*[4], sinking in the sheet of water in the big receptacle. That this appliance operated in this way is further made clear by the passages in the *Bhōjarājīyam*[5] and the *Vīrabhadravijayam*[6], written by Anantāmātya and Pōtana respectively. They refer to the sinking of the eagerly watched *tāmra-ghaṭikā-pātra* or the copper-bowl. The passage in the latter work referred to above, suggests that this appliance was also set up temporarily at the time of marriages[7] and other auspicious occasions, to ascertain and announce the precise auspicious *lagna* or moment. No sooner than the bowl sank in water than the time was announced[8] to the public, by either striking a gong with a rod (called *koḍupu* in Telugu), just as it is being done now in towns, in Thānas, Taluk offices, Collectorates and Police stations, or by the blowing of conches. Time was calculated and announced in *ghaṭikas* of time beginning from the sunrise to the sunset, and probably from the sunset to sunrise. Vallabhāmātya, the author of the Telugu drama *Krīḍābhirāmam*, refers to the *gaḍiyāram* in the *mōsāla* (entrance hall) of the Andhra monarch at Warangal. Hearing the *gaḍiyāram* strike sixteen (*reṇḍ=enimudul*), indicating thereby that

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4. "గడియ కుడుక భంగి గ్రహరాజు జలధిలోఁ గ్రాలె......"—Sm. Dv., I, IV, v. 238.

5. "జలంబులందు మునుగు తామ్రఘటికాపాత్ర నిరీక్షించి . నతుకలు చల్లిన..." —Bh. Rj., IV, pr. 92-93.

6. "శుభలగ్నోదయ సూచకంబగుచు జలంబులందు మునుగు తామ్రఘటికాపాత్ర నిరీక్షించి..."—Vr., Vj., III, pr. 123.

7. "తమ పెద్దింటి యకుంగుమీఁద గణకు ధాన్యంబుపైఁ బెండ్లిల గ్నము సాధింప ఒసిండి పెంపున నభోగంగానదీ తోయముల్ రమణం బోసి యలంకరించి గడియారం బొప్ప గట్టించి..."—Ibid. v. 21.

8. "కంగున గంటపైఁ గొడుపు గ్రక్కున వైచుడు..." —Bh. Rj., IV, vv. 92-3.

"మును గడియారంబునఁ గట్టిన పెనుజేగంటఁ రవము శ్రేయమునెసఁ..."

—Sm. Dv., I, ii, v. 5.

"గ్రహాబలంబు గలుగు వేళ పూర్ణఘటికాంతనాదంబు చెవుల సోకిఁ చర..."

—Ibid, v. 60.

"శక్రు గడియారమున మించె శంఖరవము
విబుధ లోకంబునందలి వేగుఁబోఁక"—Hr. Vl., VII, v. 181.

sixteen *ghaṭikas* of time elapsed till then from the sunrise, Gōvinda Mañcana Śarma, one of the characters of the play, suggests to his friend Tiṭṭibha Seṭṭi, another character, that it was a little past midday and time to go to dinner to a hotel,[9] as they felt very hungry.

Gaḍiyāram or water-clock was put in charge of learned brāhmans, who were probably proficient in astronomical calculations. They were remunerated by land grants. An inscription[10] at Sarpavaram (Cocanada taluk, East Godavari district) informs us that a certain Gōli Sōmā Reḍḍi, after instituting *gaḍiyāram* in the Bhāvanārāyaṇa Perumāḷ temple at that place in Śaka 1326, Tāraṇa, entrusted it to the charge of two brāhmans Aubhaḷōjhu and Śingā - ojhu, and paid one hundred *ṭaṅkas* as the price of two fields, five *kha* (that is, five *puṭṭis* of land) in extent, which were granted to them free of tax as *mānyam* to cover their salaries.

Different Ceremonies and Saṁskāras :

Every auspicious ceremony, rite and ritual was commenced precisely just at the *lagna* fixed by the *mauhūrtikas*. The Smṛtis and some of the digests on Hindu law furnish a list of sacrements that a Hindu householder had to observe. Hēmādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*[11] provides a complete list of all the *vratas*, *dānas*, and the like, that the Hindus had to perform.

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9. "ఉడువీథిఁ శిఖరావలంబియగు సంద్రోర్ధ్యశు మాసాలపై
గడియారంబున వ్రాసి రెండెనిమదుల్ ఘంటాఘణాత్కారముల్
సడలెఁ భానుడు పశ్చిమంబునకు వైశ్య ప్రూటకూటింటికిఁ
గుడుపం బోదమె లెక్క యిచ్చి? కడునాకొన్నార మిప్పట్టునఁ"

—Kd. Rm.

10. S.I.I., Vol. V. No. 10.

11. R. G. Bhandarker—*Early History of the Dekkan* (3rd edition), pp. 203–04 – The celebrated author Hēmādri served the Yādava kings Mahādēva and his successor Rāmadēva or Rāmacandra of Dēvagiri, and flourished in the latter-half of the thirteenth century. He codified all the religious practices and observances that had been in vogue till his time, and that had come down from times immemorial in his *Caturvargacintamaṇi* which consisted of four parts, namely, "(1) *Vratakhaṇḍa*, containing an exposition of the religious feasts and observances, (2) *Dānakhaṇḍa*, in which the several gifts to which, great religious importance is attached are explained; (3) *Tīrthakhaṇḍa*, which treats of pilgrimages to holy places, and (4) *Mōkṣakhaṇḍa*, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth." Besides these "there is a fifth *khaṇḍa* or part which is called *Pariśēṣakhaṇḍa* or appendix, which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities that should be worshipped, (2) on *Srāddhas* or offerings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rites, and (4) on *Prāyaścitta* or atonement. All these works are replete with a great deal of information."

The important ceremony which every Hindu performed with gre eclat and rejoicing was the marriage. Among brāhmans it appears to have been the custom to celebrate the marriage of a girl at the early age of eight years.[12] The difference in age between the bridegroom and the bride was, when compared with the present custom, considerably great. In those days the brāhman youth spent the early years of his life exclusively in learning the Vēdas and acquiring proficiency in one or more Śāstras. He married only after finishing his studies, by which time he was nearly twenty five or thirty years of age or even more. The *Manu Smṛti*, the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* and other similar works, lay down the marriageable age of girls in accordance with the age of the would-be-bridegroom. Of the two Smṛtis mentioned above, the *Manu Smṛti* states that a man of thirty years should marry a maiden of twelve years of age, and one of twenty four years, a girl of eight years of age. Bṛhaspati lays down that a person of twenty one years of age should marry a girl of seven years of age[13]. For want of definite and positive evidence, it cannot be asserted that the Smṛtis referred to above, were followed by the Andhras in the period under review. Nor do we know definitely the Smṛti or the Dharma Śāstra that was in use in the Andhra country at this period. It is not therefore possible to say how far the Smṛtis referred to above, bear testimony to the practice then in vogue. There is however reason to believe that the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* was probably followed during this period: for, a junior contemporary of Tikkana Sōmayāji, named Kētana who flourished in the latter half of the thirteenth century, rendered freely into Telugu verse Vijñānēśvara's *Mitākṣara*, the most famous of the many commentaries on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, under the name of *Vijñānēśvarīyam*. This translation itself establishes the fact that the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* was followed in the Andhra country about the beginning of the fourteenth century. Because it was then in use, Kētana was probably tempted to render it into Telugu, for the benefit of the Andhras. Even this *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* does not lay any bard and fast rules as those of the *Manu* and the *Bṛhaspati Smṛtis* regarding the marriageable age of girls. We may be however nearer the truth if we say that the girls of those days were married very early between seven and ten years of age, and that the difference in age between the bridegroom and the bride was greater than what we observe at the present day. There were instances, though probably rare, of *gṛhasthas* giving their daughters in marriage to old men with the desire of getting large sums of money from them[14].

12. Sm. Dv., II, VI, 74.

13. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, Tr. by Rao Bahadur Śriśa Candra Vidyāraṇya, BK. I., Ch. III, Marriage, p. 101

14. Bh., Rj., VI, v. 18.

Before settling a marriage the bride-groom's relatives used to go and visit the bride's father and other elders, and if the match was to their satisfaction, the *uṅkuva*, that is, the money to be given to the parents of the bride as bride-price, was fixed, and then the match settled. This betrothal ceremony was a small function, of which the mounting of the wedding ring (*mudrārōhaṇam*) (to the bride's finger) formed the important part. It ended with a small feast given by the bride's parents to the bridegroom's party. The technical name of this feast was called *pāla-kūḷḷu kuḍucuṭa*,[15] that is, partaking of milk dishes. Among marriages in royal families, the brides' father offered to his daughter many elephants, horses, milch-cows, men and maid-servants besides much jewellery, and at times gave villages[16] aslo, according to his status, when she was going to her husband's house. The nobles and vassals followed in the footsteps of thier overlords. At the time of marriage, encomiums in *gadya* and *padya* befitting the occasion, were recited.[17] Ceremonies like '*kranta*', *saptapadulu* (seven steps) observed in the marriages of this time, are in vogue even to-day. Remarriage of widows was not allowed. John of Montecervino observes: "Their marriages take place only at one time of the year; and when the husband dies the wife cannot marry again."[18]

Generally one had to marry, according to the Sastras, a girl belonging to one's own *varṇa*, and not to a different one. But some of the marriage alliances, contracted by some of the ruling families during this period, were not in consonance with the general rule laid down by them. There were mixed marriages; for example, the Vijayanagara ruler Harihara II of the Lunar dynasty belonging to the Yādava Kṣatriya family of Saṅgama, gave his daughter in marriage to a member of thefourth caste, namely, Kāṭaya Vēmā Reḍḍi, prime minister of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, king of Koṇḍavīḍu; the Ēṟuva prince Cōḍa Bhīma, son of king Cōḍa Bhakti Raja of the Solar dynasty, and belonging to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, took to his wife a daughter of king Anavēmā Reḍḍi of Koṇḍvīḍu; the Gaṅga monarch of Kaḷiṅga, Vīra Narasiṁhadēva, belonging to the Ātrēya *gōtra* and the Lunar dynasty, gave his daughter to the Rēcerla prince, Kumārānnavōta of Rājukoṇḍa belonging to the Caturthakula. These matrimonial alliances were, no doubt, actuated by political expediency. It was the prevailing general custom for the vanquished kings to offer their daughters in marriage

15. Vb. Vj, III, v. 55.

16. NK, II, v. 221.

17. Hr. Vl., IV, v. 99.

18. *Foreign Notices*, p. 188.

to the victors in battle, along with many gifts of jewels, elephants, horses etc. These political marriages form by themselves a separate category of their own. They raise the doubt if the Smrtis or the Dharma S'āstras allowed such inter-caste marriages in this period of Hindu religious revival. Though the examples cited above were political marriages and stand on a different footing altogether, Dharma Śāstras allowed some *anulōma* marriages. According to them the members of the first two orders of the Hindu society might marry a girl from any of the remaining orders, besides a girl of his own caste; that is, a brāhman may marry, a kṣatriya girl, a vaiśya girl, or a s'ūdra girl, and a kṣatriya, a vaiśya girl or a s'ūdra girl, and a vais'ya a s'ūdra girl. The s'ūdra had to marry a girl of his own caste.[19] Some of the marriages cited above might have been *anulōma* marriages, and hence, the seeming inter-caste marriages referred to above, might not have been really such. The outlook of the different castes and communities in this period was more conservative than before, and every community and sect tried to preserve its purity and pristine glory. In fact, this also seems to have been one of the main motives behind the controversy regarding the status of the vais'yas and the vaijātīyas, which made a decision with a royal decree necessary from the *dharmāsana* at Vijayanagar, alluded to in one of the previous chapters. The Muslim invasions appear to have been greatly responsible for fostering this kind of exclusiveness and narrow outlook. The respective castes and their internal sub-divisions moved within a limited social orbit and hardened into *kulas* in this period, each *kula* tending to become endogamous rather than exogamous. When such was the state of society and the tendencies that moulded its form, there was hardly any scope for inter-caste marriages.

The following were the Saṃskāras that were generally observed in those days as they are done even to-day: (1) jātakarma, (2) nāmakaraṇa, (3) annapras'ana, (4) caulam, (5) upanayana (6) vivāha, (7) garbhādhāna, (8) puṁsavana, and (9) sīmnatōnnyana. From the date of conception to the date of birth many customary rites, that had come down to that day from very early times, were observed with the same solemnity as those that were sanctioned by the S'āstras, in order that no calamity might befall to the pregnant woman, and that she might have an easy delivery, and that the child might be healthy. These rites consisted in making offerings of cakes and the like, to the tutelary goddess of the village and other

19. Y. Smṛti, Vivāha Prakaraṇa.

famous local goddesses, in the third, fifth and seventh months of pregnancy.[20]

As soon as a child was born, it was customary to observe some popular ceremonies, which had no religious sanction behind them, as is even now the case in villages devoid of medical aid. Some of these customary ceremonies, which were observed in a wealthy or royal family at the birth of a child, are recorded in the Telugu literature of the period. Of these, some observances survive even to day. It was an ancient custom, observed during the period under review, to place a gold coin on the navel of the new-born baby and cut the umbilical cord, and dip the baby in the winnowing fan filled with pearls. The baby was then sprinkled with water in which rice had been washed (*kali dōci*), and it was gently rubbed on the crown with fingers dipped in sesamum oil, and besmeared with ghee. After being washed in warm water, collyrium was applied to the baby's eyes and *tilakam* or ornamental mark was put on its forehead. On either side in the corners (*podigiḷḷu*) of the gate outside the room, wherein the baby slept, were placed bran (*tavuḍu*), live embers (*nippulu*) and cotton seeds. Disenchanted bran was poured across the gateway outside it. Water pots or *aṭikas* (small pots with broad mouths), in which were placed some margosa sprigs (*vēpa remmalu*), were put probably in the room near the baby's cot or outside the door of the baby's room. Other similar precautions for the safety of the baby were taken. After all this was done, married woman were invited, and after receiving the gifts they brought, they were served with *vāyanams* (presents of sweets and other things) and betel with pieces of camphor.[21]

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20. " విశదముగ నడిగి యారం
జకభామిని కేలుఁగఁ జెప్పి సఖు లింపగు స
ర్వ శుభంబులు గూరిచి త
చ్ఛిశువునకు నీరుఁ దెకుచెవి కాకుండన్."

మూఁడు నెలలఁజెలులు ముద్దులు వెట్టిరి
యలరుఁ గుడుము లైదు నెలలఁ బెట్టి
యేడు నెలల (కొంక్రు)–రెజ్జపోలమ్మకు
సతికిఁ జాలఁ వేళ్ళ జరుపుకొనుచు."—Sm. Dv., I, iii, vv. 32–33.

21. "నిరువుబొడ్డు మీఁదఁ బసిఁడిటంకం బిడి
యొక్క నాభినాళ మూత్తరించి
మౌక్తికములచేట ముంచి యందిడి కవ
దమ్ములందు సముద్రమ్ముగుడ.

Generally in the eighth year after conception, or in the eighth year of birth according to Yājnavalkya, the upanayana ceremony of the brāhman boy was performed. The investiture with the sacred thread of the kaṣtriya boy took place in the eleventh and of the vaiśya boy in the twelfth year. After investing the boy with the sacred thread and initiating him into *brahmacarya* the guru instructed him in the Vēdas and the Śāstras. The pupil remained a bachelor until he finished his studies. After completing his education, he married a girl of his own caste and led the life of a *gṛhastha* (house-holder), performing the various duties enjoined on him by the Smṛtis or the Dharma Śāstras. A youth of those days was expected to learn a Śāstra sitting at the feet of an *acārya* or guru, to acquire good instruction from elders, to fulfil his vows with daring, and to win a victory over his kinsmen. He who failed to do these was not considered to be a man at all.[22]

It was the pious aspiration of the brāhman *gṛhasthas* of those days to construct a lotus tank[23] (*kamala kāsāra*), to rear a grove of *tulasi* plants, to worship *pēraṭāṇḍru*, that is, women who committed sati, to set up a *salila satra*, that is, water pandal for offering drinking water to the thirsty in the summer season, and to go on a pilgrimage. When the brāhman went on a pilgrimage to any

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"కలిఁ దోఁచి చూచె క్రలిడి
తలపుత్రీయాయందు నేత్రైలఁబును జో
త్రిల నాచి పెంత్రఁగాఁ బోదు
గలరించి కుమారు వనిచి రాదాదు లటఁగ"

"క్రమమునఁ దాదు లక్ష్యడను మాతృటీలిన
జలకంబుఁ దీర్చి యాచెలువ సుతుని
కోవరఁగాఁ గాటుకయును, జౌక్కబొట్టును
బొట్టించి యాగపకు వెలుపటఁ
బోదికిళ్ళఁ దవుడు నిప్పులుఁ ద్రిత్రిగించలు
నిడి యొడ్డమునఁ జెట్టు బడిసి కైచి
కేఁత రెమ్ములు నీళ్ళ కొసలలోపల నించి
కాపులు పురిటింట గట్టిచేసి
వాయనముల కెల్ల వని తల రప్పించి
వారు దెచ్చిన యవి వరుస నంది
పచ్చకప్పురంపుఁ బలుకులు వెట్టి వి
డియము లిచ్చి రింపు నయముఁ గలుగ" — Sm. Dv., I. iii, vv. 42–45.

22. Ks. Kh., I, v. 107.
23. Ks. Kh., III, v. 81.

holy place like Kāśi or to a sacred *tīrtha* like the Ganges, he fasted the whole day and kept holy vigil (*jāgarramu*) during night at that *kṣetra* or *tīrtha*. In the early morning he bathed in the river, performed *pitṛtarpaṇa* and *piṇḍapradāna*, that is, worshipped the manes with libations, and the god of the *kṣetra*, and then took his meals.[24] He performed many *dānas* and *dharmas* in the course of his pilgrimage, which brought home to his mind the rigours, hardships, and realities of life, gave him opportunities to come into contact with the outside world, and broadened his outlook on life and polished his mind.

The conduct and behaviour of some of the brāhman youths, however, was not satisfactory in the light of the ethics of that age. Some of them did not take much care and interest in the performance of *sandhyāvandana* and the sacrificial rites and ceremonies. They spent their time in a jolly way, taking to music, vocal and instrumental, and associating with gamblers. There were also some who stole jewels and vessels from their own house and staked them in gambling. Decorum of speech was not observed. Some youths went after alchemists to win their favour and learn the art. Some made friends with atheists and treated *naṭas* and *pīṭhamardas* with respect, and felt glad to be with *viṭas*. There were some youths who did acts like these which were totally condemned as unbecoming and unworthy of true brāhmans.[25]

Dānas:

Dāna or gift acquired fresh importance during this age of Hindu revival. Hemādri's *Dānakhaṇḍa*, which elaborately treats of innumerable gifts of a religious character, inspired the public to make gifts to acquire eternal merit, and to ensure wealth and happiness in the future birth. It roused the charitable instinct in men and women, holding out before them the attraction of the acquisition of merit and happiness for mere giving away of something of his own, ungrudgingly with a pure heart. Every member of the Hindu society, man and woman, generally made some gift or other according to his ability and status. The Reḍḍi kings are stated to have made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmādri in his *Dānkhaṇḍa* which was a popular treatise on the subject. Their chief credit lies in their having made not only the minor *dānas* but also the *mahādānas* which were sixteen in number. There is reason to believe that the number of *mahādānas* was not constant, and that it had increased with the advance of time; for, a passage in the Pasumarṟu grant of the Eastern Cāḷukya king Viṣṇuvardhana III of the eighth century, extols the king as having made *tulā* and other *daśavidha mahādānas* in the

24. Ibid, v. 121.

25. Ks. Kh. IV, vv. 81 and 100.

country extending between Kāñcī and the confluence of the Gangā and Sāgara ("*Ā-Kāñcī-Gaṅgā-Sāgara-madhya - paripaka* (?*kalpita*) *tulādānādi-daśavidha-mahādāna-manādhika-dānabuddhiḥ*)[26]. From this it is evident that at the time of Viṣṇuvardhana III, that is, by the middle of the eighth century, the number of *māhādānas* was only ten. If it were greater, certainly, it would have found mention in the grant itself. It is, therefore, obvious that, from the eighth century to the fourteenth century, the number of *mahādānas* increased from ten to sixteen.

Among the kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, Anavēmā Reḍḍi, the third king. is expressly stated in one[27] of his records to have made the *dānas* namely (1) *brahmāṇḍa dāna*, (2) *Kanakadharā dāna*, (3) *Gōsahasra dāna* and (4) *Kalpataru dāna* etc. His Pedaceṟukūru record[28] also refers to the *Kanakadharā mahādāna* made by him. The express mention of these gifts should not lead us to think that Anavēma did not make other gifts. As a matter of fact, the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, Rājamah ēndravaram and Kandukūru are credited in their records to have made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmādri in his *Dānakhaṇḍa*. We cannot, however, authoritatively maintain that this claim is true of every king belonging to the three houses, though it might be true in case of some of the kings like Anavēmā Reḍḍi. Kumāragiri Reḍḍi also made *mahādānas* like *Tulāpuruṣa*[29] *dāna*. His Anaparti grant[30] states that he made this *Tulāpuruṣa dāna* at Dākshāram after the completion of his victorious eastern campaign.

Annadēva Cōḍa, son of Bhaktirāja of the Ēṟuva family, is said to have made *Gōsahasra dāna* in the vicinity of the temple of Vīrbhadra at the holy place of Paṭṭesam, an island in the river Gōdāvarī, and also the *Saptasāgara* and *Hiraṇyameru dānas*.[31]

26. C. P. No., 9 of 1913-14.
27. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.
28. Elliot's Collection; No. 15-6-26.
29. *Reḍḍi Rāṇi*, II, No. 1. Oct. 1924 - Vide, his Komaragiripuram grant.
30. J.A.H.R.S., XI, p. 91.
31. Ep. Ind. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

"The *Saptasāgara* is the fourteenth *mahadāna* in the list of the sixteen *mahadānas* described by Hēmadri. The ritual connected with the performance of this *dana* may be briefly described thus; Brahmans must be invited on an auspicious day and requested to perform the *puṇyāhvacana* or purificatory ceremony In a manḍapa which is specially erected for the purpose, the images of some deities must be installed on a *vēdi* or platform. This must be followed by the performance of *Vṛddhiśrāddha*, or the *śrāddha* for ensuring prosperity. Seven golden *kuṇḍas* (vessels) 21" X 21" or 10" X 10" in dimensions (height and width) and weighing from seven to one thousand *palas*, according to the means of the donor, must be secured.

Aśva dāna is yet another *dāna*, referred to in the inscriptions of this period. *Aśvadānadikṣāguru* was one of the titles of Uṇḍirāja, surnamed Uṇḍīs'a of the Solar race, who ruled from Sūravarapaṭṭaṇa.[32]

Allaya Vēmā Reḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram was also reputed for his liberality. He is stated in his Vēmavaram grant[33] as having given away to brāhmans thousands of kine (*gōsahasrāṇi*) in the Dākshārāmabhūmi, before god Bhīmēśvara. This is no doubt a reference to the *gōsahasra mahādāna*. He is also extolled in inscriptions[34] as the *gōcarma-mahāgrahāra-pradātā*, one who granted to brāhmans many *agrahāras*, each of the extent of a *gōcarma*.[35] Besides these

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They should be placed first on sesamum and then on the skin of an antelope. Next, each of the seven pots should be filled with salt, milk, ghee, molasses, curds, sugar and water respectively, to symbolise the seven oceans of the Hindu mythology, and the images in gold respectively of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, S'iva, Sūrya, Indra, Lakṣmī and Pārvati, and gems and grains of different varieties must be added to them. Twenty five brāhmans (8 Ṛtviks, 8 dvārapālakas, 8 japa-brāhmans and one guru) have to be engaged, and *hōmas* for all the gods installed in the maṇḍapa must be performed. When the *hōma* for Varuṇa is completed, the Yajamāna has to bathe and go around the *vēdi* three times chanting *mantras*. On the second day the *hōma* has to be performed a thousand times; and finally the *kuṇḍas* must be given away as a gift to the brāhmans." Hēmādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi, Dānakhaṇḍa* (Bibli Ind., Ch. V. pp. 387—389).

"*Hiraṇyamēru* or *Suvarṇamēru* comes under *Mēru dānas*. The representation of the Mēru mountain can be made in any kind of metal or grain. In case if it is made of grain, it is called *Dhanyamēru*. If it is *suvarṇa* or gold the representation of the *Mēru* must have three redges weighing three *palas*. When the representation of the *Mēru* is ready, worship is offered to it in the prescribed manner. And then on occasions like eclipses, it is presented as a gift to a brāhman for the purpose. This *dāna* is given to propitiate the god Varāha (Ibid. pp.: 391—392)". Quoted from the paper on the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Telugu Cōḍa, Annadēva by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI. p. 38, f. note 5).

32. C.P. No. 16 of 1917-18, dated in S'aka 1804, Hēmādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi, Dānakhaṇḍa* (Bibl. Ind.) Vol. I, pp. 589-90.

33. Ep. Ind., XIII, pp. 237 ff.

34. S.I.I., Vol, IV, No. 1382.

35. Ep. Ind., XIII, V. 19 p. 242.

The Sārangapuram grant (N.D.I., Vol I, C.P. 17, p. 187) of Sārangadhara dated in S'aka 1176 gives the definition of a *gōcarma* in the following verse :

दशहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिंशद्दण्डा निवर्तनम्
तान्येवदशगोचर्म तद्दानादच्युतं पदम् ॥— v. 28.

Ten *hastas* make one *daṇḍa*; thirty *daṇḍas* make one *nivartana*; and ten *nivartanas* make one *gōcarma*.

"*Gōcarma*-A place thirty *daṇḍas* long by one *daṇḍa* and seven *hastas* broad—Bṛhasp. [M. Bh., XIII, 3121 Sch.]".—Monier Williams, p. 364.

dānas he presented to god Mārkaṇḍēyēśvara at Rājamahēndravaram a bronze bell weighing twelve thousand *palikas* (*dvādaśasahasra-palikā-pramāṇa sukāṁśya-nirmitam .. .. varaghaṇṭām*[36]). Ordinary offerings or gift of things suitable to and much needed in the season in which it was made, like drinking warter (*salila-dāna*), and fans in the summer season, and *kambala dāna* or gift of blankets in the winter season, acquired fresh importance. Above all these gifts, *anna dāna*, or the offering of food to the Hindus irrespective of caste or community, and particularly to the brāhman on particular days and occasions, was considered to be the greatest of all the *dānas*. Offering of food acquired fresh importance during this period and was considered to be a very meritorious act. There were some brāhmans in this period who observed the gift of offering food as a *vrata*, and were eulogised by people as *divyānnadātas* and *annapradātas*. Some such brāhmans with these titles figure as shareholders in the *agrahāra* grants given by the Reddi kings of Rājamahēndravaram[37]

There were special auspicious occasions for making gifts. It is stated in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* that gifts made on such occasions brought to the giver inestimable merit. The moment of Sun's progress to the north and the south (*Uttarāyaṇa-puṇyakāla* and *Dakṣiṇāyana-puṇyakāla*), the occasion of a lunar or solar eclipse, the *Arthōdaya* and the *Mahōdaya* occasions, and the *Puṣkaram* festivals, were, even as in the présent day, considered to be very auspicious occasions, for making gifts. In fact, most of the grants, both private and public, recording gifts, were generally made on the occasions of the Sun's progress either to the north or to the south, and at the time of eclipses either lunar or solar. The grant of the village of Guṁpini recorded in the Koṅkuduru plates of Prince Allya Doḍḍā Reḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram was made on the occasion of *Arthōdaya--puṇyakāla*, which is an astronomical combination of the nakṣatra Śravaṇam, the yōga Vyatīpāta, and the week day Sunday on the new moon Pauṣya, i. e., this *parvam* "takes place on the new moon *thithi* of the Amānta Pauṣya, provided this *thithi* falls on a Sunday, when during the day time the nakṣatra is Śrāvaṇam and yōga Vyatīpāta".[38] "The *tithi* (Pauṣa bahula 15) is called *Mahōdaya* when any one of the aforesaid special features is wanting and others

36. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 242, vv. 19 and 20.
37. Ep. Ind., XIII. pp. 254-55.
    Annadāta Vennayārya.
    Annadāta Liṅgaya Bhaṭṭa.
    Annadāta Lakṣmanārya etc.
    The title *annadata* became almost a surname of the above families.
38. Ep. Ind., Vol. V. p. 55.

are present." Other auspicious occasions are the *tithis* Śivarātri, i. e., the 14th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha, and the Ēkādaśī, the 11th day of the bright half of the months of Vaiśākha, Āṣāḍha, Bhādrapada, Kārtika, Pauṣa, and Phālguṇa, which have special names, viz., Mōhinī Ēkādaśī, Śayana Ēkādaśī, Parivartana Ēkādaśī, Bōdhana Ēkādaśī, Vaikuṇṭha Ēkādaśī, and Āmalakī Ēkādaśī respectively.

Vratas:

Many of the *vratas* described by Hēmādri in the *Vrata khaṇḍa* of his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, were performed by people in the age of the Reḍḍi period. Most of these *vratas* have survied even to the present day. Of these, some were exclusively Saivite in character, some Vaiṣṇavite and some, common to all sects, the Śmārtas, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. *Śivarātrivrāta* and *Ēkādaśīvrata* were very important *vratas* to the Śaivas and Vaiṣhṇavas respectively. Observing holy vigil during night on the day of the *vrata*, spending the whole time in the singing the glory of the deity dancing *līlas*, hearing the *puṇya kathas* and Purāṇas and praising the glory of the God of the respective persuasions, were important items to be observed in the performance of the *vrata*. The way in which the Śaivas of those days spent the day of the Śivarātri, and the stories illustrating the merit accruing to the performer of this *Śivarātrivrata*, are well described in the *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra* and *Śivavātri Māhātmyam* written by Pālkuriki Sōmanātha and Śrīnātha respectively. *Ēkādaśīvrata* is described in a general way (not its ceremonial aspect) in the works *Śrīraṅga Māhātmyam* and *Rukmāṅgada-caritra* written by Bhairavakavi and Prauḍhakavi Mallana. In fact, the latter work was particularly written to popularise *Ēkādaśīvrata* and to drive home, to the mind of the people at large, the invaluable fruits one would derive both on this earth in his life-time and in heaven in his life after death, placing before them the concrete example of king Rukmāngada of yore who, in spite of many allurements, temptations and difficulties, did not fail to observe this *vrata*. Consequently, we are told that he went to Vaikuṇṭha, the permanent abode of god Viṣṇu. The *Dvādaśīvrata* is another *vrata* supplementary to the *Ēkādśīvrata*. Those who observed the *Ēkādaśīvrata* had necessarily to perform duly *dvādaśīpāraṇa*, that is, breaking fast on the Dvādaśi day, the next lunar day to Ēkādaśī, of the light fortnight, very early in the morning by giving a feast to brāhmans. Many brāhmans of this period observed this *Ēkādaśīvrata* and gave the *dvādaśī* feast. Because of the religious observance of this *dvādaśī* feast, the term dvādaśī itself became the surname of some families in this period; for example, a certain scholar Allāḍa Bhaṭṭa, one of the

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donees of the Vēmavaram grant of king Allaya Vēmā Reḍḍi, had the surname Dvādaśi.[39] These two *vratas*, Ēkādaśī and the Dvādaśī, though very important to the Vaiṣṇavas, were generally observed by the Smārtas also. Another *vrata* of the same category referred to in the Telugu work *Krīḍābhirāmam* is the *Kāmēśvarīvrata*. It mainly relates to the worship of seven married women who go by the general name of Akkalu. The song *Akkla-pāṭu* relating to this *vrata* is still current in the Telugu country. This Śaivite *vrata* is observed even to the present day in the Telugu country in some families. Owing to the impact of Western culture, the development of science and the change that has come over the outlook of the Andhras, the religious fervour and belief in *vratas* have been gradually dying out, and many of the *vratas*, which were in vogue during the Reḍḍi period, have been forgotten. The two main *vratas* alluded to above, namely Śivarātri and Ēkādaṣī have however still a hold over people unlike many of the other *vratas* described by Hēmādri.

Peculiar customs and rites :

The different ceremonies and *vratas* whether Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite, brought in their train several peculiar customs, like keeping holy vigil on special and sacred days, fasting the whole day and breaking on the following day very early in the morning, and taking meal only once in the day (*ēkabhuktam*[40]), either in the afternoon or during night time and so on

As in the previous period the dominating religion at this time was Śaivism which gave rise to some peculiar customs and rites, some of which took such deep root in the country that they are observed by the Saivas even at the present day. Taking food only once a day during nights in the month of Kārtika, and on some days which were considered to be sacred to god Śiva, was and is one of the customs observed by the Saivas. The special term by which this custom is known in Telugu is *naktam*[41] which literally means night. *Bharita-bhōjanam* is another custom among the Śaivas which survives till this day. According to this custom the Śaivas do not eat or partake of anything, without first offering it to the god whose emblem (*linga*) they wear

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39. Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 254, and p. 245

" Divyannadata dvadas'yam
Veda–s'astra–paṭus–suddhiḥ
Dvadas'y -Allaḍa -Bhaṭṭaḥ " —v 56.

40. "ఏకభుక్తములు నక్త స్నానములు న. [illegible]... "— Sm. Dv., II, viii, v. 141.

41. Vr. Pr., XII, v. 55.

which they call *prāṇa-liṅga*, and not a particle of whatever that was served, was left behind uneaten. Once the offering was made to the *prāṇa-liṅga*, no dish offered subsequent to it, was accepted. This kind of meal goes by the technical name of *bharita-bhōjanam.*[42]

These *vratas* served as a means to educate the common man in soul-culture, and to train him in disciplining his conduct of life. The sanctity and greatnesss of each *vrata* and the inestimable fruits one would reap by performing it, are illustrated by means of mythical or semi-mythical stories, the central figure of which was either king Yudhiṣṭhira, or some other hero, who is generally stated to have observed this *vrata* in days of yore. In this way, these *vratas* indirectly contributed to the growth of popular traditional literature, which exercised great influence on the mind of the common man, sharpened his religious outlook, and inspired him to pursue the objects he cherished with faith and devotion. In addition to this literature, the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* which were daily read to the public in *agrahāras*, temples and *maṭhas* by efficient *paurāṇikas*, stamped on the mind of the common man the fundamental principles of neo-Hinduism and trained him in the *dharma* of the land. The *vratas* the ancients observed, the literature they produced, the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas they heard, the *gēyas* and the folk-songs they sang, the puppet shows they exhibited, the dramas they put on boards, the stories they recited, the sculptures in temples they represented, the pictures they painted, all had only one aim and object, namely, to educate and train the common man in Hindu culture, and to disseminate spiritual knowledge to one and all, irrespective of age, sect, caste, creed or religion, to enable them to face the realities of life with composure, and finally to attain *mōkṣa*, the fourth *puruṣārtha*. Principles were enunciated, *dharma* was defined, and all the forces were set in motion; the State, the society and religion, all worked together as one unit with perfect harmony without any rift to achieve the common object and reach the goal.

Self Immolation:

Śaivism by nature, was a martial religion: It turned out to be more martial in the mediaeval period than in the previous one, and put in vogue certain rites, at once audacious and brave, which were either rare or unpopular till then. The Tāntric cult, one phase of Saivism, which found its way into the Telugu country during the mediaeval period, was greatly responsible for popularising these rites and firmly implanting them in the land. The most important of these rites was, of course, self-immolation by offering one's own head either to a god

42. Hr. Vl., II, pr. 125.

or goddess. In order to propitiate a deity, whose wrath was believed to have been manifested either in the form of a pestilence or calamity, or in order to fulfil a vow taken by him to get his cherished desire or earthly object coveted, it seems to have been an ancient custom in South India for a devotee to offer his head and immolate himself. This rite was called *miḍi-tala* in Telugu, and *talai-bali* in Tamil. This rite of *talai-bali* is referred to in the early Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram*, wherein we read of warriors who "cut off their dark-haired heads containing such fierce red eyes as seemed to burn those upon whom they looked, and willingly offered them upon the sacrificial altar (of the guardian deity) with the prayer that the conquering king might be ever victorious."[43] Sculptural representations[44] of the offering of the head of the early period are not entirely absent in South India, though rare. We thus come to know from the *Śilappadikāram* and the sculptural representations that the rite of offering one's own head had been in vogue in South India from very early times. The Tāntric cult of the early mediaeval period, and the Pāśupata Śaivism which had been an active and dominating

43. *Śilappadikaram*, Tr. by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar (Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 113; Vide also, the author's note on p. 113.

44. They are found at Mahābalipuram, Trichinopoly, Pullamangai (ten miles to the south of Tanjore), and Mallam (in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore district). In the sculptures found in the Draupadiratha and the Varāha cave at Mahabalipuram we find two male figures kneeling on the side of a four armed goddess who can be easily identified as Durgā or Mahiṣāsuramardanī. It was Dr. J. Ph. Vogel who has first drawn our attention to this rite of head-offering by publishing his paper entitled "*The head-offering to the Goddess in the Pallava sculptures.*" (Vide, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol VI, pp. 539 ff). The cult of Durgā and Bhairava appears to have come into vogue during the period of rule of the so-called Greater Pallavas of Kāñcī, that is, the descendants of Mahēndravarman I Pallava. The representation of Durga killing Mahiṣasura at Mahābalipuram is one of the gems of the Pallava sculpture. In the sculptures at Trichinopoly and Pullamangai the devotee who was offering his head is represented as holding up his tuft of hair by his left hand and applying the sword which he held in his right hand to his neck. A similar representation is found sculptured on a hero-stone set up at Mallam in the 20th year of the Pallava king, Kampavarman. The hero is here represented as 'holding his severed head by the tuft in his left hand, while the right-hand grasp a sword. (S. I. I. Vol. xii, p. 50. Pl. vi). Sculptural representations of this head-offering are not wanting in Northern India during the pre-mediaeval period. While identifying a sculptural representation on a terra-cotta plaque, excavated at Paharpur, Bengal, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M. A., Ph.D. writes a very revealing article, wherein he gives a number of quotations from the *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the *Kalikā Purāṇa*, the *Tantrasāra* and other works, to prove that this was a right belonging to the Śakta cult. He however observes that "it is most often associated with the Śakta cult, though some examples of its connection with the cult of Śiva and other deities also occur."—Vide, his article on "*the oldest representation of the Śakta cult in Bengal art*" in I. H. Q., XVI, 489 ff.

force during the Kākatīya period, no doubt, gave fresh impetus to this rite of self-immolation,[45] and imparted to the hero a sanctity all his own.

This self-immolation by a devotee in his excessive devotion to his tutelary deity was the best offering he could make on earth. This dominating desire to sacrifice his all, in a frantic religious devotion, made the devotee spill his own blood on the altar of his deity, by cutting open his heart, his belly, or any part of his body, or pluck out and offer his eyes, whenever necessary. He gave his precious life which was the best and the highest offering he could make. The zeal, enthusiasm, and unflinching faith in the ideals made the offering appear to the devotee a very easy, simple, and an ordinary affair, unworthy even to get elated in making it. This was the spirit that dominated the latter part of the Kākatīya period, and the period under review as well. This spirit was cultivated greatly about the period of Muslim invasions, and served as a powerful antidote to the religious fanaticism of the Muslims in their aim to destory the fabric of Hindu religion and culture. This force developed by the virile S'aiva cult of the Kākatīya period, was employed in defending the Hindu religion. It arrested the Islamic aggression and held it at bay during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, making it possible for the Hindus to reorganise and resuscitate their religion and culture. It may be probably regarded as an answer given by the Hindus to the challenge thrown against them by the aggressive Muslims.

Heroes:

It was the belief of the people of those times that the goddess Durgā granted the desires of all those who worshipped the Aṣṭa Bhairavas of the eight quarters with the blood of their *aṣṭāṅgas*, eight limbs of the body, and made an offering of head soaked in blood. [46]

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45. This rite of self-immolation seems to have originally spread from the Cōḷa country to the Andhra country during the Kākatīya period; for, from the Malkāpuram inscription (J A H R S., Vol. iv. p. 160) of queen Rudramadēvī, daughter of Kakatīya Gaṇapatidēva, dated in S'aka 1183, that is, 1261 A. D., we come to know that the great S'aiva saint Vis'vēsvara S'iva, the recipient of the village of Mandaram from the queen, subsequent to the establishment of a S'aiva *maṭha*, known as *Gōḷakīmaṭha* at that village, appointed as guards of the village and the *maṭha* Vīrabhadras, who are said to have been born in the Cōḷa country (*Cōḷaaēs'ajāh*), and to have been drawn from the four caste (*Cāturvarṇya-samudbhūtāh*). This shows that these Vīrabhadras came there from the Cōḷa country. They were no, doubt the devotees of god Vīrabhadra, a terrific aspect of Śiva. These village guards Vīrabhadras, are said to have done heroic deeds such as the cutting of their scrotum, stomach or head, for the protection of the village". Offering one's life for a cause, a faith. or to one's own deity was a marked feature of the latter Kākatīya period,

46 "అష్ట దిక్కులనున్న యష్టభైరవులకు
నష్టాంగ రుధిరంబు లర్చనముగ
జేసి శిరము రక్తసిక్తంబు బలి యిచ్చు
జనుల కోర్కులెల్ల శక్తి యిచ్చు" —Sm. Dv., II, X, v. 155.

The worship of Bhairava, and Vīrabhadra, the fearful and terrific aspects of god Śiva, and of Śivā's Śakti, Durgā, of Bhadrakāḷī, the consort of Vīrabhadra, and of Vētāḷa, a prince among goblins, prevalent in the Andhra country during the Reḍḍi period, inspired the Śaiva devotees as well as the common people, and kept up the level of the high watermark of heroic spirit reached in the Kākatiya times. Gradually, any one who voluntarily gave up his life for the sake of Hindu *dharma* or of a noble cause, or performed any heroic deed risking his life in the interests of either one's own community or of the entire Hindu society, was dubbed as a hero, and his family was duly rewarded. Such heroes sprang up from every caste. The value and nature of the cause, object or ideal for which a person gave up his life, decided the place of honour to be given to him in the hierarchy of heroes.

Self-immolation developed into an institution altogether, and there were special temples of Bhairava, Vīrabhadra and Kāḷī, which went by the name of *Campuḍu-guḷḷu*[47] in Telugu, where the heroes or devotees immolated themselves in fulfilment of vows. During the Reḍḍi period, this rite of self-immolation grew in popularity, and the number of persons, who killed themselves by offering their heads to Śiva, was greater than in the previous period. They were not allowed to practise this gruesome rite at each and every place and at each and every temple. Since they believed that they would go to heaven or to the presence of the deity by performing this rite on an auspicious occasion, specially sacred to the Śaivas, in the presence of Bhairava, Vīrabhadra, Bhadrakāḷī or Durgā, they had to go in search of such temples. So, to relieve their difficulty king, Anavēma Reḍḍi, the third king who sat on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu, built, for the merit of his paternal uncle Annaya, a stone pavilion called *Vīraśirōmaṇḍapa*, the hall of the heads of heroes, on the hill of Srīśailam, in the court-yard of god Mallikārjuna. His officer, who was entrusted with the construction of this building, was a certain Mallana, son of Pañcabhikṣam Rāmanatha or Rāmaya, "who supervised the work of building steps to the Pātaḷagaṅgā under king Vēmā Reḍḍi." Mallana is described as *Śaṅkar-āgama-mantra dīkṣā-vibhūt-yuduñcitācaruḍu*, that is, one following the course of conduct of the divine excellence of the *mantra-dīkṣa*,

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47. *Campuḍu-guḷḷu* is the plural of *Campuḍu-guḍi* which term finds mention in the Telugu literature of this period.

"చంపుడుగుడి యిది యని యా
దంపతుల క శేఖరములుఁ దలలుఁ గని..."—Sm. Dv.,1, IV, v. 17.

The temple referred to in these lines is said to have been consecrated to god Bhairava.

enunciated by the *Śaiva Āgamas*. The above facts are known from the Śrīśailam record [48] of Anavēmā Reḍḍi, dated in Saka 1299, that is, 1378 A. D. This record which was inscribed on the pillars of the mantapa adjoining the Nandi-mantapa in the Mallikārjuna temple, gives a description of this mantapa. It was a thirty eight-pillared, pavilion consisting of a broad central hall paved with stones (slabs), the ceiling of which was decorated with sculptures of fresh lotuses, and a fine arched gateway (*mukhabhadra-tōraṇa-yutam*) containing the images of *dvārapālakas* on either side. Each of the pillars is said to have consisted of five limbs (*aṅga-pancaka-yutaiḥ*). The several varieties of mantapas mentioned in the *Śilpa Śāstras* were named in accordance with the kinds of pillars employed. Of such maṇṭapas one is the *Rudrakānta maṇṭapa*, each of the pillars of which consisted of five *upastambhas*.[49] Since the pillars of the *Vīraśirōmaṇṭapa* built by Anavēma are said to have consisted of five limbs, probably five *upastambhas*, this seems to have been a *Rudrakānta maṇṭapa*. The term *bhadra* in *bhadrāṅkam*, the qualifying adjective of the maṇṭapa and in *mukhabhadratōraṇa* denoting the frontal arched gateway, is suggestive of double meaning. The term may also signify Vīrabhadra or his consort Bhadrakāḷī. It is not unlikely that an image or images either of Vīrabhadra or of Bhadrakāḷī or both were sculptured in the hall and on the arched gateway. The inscription further states: "How wonderful it is that here in this maṇṭapa hosts of Ēkāṅgavīras, who proudly make a votive offering of their eyes, hands, heads, and tongues, by cutting them, attain instantaneously a brilliant body of blessed limbs. The next moment, endowed with three eyes, ten arms, five faces (heads), and five tongues, they shine as if they were *aṣṭamūrtis* (eight-bodied Śivas." The construction of a separate pavilion by Anavēmā Reḍḍi for the sake of those who immolated themselves, bears testimony to the popularity of this rite in the times of the Reḍḍi kings.

Miḍi-tala or offering of head was also known as *gaṇḍa-tala*.[50] Any kind of hindrance to the normal observance of the *vrata* or worship in any way, by reason either of loss of any one of the materials daily used in the ceremonial worship, or of not getting hold of the required *pūjā dravyas* essential for worship according to the vow taken, was at times the cause of this self immolation. In the full belief that this was god-sent to test the depth of sincerety of his vow, the devotee chipped off his head unflinchingly with the 'shears of destiny',

48. Ep. Coll., No, 20 of 1915.

49. In. Ar., I, p. 219.

50. "మును బాహమందు శిమ్ముల నంటికొను గండ
దల లిచ్చు."–Bh Rj. V. v. 249.

called *gaṇḍigattera* in Telugu. It was a broad circular sharp-edged iron-instrument which, besides the dagger and the sword, was largely used for cutting the head by applying it to the neck.

Nicolo de Conti who witnessed such self immolation in the city of Cambait, which remains yet unidentifiable, describes the way in which the hero chipped off his head with large shears. "Many present themselves," writes Conti, "who have determined upon self immolation, having on their neck a broad circular piece of iron, the fore part of which is round and the hinder part extremely sharp. A chain attached to the forepart hangs suspended upon the breast, into which the victims, sitting down with their legs drawn up and their neck bent, insert their feet. Then ..they suddenly stretch out their legs and at the same time drawing their neck, cut off their own head, yielding up their lives as a sacrifice to their idols. These men are regarded as saints".[51] Besides Conti, other foreign travellers, like Friar Odoric (1321–22 A. D.) and Friar Jordanus (1323–1330 A. D.) who visited South India earlier than Conti, refer to this rite of self immolation, and describe the manner in which it was done. Writing about Ma'bar (the Coromandel region) Odoric says: "And another custom they have of this kind. One will come saying: "I desire to sacrifice myself for my God." And then his friends and kinsfolk, and all the players of the country, assemble together to make a feast for him who is determined to die for his God. And they hang round his neck five very sharp knives, and lead him thus to the presence of the idol with loud songs. Then he takes one of those sharp knives and calls out with a loud voice: "Thus I cut my flesh for my God"; and cutting a piece of his flesh wherever he may choose, he casteth it in the face of the idol; and saying again: "I devote myself to die for my God," he endeth by slaying himself there. And straightway they take his body and burn it, for they look on him as a saint, having thus slain himself for his idol. And many other things greatly to be marvelled at are done by these people, which are by no means to be written[52]." Again Friar Jordanus writting about Greater India[53] states thus about self immolation. "In this Greater India many sacrifice themselves to idols in this way. When they are sick, or involved in any grave mischance, they vow themselves to the idol if they should happen to be delivered. Then, when they have recovered, they fatten themselves for one or two years continually, eating and drinking fat things, etc. And when another festival comes round, they cover themselves with flowers and perfumes, and

51. Major., Conti, pp., 27—28.

52. *Foreign Notices*, p. 197.

53. Greater India of Jordanus included many kingdoms of which Telenc (Telinga or the Telugu country) was one (Vide, Ibid p. 212).

crown themselves with white garlands, and go with singing and playing before the idol when it is carried through the land (like the image of the Virgin Mary here among us at the Rogation tides); and those men who are sacrificing themselves to the idol carry a sword with two handles, like those (knives) which are used in currying leather; and, after they have shown off a great deal, they put the sword to the back of the neck, cutting strongly with a vigorous exertion of both hands, and so cut off their own heads before the idol."[54]

Another way of self immolation was by throwing oneself under the wheel of a car carrying an idol in procession in reputed holy places and get crushed to death. This seems to have been in vogue in South India during this period. Telugu literature does not furnish any references to this custom; but the foreign travellers who visited this country noted this. Friar Odoric observes thus: "Many pilgrims who have come to this feast cast themselves under the chariot, so that its wheels may go over them, saying that they desire to die for their God. And the car passes over them, and crushes and cuts them in sunder, and so they perish on the spot...And thus not a year passes but there perish more than five hundred men in this manner; and their bodies they burn, declaring that they are holy, having thus devoted themselves to death for their God."[55] Nicolo de Conti also saw this custom at Vijayanagar. "In Bizenegalia (Vijayanagar) also", he observes, "at a certain time of the year, their idol is carried through the city placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death, - a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their God."[56]

In fact, some Saiva communities like Vīrabhadras, Vīramuṣṭis, and Mailāra Vīrabhaṭas practised these rites and customs to an excess and made them part and parcel of their daily life. Vīramuṣṭis are mentioned in a Kākatīya record of S. 1183[57], and the daring deeds of the Mailāra Vīrabhaṭas are described in *Krīḍābhirāmam*. Both the Vīramuṣṭis and the Mailāras are Liṅgāyats now. The former are professional acrobats and mendicants, who are now attached to Dēvāṅgas and Kōmaṭis. They perform acrobatic feats with swords and daggers. We are informed by Edgar Thurston that "they correspond to the Vīrabhadra Kāyakams of the Canarese Liṅgāyats, like whom they dress

54. Ibid, p. 209.
55. *Foreign Notices*, p. 196.
56. Major, Conti, p. 28.

up and adorn themselves with small *liṅgas*, the figure of Vīrabhadra, a sword, a plate bearing a star, and the heads of Asuras (demons). Every important Śaivite temple has one or two Vīramuṣṭis attached to it, and they are supposed to be servants of god, Siva. One of their chief duties is to guard the idol during processions, and on other occasions. If, during a car procession, the car does not move, the Vīramuṣṭis cut themselves with their swords until it is set in motion "[58] The following are some of the heroic feats performed in this period by Mailāra Vīrabhaṭas, the devotees of god Mailāra. The heroic servants of Mailāra used to jump down, from a considerable height above, into the pit of sharp iron spikes below (that is, into the pit wherein were planted these sharp iron spikes), cutting off the cords of the fibrous network sling, *uṭṭi* as it is called in Telugu, which they held, while hanging in the air. Another feat was the swallowing of an iron tube (*ayōnāḷambu*) applying 'shears of destiny' to the neck without any fear or hesitation. Piercing *nārasas*, sharp thin pin-like iron pieces, into their body, on their chest, lips, tongue etc., they used to light *āratulu* in the nacked palms of their right and left hands[59] and wave them before the deity.

Hero-Stones:

Such heroes of the period who laid down their lives for a sacred, noble, or public cause, were revered as saints. Even the brāhman and the cow, the two symbols signifying the spiritual wealth and the material prosperity of the nation, were considered to be fit objects for the sacrifice of one's life, in their protection[60] or liberation. These

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57. Ep. Coll. No. 94 of 1917; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 53.

58. Edgar Thurston - *Castes and Tribes of the Madras Presidency*, Vol, VII, p. 410.

59. "కరవాడి యలుగుల గనపపాఁతర్లలో
నట్టిచేరులు గోసి యురుకువారు
కటి కరదోనాళంబు గండకత్తెర బట్టి
మిసిమింతులును గాఁ మ్రింగువారు
సందులను నారసంబులు సలుపువారు
ఎడమ కుడిచేత నారతు లిచ్చువారు" —Kd. Rm., v. 142.

60. "పసుల కుయ్యిగాదు బ్రాహ్మణు చెఱగాదు
స్వామి హితము కాదు వ్రతము కాదు
లోకహితముగాని యేకాంగిరాయుఁడ
జచ్చువాని కేమి స్వర్గమానె. —Sm. Dv., II, vii, v. 51.

This verse indirectly, but clearly, enunciates the objects for which it was customary in those times to offer life, namely, in the protection of cattle (especially of cows), in the liberation of a brāhman from captivity, in the interest of one's master, and in fulfilment of one's vow.

martyrs were honoured by the commemoration of their sculptural representations in their act of trying to kill themselves, or fighting for their master or country. Stones containing representations of *vīras* or heroes are called *vīrakals* or hero-stones (*kal* or *kallu* means a stone). These stone representations of heroes were made either by the public, by their master, or by their near relations. Many such *vīrakals* are found in some of the Śaiva *kṣētras* in the Andhra country (for example, Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district, Mōpūru in the Cuddapah district, and Kārempūḍi and Mācerla in the Guntur district). These hero-stones are seen in the Telingānā also, particularly at Śaivite centres, like Warangal, the seat of the Pāśupata Śaivism of the Kākatīya period. As this had been a wide-spread custom it is still possible to discover such hero-stones in many places of the Andhra country. Regarding the hero-stones found at Tripurāntakam, the Superintendent of Epigraphy writes as follows :

"Within the court-yard, and in front of the central shrine (of the Tripurasundarī temple) are arranged in a line a number of *vīrakals* representing human figures in various postures some with a dagger thrust into their necks or abdomen, and some driving their daggers into the left thigh with one hand, and raising a weapon with the other, in order to stab themselves in the chest. One peculiar feature of these figures is the long braided hair[61] which is gracefully allowed to hang right up to the knee ... A large number of similar stones were seen by me on the hill at Mōpūru[62] in the Pulivendla taluk of the Cuddapah district ... " An inscription on one of the *vīrakals* in the Tripurasundarī temple which may, on palaeographical grounds, be referred to the thirteenth century A. D., seems, however, to explain the real situation. It runs: "*Svasti Śrīmatu Sōmaśivagurudēvaru Allā(ḍa) Vīramall-an vīrunivāriki mēlu-kāvalenani tana tala Tripurādēviki icce*". "Hail ! The glorious Sōmaśivagurudēva offered to Tripurādēvī his (own) head so that good may befall to the hero called Allā(ḍa) Vīramallu[63]. Another record (not completely preserved) states about the end ; "(this is) the head to the goddess." From these it looks as if the figures were meant

61. There are also figures of heroes represented with different types of beautiful *kēśapāśas*, modes of arranging the hair in the form of a loop, and not let loose hanging down on the back.

62. The temple on the hill at Mōpūru is dedicated to god Bhairava.

63. It is interesting to note here that there were instances where *Śivacāryas* also offered their heads in the interests of the heroes for whom they cherished great affection. Such instances as these must have been however very rare.

to represent cases of either suicide or human sacrifice[64] to which people in those days must have had free recourse in the belief that by so propitiating the deity they would ward off evil "[65]

Hero-Cult:

These hero-stones were worshipped with devotion and vows were made to them. These customs developed into a religious order (*Vīrācāra*), the cult of heroes, which found ready patronage at the hands of nobles and kings of the country. They granted *vṛttis* or land-grants for conducting *pūja* to these *vīrakals*. This cult of heroes seems to have come into existence towards the end of the Kākatīya rule; for, a record[66] of Saka 1236 at Mācherla, inscribed on a stone in front of three small temples dedicated probably to heroes, on the bank of the local stream Candravaṅkā, of the time of Kākati Pratāparudra, registers a grant of wet land as *sarvamānya* to *vīrapuruṣulu* (for conducting worship) by the king's officer Dēvari Nāyaniṁgāru. It appears that only during the period under review that the popularity of the hero-cult and hero-worship reached its climax. During this age, the heroes of Palnāḍu[67] were much venerated and stories about them became very popular. It was at the end of the Reddi period that a tower (*mēḍa*),

64 These were neither cases of human sacrifice, as supposed by the Epigraphist, nor the cutting of heads and stomachs 'were punishments' as was wrongly imagined by the late S'ri J. Ramayya Pantulu. He writes about this custom of the Vīrabhadras while editing the Malkāpuram record of Rudramadēvi as follows : (J. A. H. R. S, Vol. IV, p. 58) "I imagine that these were punishments prescribed by law in those days for certain heinous offences and that particular class of persons were appointed to carry out those punishments."

65. Ep. Rep. 1909, para 78, page 119.

66. Ep. Coll., No. 586 of 1909.

67. The Chiefs of Palnāḍu (Guntur district), namely, Nala Gam araja and his step-brothers, sons of Anungumaṇḍalēs'vara, and their respective ministers, who fought a deadly battle amongst themselves for the sake of the kingdom, were all extolled as heroes. These heroes of Palnāḍu, *Palnāṭi vīrulu*, as they are popularly called, flourished in the middle of the twelfth century. Nala Gamarāja, son of Anuṅgu-maṇḍalēs'vara and Mailaladēvi, is also known as Kāmaraja or Anuṅguṁ Gāmarāja. He ruled from S'aka 1056 (1134 A. D.) to S'aka 1085 (1163 A. D.), the earliest and the latest dates of his records, so far discovered. These inscriptions of Nala Gamaraja definitely settle the time of the heroes of Palnaḍu. A certain Anuṅgu maṇḍalēs'vara is mentioned in a record at Karempūḍi (Guntur district), which states that a merchant built a temple for *vīrakoṭi* in S'aka 1346, corresponding to the cyclic year Krodhi (Ep. Coll. No. 557 of 1909; Ep. Rep. 1909, para 49, page 99). There was no chief by name Anuṅgumaṇḍlēs'vara ruling over Palnaḍu in S'aka 1346, as stated by the Government Epigraphist.

called Nāyaḍu-maṇḍapa, evidently dedicated to the heroes of Palnāḍu in the middle of the village of Kārempūḍi, was erected by a certain Jīvarakṣa Timmana.[68] Though stories illustrating the epic heroism of these chiefs were already current in the country during the latter Kākatīya period, and were narrated by *Vīrakathakas* on special occasions dedicated to their honour, this was the period in which heroic ballads composed to preserve the memory of the departed heroes came into existence. This was the age which produced the now popular Telugu ballad, the *Heroes of Palnāḍ*. This hero-worship or the cult of the heroes turned out to be one of the chief aspects of popular religion during this period.

Sahagamana :

Sahagamana or sati was another custom. Some of the Telugu works, like *Rukmāṅgadacaritra* and *Kāśīkhaṇḍam*, which were produced in this period, describe the custom of *sahagamana*, or following one's husband to the other world by immolating oneself on his funeral pyre. The latter work states that she who jumps into fire gladly without any fear or timidity, acquires as much *phala* as one would get by the performance of an *aśvamēdhayāga*, that is, the horse sacrifice. The exuberant praise, lavished on this custom in the Telugu works referred to above, and the enumeration of different kinds of merit, which a married woman would reap by performing this rite, suggest that there was a conscious effort to popularise this custom. It seems probable that the Muslim invasions were, to some extent, indirectly responsible in inducing the leaders of the Hindu society to mobilise opinion to enforce this custom, if it was already in vogue. The atmosphere, which was surcharged with the spirit of self-sacrifice, and the social and political conditions then prevailing, added strength to this custom.

There is no denying the fact that this custom was in vogue in the period under review. "When any man dies", observes Friar Odoric, "they burn him, and if he leave a wife they burn her alive with him, saying that she ought to go and keep her husband company in the other world. But if the woman have sons by her husband she may abide with them, as she will. And, on the other hand, if the wife die there

68. An inscription (Ep. Coll. No. 555 of 1909) at that place, dated in Śaka 1367 Raktākṣi, that is, 1445–46 A. D. recording its construction, states that it was the spot where Silama Nāyaḍu, one of the heroes of Palnāḍu, had planted his spear. "Quaint figures of Pina Mallidēvarāja, Cilama Nāyaḍu, Jīvarakṣa Timmana, Pada Mallidēvarāja, Mācərla Timmana, Ōbinēni (Obinēri is wrong; it is the accusative singular of Ōbinēḍu), and his family are all incised on the beam of the maṇḍapa either as holding spears in their hands or standing in a worshipping posture."—Ep. Rep. 1909, p. 99, para. 49.

is no law to impose the like on him; but he, if he likes, can take another wife"[69]. Friar Jordanus writes: "In this India, on the death of a noble, or of any people of substance, their bodies are burned; and eke their wives follow them alive to the fire, and, for the sake of worldly glory, and for the love of their husbands, and for eternal life, burn along with them, with as much joy as if they were going to be wedded; and those who do this have the higher repute for virtue and perfection among the rest. Wonderful! I have sometimes seen, for one dead man who was burnt, five living women take their places on the fire with him, and die with their dead[70]." One who committed sati was revered as *pērantālu* or *mahāsati* and occasionally her image was made in stone and worshipped.

Other Customs and Beliefs :

Hook-swinging also was a religious custom prevalent in this period. Mailāra Vīrabhaṭas or the servants of the god Mailāra referred to above, are said to have specially practised this custom. It is said that, piercing an iron-hook of a long spike to pass through the skin covering the breast-bone (*kaṅkāḷacarma* or through the fleshy part of the back) they used to swing round a may-pole in mid air.[71] Nicolode Conti who witnessed this custom, describes it thus: "Others (other people making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot (in which the idol of God was placed, that is, in the *rathayātrāmahōtsava* of God), by way of ornament and thus suspended and half dead, accompany their idol. [72]"

Fire-walking was another custom in vogue in this period. This was also practised by the servants of god Mailāra, who rushed into pits filled with live-embers and walked across them[73]

Practices of people of the Reddi times based on belief in luck, were varied and legion. Koravi Gōparāju gives a long list of bad omens[74]. Before doing any act, the people of this age

69. *Foreign Notices*, p. 195.

70. Ibid, p. 208.

71. "గాలంపుఁగొంకిఁ గంకాళచర్మము గ్రుచ్చి
యుడువీథి నుయ్యాలలూఁగువారు..." —Kd. Rm., v. 142.

72. Major, Conti, p. 28.

73. "అలఅలమంటను నెల్లని చూ ప్రమల్లెలఁ
జోద్యంపు గుండాలు చొచ్చువారు..." —Kd. Rm, v. 142.

74. Sm. Dv. I, i, v. 140; v. 281.

consulted omens. It was their belief that a thing could not be achieved and an attempt could not be successful without the *śakunabala*, strength of the omen. People consulted śākunikas, who were experts in the science of omens for everything they did. Vallabhāmātya also mentions in his *Krīḍābhirāmam* some auspicious omens which are conducive to success[75] The list of omens mentioned in the works referred to before, shows that belief regarding omens had already taken a deep root in the country. Talismans also were commonly used for warding off evil. Belief in devils and goblins was common. Professional sorcerors were requisitioned to exercise the ghosts from possessed persons and haunted houses. Belief in witchcraft was strong among the people. It was the common belief in this age that one could be destroyed or killed by *abhicāra-hōmas*. Some of the ills or misfortunes one would get, were attributed to black magic, practised by an enemy agency.

The faith of the people of this age may be better understood by the following account of how the temple of god Narasiṁhasvāmin of Kōṛukoṇḍa came into existence.

"A Vaiṣṇava teacher, Bhaṭṭari, of whom Mummaḍi Nāyaka was the devoted disciple, told the chief one day that he had reached the last of his human births, and as soon as the existing mortal frame was given up, he would appear in the form of god Lakṣmī Narasiṁha on the hill at Kōṛukoṇḍa. Soon after this revelation the teacher died and all about his rebirth as god Narasiṁha was, apparently, forgotten. A dancing girl of the village called Lakṣmīdāsi saw the teacher in a dream and was told by him of his manifestation on the Parāsàraśaila (the hill of Kōṛukoṇḍa). The king being informed of this was at once reminded of what the teacher had told him, and permitted the dancing girl to build a temple. She wandered about in rags begging for money, pledged her daughter, earned the amount required, built a temple and consecrated therein Parāśara Nṛsiṁha, presenting, at the time of consecration, two villages [76]"

People of those days believed that ardently religious people like saints and gurus incarnated themselves as gods. Another instance of this type may be cited. Cokkana Siṅganaṁgāru, governor of Taṅgeḍa sīma in the reign of king Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, had a vision similar to that narrated above. As a result of that vision Siṅganaṁgāru constructed a temple for god Narasiṁha at Anantagiri (Guntur district) and consecrated therein the image of that deity. [77]

75. Kd. Rm.

76. Ep. Rep. p. 87, para 68.

77. Ep. Coll., No. 310 of 1926.

People believed in the efficacy of *mantras*, that is, magical formulas, and *japas*, in warding off evil, and in the acquisition of merit, when properly repeated and performed according to the śastraic injunctions. Belief in supernatural powers of gods and *mantras*, and in the efficacy of *vratas* and other religious practices and ceremonies for the fulfilment of desires and ambitions was common. *Siddha-sārasvatamantra - jāpa*, *Śrī Rāma-mantra-japa*, *Gōpāla-mantra - japa*, *Narasiṁha-mantra-japa* and *Pavamāni-mantra-japa* were in vogue For averting bad days and ill-luck, *grahas* or planets were propitiated by religious rites and brāhmans were fed sumptuously In times of drought the idol of god Śiva in Saiva temples was bathed in water poured from one thousand pots chanting *Varuṇa matras*. This ceremony was believed to bring down rain.[78] Brāhmans in general began to develop a sort of conservative outlook. To cross big rivers like the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā was believed to be harmful, like enmity with the members (judges) of the *dharmāsana*,[79] and crossing over the image of a god.

It was an age of miracles. People believed in the supernatural powers of the Siddhas and in their Siddhis, that is, acquisition of supernatural powers by magical means which were eight in number, namely, *aṇima*, *garima*, *mahima*, *laghima*, *prāpti*, *prakāmya*, *īśitva* and *vaśitva*. The magical sandals, magical staff, and the magical quisl of the Siddhas were great wonders round which many romantic storied were woven.

Belief in alchemy was at its height. People regarded the Siddhas as adepts in alchemy. They had profound faith in *sparśavēdha* (*parusavēdi* in Telugu), and *dhūmavēdha*, the two processes by which metals were converted into gold. Prōlaya Reḍḍi, father of Vēmā Reḍḍi, the founder of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom, is credited to have known alchemy (*svarṇakara-prasiddhiṁ labhdvā*). *Dhūmavēdha* is alluded to in the work *Bhōjarājīyaṁ* by Anantāmātya. It is stated therein that the

78. "వరుణలింగంబునకుఁ దీర్ఘవారిధార
సేయుచుటముల నభిషేకవిధి యొనర్చ
వఱపు దోఁకుఁబు వాయంగ వాన గురియుఁ
గొంగ్రడలం బండు నారబకోటులెల్ల"... —Bh.Pr. III, v. 142.

79. "వినుము మహానది దాఁటుట
యును గురువిప్రార్యసంవయును ధర్మసభా
జనవైరము దైవతలం
ఘనముగ దాఁటంప హాని కార్యముల గుమీ..." —Sm. Dv., I, III, v. 102.

assembly hall (*koluvu-cavike*) of king Bhōja, which was made of five *dhātus* (*pañca-lōhas*) in the palace called Anugumēḍa, was converted into gold by the process of *dhūmavēdha*. A siddha was believed to have told a *vēśya*, who served him for a long time, the names of chemicals to be used, the way to mix them, and the process by which to turn metals into gold by the smoke of the compound[80]. Another article was *anjanam* or the magical ointment that makes the treasures hidden in earth or those that were lost, visible[81].

Vows to visit sacred shrines were much in vogue. People used to make vows to the deity of a particular shrine that, if by the grace of the deity they recovered from sickness, or obtained success in any undertaking or fulfilment of any desire, they would sacrifice an animal, make a votive offering, or take part in the next festival. Those who were blessed with children subsequent to the vow, were named after the deity they had vowed to.

It was common custom to sacrifice animals, like goats or sheep, in order to satisfy both gods and demons, when unearthing a treasure.[82]

It was one of the interesting customs of those days to celebrate the marriage of the mango plant and the creeper *mādhavi* with due pomp and ceremony.

Festivals:

Of all the festivals celebrated during this period *Vasantōtsava* or the spring festival was the most important. It was one of the major festivals of the age. In fact, this festival was observed by Hindus from very early centuries of the Christian era. It finds mention in *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtras* refers to this festival as *Suvasantaka*. Jayamangala, the commentator of the *Kāmasūtras*, calls this festival *Madanāmahōtsava*, an occasion marked by merry making with music and dance. There are references to this festival in the Sanskrit

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80. "ఔషధములు చెప్పి యవి కూర్పువిధమును
జెప్పి దీపకహిమ్మ శిఖల మీఁద
నైన ధూమవేధకలన లోహంబులు
హేమ మగుతెఱం గెఱుఁగఁజెప్పి..." — Bh. Rj. II, v. 180.

81. "... అంజన మబ్బినవానికిన్ ధరా
క్రాంతములైన పెన్నిధులు కన్నులకున్ బొడచూపు ప్రకటిన్" — Vk. Cr., I. v. 192.

82. Sm. Dv., I. i, v. 189.

dramas, *Māḷavikāgnimitram* of Kālidasa and *Ratnavaḷi* of Harṣa. In fact, the latter drama opens with the *Vasantōtsava* celebrations. These references are enough to prove the antiquity of this festival.

This ancient festival acquired fresh importance in the Andhra country only during this period of Hindu revival. It became popular like the *vratas* and the *dānas*. Inscriptions of this period refer to *Vasantamahōtsava* celebrations of local gods. Some of the Sanskrit dramas, also of this period, are said to have been produced to be put on boards during the festival celebrations. All these attest to the great popularity of this festival.

Vasantamahōtsava was a seasonal festival celebrated at the approach of the vernal equinox. This is a festival devoted to Madana or Kāma, god of Love, and his friend and ally Vasanta, the presiding deity of the spring. This *Vasantamahōtsava* was also called *Madanamahōtsava*. It was primarily a romantic festival involving fun and frolic, music and dance, song and play, swinging, and swimming and all kinds of amusements. It was a festival for one and all, during which every one put on a gay dress, decorated oneself gaily and spent one's time in mirth and merriment. It was formerly held, according to Monier Williams, on the full moon of the month of Caitra, but now of Phālguṇa. The celebrations appear to have begun from the Vasantapañcamī and lasted for nine days. These nine days were called *Vasantanavarātras*, the nine bright nights of the spring season. Both men and women, young and old took part in this festival and marched in procession in streets, singing love songs and dancing to the accompaniment of instrumental music. Generally dancing girls and their paramours took an active part in these frolics.

This festival of *Madanamahōtsava* is described by Hēmādri in his *Vratakhaṇḍa*, wherein he narrates the following story about its origin. After marrying Gaurī, Śiva, observing *Paśupatavrata*, lost himself in meditation. Gaurī's desire for maternity remained unfulfilled. Brahmā and other gods held consultations and sent Madana to disturb Śiva's meditatien, with the hope that he alone could divert Śiva's attention. Madana accompanied by Vasanta, went in front of Śiva who was then in deep contemplation, and having drawn his sugarcane-bow, discharged his missiles of flowers on Śiva which disturbed his deep meditation and caused *madanōnmāda* or love madness. Śiva burst into a rage and opened his third eye of fire reducing Madana to ashes Madana's wife, Ratī, seeing her husband burnt to ashes, was stricken with great grief. Then with a heart softend by seeing her pitiable condition, Gauri said to Śiva, "you have burnt up Kāma who had come here for my sake. Pray, take pity

on his wife Ratī, and bring Madana, her husband, back to life." Śiva replied, "How could Madana, once burnt to death by me, come to life again? However, I shall grant your request. In the spring season, on the thirteenth day of the light half of the month, he would reassume his bodily form." Having granted this boon, Śiva is said to have gone to Kailāsa.[83] So the lunar thirteenth day of the bright fortnight was the day of Madana coming to life again. Hēmādri does not specify the month; but simply states that it is in the spring time. It is evident that it is the lunar thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. This spring carnival is therefore called *Madanamahōtsava* or *Vasantōtsava*.

The *pūjāvidhāna* or the mode of worshipping Madana is also described by Hēmādri. It is said that, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright half, a representation of the *Aśōka* tree should be made after taking a bath, and the floor should be decorated with *kōlams*. Images of Kāmadēva, Vighnēśvara, Śiva and Vasanta and *Apsarōgaṇas* made either of gold or of any other metal or material, should be worshipped with incense, sandal paste, and flowers at midday by the king, along with his ministers, ladies and others. After the completion of worship, offerings of cakes of different kinds should be made to them and betel should be distributed among the brāhman couples with *dakṣiṇa*. It is further stated that, on this day, a wife should worship her husband by offering new clothes, flowers and ornaments. Those who observe this *Madanamahōtsava* are enjoined to keep holy vigil that night, and perform *rāsa-mahōtsava* or love-dance. Lamps should be lit, and wine should be offered to śūdras, and camphor, kuṁkuma powder, sandal paste and other perfumes and betel should be distributed.

Beautiful descriptions of this spring festival are furnished by the Telugu works *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśika*, *Bhīmeśvra Purāṇam* and *Kāśikhaṇḍam* produced in this age. These works give us a clear idea of the celebration of the festival and the different ceremonies practised on this occasion. As the authors of these works lived in this age when the spring festival was at its zenith of popularity, we may be certain that, much influenced by the realistic grandeur of this carnival, they introduced it into their works, and provided us a good picture of the festival, as it was in vogue in their time.[84]

83. Bibl. Ind., Vol. 1. Hēmādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa*.

84. We gather from *Siṁhasanadvatriṁśika* the following account of the spring festival.

"The ministers of State keep ready everything required for the celebration, of the festival. A beautiful pavilion fit for the occasion is erected and elaborately decorated with golden arches and awning, under which a number of alt 's decorated with precious stones, are constructed for gods, like Kāma, Vasanta and

The descriptions of the spring festival given in the works cited above, enable one to picture to one's self the manner in which it was celebrated in the period under review. It was customary for a king to go to a park adjoining the town with his queens, princes, nobles poets, jesters and other common people in state, accompanied by his army. In this connection, it may be interesting to mention that there were different kinds of groves in the neighbourhood of each and every important town in the Andhra country during this period, as the planting of a garden was considered to be one of the seven meritorious acts. The king rested in a place specially arranged for him under a big shady tree in the garden, and spent some time in the company of poets, artists and jesters. Then his vassals and other

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others. Every altar is beautified with plantain trees and plastered with musk. The floor of the *vēdī* is ornamented with camphor *kōlam* or lines in various designs, and adorned with *pūrṇa-kalas'as*, that is, vessels filled with water, the symbols for plenty. The *vēdī* is enclosed by the plant sweet marjoram. The king then starts in procession, and goes out of the city gate in state on horse-back to an adjoining park followed by his army, poets, dancers, buffoons, heroes, beautiful damsels (wearing rich apparel and jewels), who are veritable ornaments of the festival, and others, amidst the sounding of conches, kettle-drums, and other musical instruments. Poets and musicians chant the king's praises.

While the king takes a stroll in the park, a jester (*vidūṣaka*) writes a verse on a (mango) leaf and presents it to the king. The purport of this verse is this: whoever takes recourse to the *rasāla* (sweet mango tree) it becomes the root of the wealth of victory over Kāma, the god of Love. The king thereafter spends some time in the company of jesters and poets. While the king is thus engaged, the damsels go round the garden to have a look at creepers and trees and to pluck flowers. Some play hide and seek behind the flower-bushes, swing on swings made of creepers singing *ēlalu*, a variety of songs. The lovers, their paramourn and the courtesans are engaged in fun and frolic, and in plucking flowers. While the king rests in a place specially arranged for him, beautiful damsels make a present of flowers and flower garlands. Then the *sāmantas* and *maṇḍalikas* or vassals bring is their tribute to the king in the form of girls, horses, precious stones and other jewels. The minister introduces different chiefs and nobles to the king, whereupon the king enquires about their welfare.

After the completion of the function, the king enters the pavilion surrounded by young damsels, and worships with 'sixteen acts of civility' (*Ṣōḍas'ōpacāras*). gods Madana and his consort Ratī, Vasanta, Lakṣmī and her husband Upēndra, Gaurī and her lord S'iva, and S'aci and her husband Surēndra. During the period of worship *pañca-mahas'abdas*, the five great musical instruments are played, and lovely maidens sing and dance to the accompaniment of music.

After the worship is over, the king sports with beauiful damsels. They fling on one another camphor, sandal-paste, and other perfumed articles as in frolic. Other citizens also follow their example and do the same. Later on, the king and his ladies go to a lotus-tank and swim in water for a time. After finishing the bath the king with his queens gives audience to the public in the same park under a tree.

subordinates came to him and paid tribute. After this ceremony is over, the king went along with his queens to the pavilion in the park, containing different well decorated altars to different gods, specially constructed for the occasion, and worshipped Madana, god of Love, and Ratī, his consort, Vasanta, the ally of Madana, Lakṣmī and Acyuta, S'iva and Pārvatī, S'acī and Indra, and Vighnēśvara, with incence, sandal, flowers and other things. Images of these gods were made of either gold, silver or any other material. The worship of gods came to a close with the distribution of betel and camphor with *dakṣiṇa* among brāhman couples. The king then scattered, among people, who gathered there for the occasion, perfumes, such as camphor, musk, civet, saffron, sandal, and gave sanction for the spring sports. Men and women, boys and girls, the young and the old, husbands and wives, paramours and prostitutes, peasants and labourers, all joined in the great carnival. They freely indulged in sprinkling rosewater, water mixed with turmeric and

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The *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* furnishes some more details about the festival, and the description of the festival therein is a complete one. S'rīnātha, the author of that work, makes god Bhīmanātha of Dāksharām or Dakṣavāṭi celebrate this festival at the beginning of the spring season, attended by gods, *Apsarasas* and *Gandharvas*, and the village goddesses of Dāksharām. Taking this occassion, S'rīnātha gives a realistic account of the spring festival of his day. According to a hyperbole in this work, the *Dēvaṣ* and the *Gandharvos* erect fortifications with camphor-pieces and musk, battlements with *kuṅkumadrava*, gate-ways with coral-tenders, large-doors with lotus-petals, arrange a moat with *agaru*-mud and rose water, *kōlams* with *ratnankuras*, flags with silk-clothes, beautifully decorate the park attached to the temple of Bhīmanātha, and worship the mango trees. The *Apsaras* play on *kanaka viṇas* sitting on the altars in the Dakshavāṭika and sing *jadara songs* on Bhīmanātha. After a time, they get into cars and hit him with flower arrows. Then god Bhīmanātha distributes among the *Dēvas Gandharvas* and *Apsarasas*, sandal, musk, camphor and other perfumed substances in abundance, gives them, by a signal, sanction for sport and play. Then the sports begin.

One lady sprinkles the dust of flowers on Kuṁbhōdara, another damsel applies sandal and turmeric powder on the forehead of Bhṛiṅgiriṭi. Another woman hits Vīrabhadra with a lump of sandal, on his chest. A beautiful girls squirted rose-water into the ears of Kāla Bhairava. Another girl applied civet-paste to the head of Kumārasvāmin. Another girl filling a jewelled vessel with civet, poured it on the pot belly of Vighnēs'vara. The village deities Gōgu, Nūka, Maṇḍamadēvī and Ghaṭṭītalli sported with *Bhūtakōṭi*, demons, by squirting ghee, oil, turmeric water, *kuṅkuma* and vermilion on one another, in the streets of Dāksharām with joy and glee. Malavīdēvī sprinkled fragrant turmeric powder on Bhadrakālī, and Karṇamōṭī ejected musk-water filled in glass bottles. The *Dēva-vēs'yas* Raṁbhā, Mēnakā, Mañjughōṣā, Tilōttamā and others sprinkled sandal, rose-water, saffron-mud, civet, *saṅkumada*, *javādi*, and camphor pieces on Moon. During these spring sports water mixed with sandal, camphor and musk was showered on Acyuta by Lakṣmī, on Brahmā by Sarasvatī, and on Mahēndra by S'acī. After the termination of these spring sports and pastimes, god Bhīmadēva rewards the *Dēvas* and others with presents.

kumkum, and other things. For this they used bamboo syringes. The sport included sprinkling and scattering of various powders coloured and un-coloured, perfumed and non-perfumed, and sandal paste Camphor pieces and powder were showered on the crowds. Occasionally oily substances, like ghee, and oil, pure or mixed, were also freely squirted over one another.

After the termination of the sports, the king with his queens went to a lotus pond nearby and sported in water for a while. Returning from the lotus tank he gave audience to the public and rewarded poets and artists according to merit. Dramas were put on boards; dance recitals were given; musicians, showed their skill in music, both vocal and instrumental; and magicians and others proficient in other *kalas* or *vidyas*, came there in search of patronage, and displayed their feats of strength, skill and sleights of hand. It was a grand occasion for patronising Arts and Letters. In this way *Vasantamahōtsava* was the major festival of those days, which exercised great influence on the people culturally and socially. It was occasions like this that advanced the knowledge and culture of the common people. Every gifted person desirous of seeking royal patronage and approbation of the general public, showed his dexterity and skill in Arts and Letters, tried to excel the standards previously set up, and to win laurels from the king.

It was the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, who by their participation in the festival, imparted to it some royal grandeur, and converted it into a country-wide national festival. The first Reḍḍi king known to us to have taken an active part in this *Vasantōtsava* was king Anavēma. Many verses in his copper-plate records attest to his ardour and activities in the *Vasantōtsava* celebrations. His Dṛujjavaram [85] grant states that Anavēma successfully celebrated the spring festival every year with musk, saffron, sandal, rose-water, camphor and other articles. It poetically descibes that the rose-water, mixed with particles of musk and showered during the spring festivities, resembled a heavy downpour of rain, and the scattering of camphor pieces among the people a hail-storm. One of the verses in his Naḍupūru grant[86] describes him as having "caused not only the earth but also the sky scented with musk, camphor, and sandal scattered in the spring festival". The composer of this grant shows in another verse his poetical skill by asking the question: "Did the three worlds become white through the copious camphor powder scattered at the spring festival, or through his fame [87] ?

85. *Reḍḍi Raṇi*, Vol. III. p. 139 (1926); C. P. No. 15 of 1922-23.

86. Ep. Ind.. Vol. III, p. 289, v. 13.

87. Ibid, v. 14.

Anavēma was also called Vasantarāya and Karpūra Vasantarāya, a name he richly deserves by the celebration of this spring festival with plenty of camphor. He is eulogised in his Śrīśailam record[88] as *ghanasāra-kastūrik-ādi-vastu-vistāra-viracit-āpūrvavibhava*, he who had the extraordinary glory caused by the abundance of sandal, musk and other articles. In the time of the Reḍḍi kings this festival was annually celebrated at Koṇḍavīḍu with great pomp. Anavēma's successor, king Kumāragiri had also the titles Vasantarāya and Karpūra-vasantarāya. He named his work on *Naṭya Śāstra Vasantarājīyam* after his surname Vasantarāya. His brother-in-law and prime minister, Kāṭaya Vēma, says, in his commentary *Kumāragirirājīyam*, that Kumāragiri Reḍḍi took part in new dances, in the company of beautiful damsels and in spring festivals[89] The policy adopted by king Anavōtā Reḍḍi regarding sea-borne trade, and the charter he granted to the merchants of Mōṭupalli who traded with distant islands and coastal towns, "was fruitful of beneficial results", and increased the wealth of the country. The extensive sea-borne trade carried on by merchants, ever since the granting of the charter, by Anavōta made camphor, sandal, musk and other articles of merchandise of distant countries and islands, available to the people in the Reḍḍi kingdom in plenty. They imparted a solemn grandeur to the spring festival, and a pleasing fragrance to the social life of the age. Avaci Tippaya Seṭṭi, the merchant-prince contemporaneous with king Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, supplied to the king all the musk, saffron, camphor, civet, rose-water, eaglewood, sandal, and other aromatic substances required for the great spring festival. We come to know from the *Haravilāsam* that he used to open a perfumery emporium at Koṇḍavīḍu during the period of festivities. The following observations of Nicolo de Conti seem to apply to this spring festival. "There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passersby even the king and queen themselves, with saffron-water, placed for the purpose by the wayside. This is received by all with much laughter." [90]

Conti enumerates some more festivals. He writes, "thrice in the year they keep festivals of special solemnity. On one of these occasions, the males and females of all ages having bathed in the river or in the sea, clad themselves in new garments and spend three entire days in singing dancing and feasting. On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples and on the outside on the roofs, an inumerable number of lamps of oil of susimanni, which are kept burning day and night. On the third which

88. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

89. A. S. P. P., Vol, X ; Ep. Ind., IV, p. 326.

90. Major, Conti, pp. 28–29, 89.

lasts nine days they set up in all high ways, large beams, like the masts of small ships, to the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds, interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams, is each day placed a man of pious aspect, dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things with equanimity, who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people who pelt them with oranges, lemons and other odoriferous fruits all which they bear most patiently"[91]

It is difficult to say what these festivals were. The festival of lamps which he refers to as the second one, seems to be the *deepāvaḷi* festival that occurs on the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of Ās'vīja. However, we come to know some more festivals which were then in vogue from inscriptions and literature. It is needless to say that the new year's day was one of the chief festivals of the Andhras, even though it does not find mention in the records of the period. There were three chief *pūrṇimas* (*punnami* days, full moon days) which were regarded as festive occasions, namely *Davana-Punnama*, the full moon day or the fifteenth day of the light half of the month of Caitra, *Nūlī-Punnama*, the fifteenth day of the light half of the month of Srāvaṇa, and *Kārtika-Pūrṇima*, the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārtika. *Davana-Purṇima* seems to have been associated with the festival of *Dōlōtsava*[92]. The spring festivities probably came to a close with this *Davana-Punnama*. It seems to have been the custom, particularly among vēśyas, or courtesans in the Telugu country to revere their gurus or teachers of Arts on this day, and offer them *kaṭṇams*,[93] that is, fees or presents. The *Panḍitārādhyacaritra* tells us that a certain vēśya paid *kaṭnam* to her guru on this day of *Davana Punnama* pledging her chain (*saripeṇa*). The annual festival of god Teluṅgu Rāya of Kākuḷam Śrīkā-) kuḷam, Kistna district) used to be celebrated on this *Davana Punnama*.[94] *Nūli Punnama*, Śrāvaṇa Paurṇamī, as it is otherwise called, was another festive occasion. The ceremony of renewing or wearing new sacred thread or *yajñōpavīta* is performed on this day every year ; hence, the

91. Ibid.
92. Two inscriptious at Dāksharam dated in S'aka 1197 and S'aka 1209 register grants for *havirbalyarcanas* to god Bhīmēs'vara on the occasion of *Dōlōtsava* on *davana Punnama*'– Vide – S. I. I. IV, No. 1373, and No. 1368.

93 "తిరశాక్షి ముందటి దవనపున్నమను
సరిపెణ గోయిడి కట్న మిచ్చె"... Pn .Cr.,II, P. 360.

94. "దవన పున్నమ గాకుశాధ్యక్షుండైన
తెలుగురాయుడు దేవతాధీశ్వరుండు
భువనహితముగ నుత్సవం బవధరింప
నందుఁ బోయిరి మా గోముసట్టియుడు." –Kd. Rm.. v. 204.

name, *nūli punnama*. On this day it was the custom to give a feast to boy devotees[95] (*bāla bhaktas*) and young *brahmacārins*. *Kārtika pūrnimā* is a day sacred to god Śiva. We are told in the *Bhimēśvara Purāṇam* that the sage, Agastya, with his wife entered the fire arch *jvālā* (*tōrāṇa*) on the full moon day of the month of Kārtika at Dakshāram.[96] This act is believed to wash off all sins

Śrījayanti, a popular festival, even to-day, is referred to in a record[97] at Mādala in the Guntur district. *Lakṣmī-utsavamulu*, or *Mahālakṣmī panḍugulu* as they are also called, constituted the autumnal festival, the counter-part of the spring festival. This festival comes in Śarat, the fourth of the six seasons of the luni-solar year, and lasts for nine days like the spring festival. Hence, these days of festivity are called *Śaran-navarātras*. This festival also had the same cultural value as the spring one; for, it is said that, on occasions like this, kings and nobles of the country used to reward poets, spiritual preceptors, musicians, and dancers.[98] Besides these, there were the Gautamī and the Kṛṣṇā *puṣkaram* festivals which come once in every twelve years, when Bṛhaspati (Jupiter) enters the two signs of Zodiac, the Simha (Leo), and the Kanyā (Virgo) respectively. The period of *puskaram* is a sacred occasion, when people from different parts of the country make a pilgrimage to the nearest *tīrtha* or holy place situated on their banks, to have a bath in the holy waters and acquire merit. The festival of Gautamī *puṣkaram* is referred to in an inscription[99] at Palivela (East Godavari district) dated in Śaka 1345, and in the *Panḍitārādhyacaritra* also. Similarly, the festival of the Kṛṣṇā-*puṣkaram* is alluded to in a record[100] at Kētavaram (Guntur district). In addition to these, there were other sacred occasions, like the *Arthōdaya-puṇyakāla* and the *Mahōdaya-puṇyakāla*, on which a bath in the sea or in a river was considered to be meritorious.

95. "నూలిపున్నమ నాఁడు నూపురం బిమ్ము
బాలభక్తుల కొప్పఁ బంచుచు నేసె ..." —Pn. Cr., II. P. 361.

96. "కార్తికక వేళ భీమశంకరుని నగర
వింధ్యసంస్తంభయుతి దూటి విమలబుద్ధి
తోయజ్ఞలియుఁ దాను జొచ్చె జ్వాలతోరణంబు
కలుషసంహతి సంహార కారణంబు..." —Ks. Kh., III, v.24.

97. Ep. Coll., No. 312 of 1932-33; Ep. Rep., 1918, 77, Para 57.

98. "అవని నవంతి భూవరుఁ డాదిగఁ బార్థివు లెల్ల లక్ష్మియు
త్సవములు మున్నుగాఁ గనుఁ బ్రశస్తముగా సమయంబులందు స
త్కవులను బారలౌకికము గాయకుల న్నటుల న్వితీర్ణవై
భవము దనర్చఁ జొచ్చిరి ప్రభావసమృద్ధుల నిందుపుట్టఁగన్." —Sim. Dv., II, vii, v. 99.

99. S.I.I. Vol. V. No. 114.

100. Ep. Coll., No. 290 of 1934-35.

CHAPTER V.

AGRICULTURE

Andhra was predominantly an agricultural country, as it is even to-day, and a great majority of the people was engaged in agriculture. It was the profession mainly of the vaiśyas and śūdras, the last two classes of the Hindu Social Order. Though some of the members of these two *varṇas* took to other walks of life, the majority of them was in agriculture. Brāhmans were precluded from taking to agriculture by the Dharma Śāstras. Hence, *agrahāras* granted to them were generally cultivated by members of the fourth caste, who resided in small hamlets atttached to *agrahāras*, called *pūṇḍis*, *grāmaṭikas* and *grāma-grāsapu pallis*. Instances are not wanting to show that some brāhmans of the age actually tilled the soil.

Extent of Arable Land:

There was an extensive fallow land in every village. We come to know from the Muslim histories, inscriptions, the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* and the *Local Records*, that great stretches of land were covered with scrub or jungle, and the extent of arable land was much less than what it is today. The clearing of forests to the east of Śrīśailam in the Kurnool district, and the building of villages thereabout, is attributed by inscriptions and the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* to Trilōcana Pallava, alias Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi of the Pallava dynasty, and to Kākati Pratāparudra. Each and every local dynasty brought great patches of land under cultivation and increased the extent of arable land. Even during the period under review, there were great forests both in the coastal plain and in the mountainous regions. The tract of country, on either side of the river Pampā around Mummaḍivīḍu (the present Mummaḍivaram in Amalapuram taluk) of the East Godavari district, was a great jungle. There were great *bilva* forests on the banks of the river Tulyabhāga, which runs through the present Rāmachandrapuram taluk, East Godavari district. In fact, there were many *vana dugrgas*, forts protected by great forests, which were captured by kings of this age. Agriculture was therefore limited in extent and confined to the regions devoid of forests.

Soil:

It is unnecessary to deal with the physical features of the coastal region. As a rule, the upland and hilly tracts are formed by hard clay and rocky soils, and the low-lying plains by soft alluvial clay, loam and

sandy ones. The Telugu poet, Srinatha, in one of his *cāṭus*, leaves behind him a description of the upland Palnāḍu country, which was separated from coastal plain by hills and jungles. He says that the villages in the Palnāṭi *sīma* were characterised by small rocks and minor deities, *nāpa* slabs, waters of the Nāgulēṟu, serpents and scorpions, and *sajja* and *jonna* meals.[1] The above description gives us a general idea of the nature of the great upland provinces comprising the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom.

Classification of Lands:

For purposes of taxation, arable land was classified under three categories, namely, dry, wet, and garden land. Dry land was called '*velipolamu*' or '*velicēnu*', wet, as '*nīrunēla*' or '*māgāṇi*', and garden land, as '*tōṭabhūmi*'. Lands were assessed in accordance with this classification. The assessment on the last two kinds of land was naturally higher than on the first.

Land Survey and Land Measures:

All arable land was surveyed by means of a pole, or a measuring rod. We do not know if this survey was periodical. It is stated in the text-books on Gaṇita current in the time of the last Kākatīya monarch, that there were different kinds of poles of varying measurement in use in different countries and localities, and that the land measured with a single pole lengthwise and breadthwise, was one *kuṇṭa* in extent.[2] This statement is corroborated by inscriptions which allude to different poles, as settled by surveyors in different localities. From the records of the Reddi period *Kēsaripāṭi-gaḍa*, or pole appears to have been the

1. చిన్న చిన్న రాళ్ళు చిల్లర దేవుళ్ళు
నాగులేటి నీళ్ళు నాఁపరాళ్ళు
సజ్జజొన్న కూళ్ళు సర్పంబులును తేళ్ళు
పల్లెనాటిసీమ పల్లెటూళ్ళు.

2. నానాదేశములందును
నానావిధమైన గడలు నగ్గడమైన—
దానఁ బలుదిక్కు— లొక్కసరి
గా నుండిన చేలు కుంట గణితవిధిజ్ఞా.
నిడుపు వెడల్పును నొక్కొ—క
గడయైనం గుంట నాఁగను గణుతింపంగా
గడచేఁ గుంటలు కూడుము
తడయక వెలిచేలు కొలిచి తథ్యము గాఁగన్.

standard rod in measuring lands in the coastal region. It was in use at least from the time of Kākati Pratāparudra, if not earlier. The text-books on Gaṇita of the Kākatīya period give the lineal measure of land according to *Kēsaripāṭi-gaḍa*. In settling the length of the pole the *aṅguḷa* was taken as the unit. According to the Gaṇita texts, *aṅguḷa* was half of the circumference of the thumb, the length of three *yava* seeds, or half the length of the middle finger. Twelve such *aṅguḷas* make one *jēna*, and thirty two such *jēnas* make one *gaḍa* or pole.[3] Generally, the thumb of a person, approved by the king or other chief officers of State, is taken for settling the standared unit of *aṅguḷa*. When once it was determined, the pole was measured in accordance with it, and it was the custom of the country to sketch a portion of its length on a stone pillar in a temple for the guidance of future generations. Such representations of poles or measuring rods of fields are found on pillars in temples in the villages of Penumūḷi,[4] Prattipāḍu,[5] Mōpaṛṛu[6] and Kommūru[7] in the Guntur district. The sketch of the standard measure on the

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3. అంగుష్ఠపు వలయార్ధం
నంగుళ మగు; మూఁడు పొడవు యవ లెన్నంగా
నంగుళ మగు ; మరియును మ
ధ్యాంగుళ మధ్యప్రమిత మంగుళ మయ్యెన్.
రెండియు నయ్యంగుళములు
పండ్రెండై జేన యయ్యెఁ బరికింపంగాఁ
నిండిన జేనలు ముప్పది
రెండొక గడమానమై ధరిత్రిని వెలయున్.

అంగుష్ఠనిర్ణయం బవని క్షేసరిపాటి
గడ ప్రమాణంబున గడ యొసంగు
కుంటలక్షణము బాగుగ తెలపోఁతలు (?)
గడల్వాగ్రము క్షేత్రకములయందుఁ
శేఁ ప్రుగాఁ జల్లిన బీజావళికి నెల్ల
బరిమాణ మెఱుఁగుట వరుసతోడ
గోచర్మధూముల కొలఁదులు గాంచుట
ప్రతులు కూడుట దిశాపటలిఁ గనుట
మతియు లోకుల లాదిగాఁ బరగుచున్న
జేలు మహిమను గొల్చి ప్రసిద్ధియైన
క్షేత్రగణితంబుఁ జెప్పెద సూత్రకముగ." —*Kṣētra Gaṇita*, A.S.P.L., No. 1089.

4. Ep. Coll., No. 131 of 1917.
5. Ep. Coll., No. 145 of 1917.
6. Ep. Coll., No. 659 of 1920.
7. Ep. Coll., No. 825 of 1922.

temple pillar at Penumūḷi was drawn in Śaka 1236, that is, in 1314 A.D., during the reign of Kākati Pratāparudra. At Mopaṟṟu, a Sanskrit ślōka, defining the lengths of the linear measures of *aṅguḷa*, *vitasti* (*jēna*), and *daṇḍaka* (*gaḍa*), and a Telugu passage, was also inscribed above the sketch of the pole given thereon, and these strictly conform to the definitions of the same, given in the Gaṇita texts of the time of Pratāparudra. "Half of the circumference of a thumb is an *aṅguḷa*. Twelve *aṅguḷas* make one *vitasti*, and thirty two *vitastis* make one *daṇḍaka*." The Telugu passage states that the *Kēsaripāṭi-gaḍa* is equivalent to the *daṇḍaka*. The sketch of a *jēna*, drawn on one of the square sides of a pillar in the *Daṇḍēśvarasvāmi* temple at Prattipāḍu, measures exactly one and a half foot or eighteen inches with a foot-rule. According to the inscription, thirty two *jēnas* with this standard *jēna* make one *gaḍa*, and one hundred and twelve and a half *kuṇṭas*, measured with this pole, make one '*Kēsarpāṭi tūmu*.'[8] It is said that this standard pole was determined by Puruṣōttamayya, the *rāyasaṁ* of Rāyapa Nāyaka. The inscription at Kommūru also gives the length of the measuring rod in terms of *vitastis* as determined by the same Puruṣōttamayya, and defines the *Kēsaripāṭi tūmu*. The undated inscription[8a] at Nandivelugu (Tenali taluk, Guntur district) refers to the grain measure which is also called *Kēsaripāṭi tūmu*. Evidently the same measure was used for measuring area as well as cubic contents. According to the texts on Gaṇita, a *Kēsaripāṭi tūmu* consisted of two *inasas* or four *kuñcas*[9]. One putti, whether of land or of

8. This is the text of the inscription :

" రాయపనాయని వారి రాయసం పురుషోత్తమయ్య నిర్ణయ
పరచిన ఖుడప్రమాణం యీ జానలు ౩౨ ఖుడ [పొడుగు]న
౧౧౨½ కుంటలు కేసరిపాటి తూము."

I went to Prattipāḍu and took the measurement of the sketch given on the right side of the inscription. It measures exactly one and a half foot with a foot rule.

9. "ప్రకటింతు కేసరిపాటి క్షేత్రంబుల
వలసిన బీజసంఖ్యాత మదియు
మాటపండ్రెండర పాటిగా నొకతూము
ఏబదాఱింటాఱి కిరస యయ్యె
ఇరువదెన్మిదిపర కేర్పడఁ గుంచెడు
పదునాల్గువీసము పరగు నడ్డ
ఏడొక యరవీసు మేపార మానిక
మూఁటిపై నలకాని మున్న (?) తవ్వ

grain, consisted of twenty *Kēsaripāṭi tūmus*, that is to say, eighty *kuñcas* of grain make one *puṭṭi*. It may not be out of place to refer here to the grain measure *puṭṭi* of eighty *kuñcas*, called *Palle pu.ṭi*, which is still in use in some localities in the East Godavari district. This *Palle puṭṭi* was formerly in use in the coastal tracts until its supersession by the *Malaka puṭṭi*, probably introduced by Malakas or Mussalmans, either the Bahmanīs, the Kutub Shāhis of Gōlkoṇḍa, or the Asafjāhis of Hyderābād [10]. The texts on Gaṇita enjoin on surveyors of land to leave out, while measuring, as much space as that of a cow's foot ('*gōṣpāda*') for each pole. [11]

Just as there was difference in assesment between the dry and wet lands, there was difference also in their standard measures. It was an ancient custom to give the extent of dry land, *velipolamu*, or *velicēnu* in *khaṇḍikas* or *khaṇḍuvus*, and that of the wet land, in *maruturu*. The term *marutu* or *martu* finds mention in the early Telugu and Canarese inscriptions. *Marturu*, the plural of *martu*, changed later on into *mattar* in Canarese. Just as the area of dry land was expressed in *Kēsaripāṭi tūmu*, that of wet land was given in *martu*. That a *martu* was equal to, or corresponded to a Sanskrit *nivartana*, is known from the Pākhāl inscription [12] of Gaṇapatidēva of the Kākatīya dynasty. The land granted to the 'Kavicakravarti', the composer of that inscription, is stated to be five *nivartanas* in the Sanskrit portion, and five *martus* in the Telugu portion. of the record. An inscription [13] of the thirteenth

ఒకటి ముప్పాతికయుఁ జూడ నొక్కసోల
ఏడుపరకలు దా నొనగూడె కని
పరగ నరసోల యెలుఁగుఁడీ వరుసతోడ
గణితపండిత, విను మిది గణితమునను ''.

I have quoted the verse without correcting the mistakes.

10. It is not known why that measure is called *Palle puṭṭi*, which is really the *Kēsaripāṭi-puṭṭi* itself. The term *Palle* in *Palle puṭṭi* appears to have some connection with, or to have been the corrupt form of Pallava. If this surmise is correct, we may be perhaps justified in thinking that this grain measure was in vogue from the time of Pallava kings who held sway in the coastal region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, prior to the Eastern Caḷukyas of Vēṅgi.

11. " కొలుచుచోట గడకు గోష్పదమంతేని
యెడము(?) విడుచుకున్న యశము తెలుఁగుఁ
గాన కొలఁ బోరిఁ బ్రాగర మీ రిట్లు
ధర్మ మాచరించి తేసరుఁడయ్య. ''

12. Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 4, verse, 41.

13. N. D., I. I., C. P., No. 17, v. 28, p. 147.
Dasa-hastēna-daṇḍēna triṁśad-daṇḍa nivartanam
tan-yaiva dasa gōcarma tad-dunad-Acyutaṁ phalam.

century from the Nellore district gives the extent of a *nivartana*, as follows, while defining the land measure called *gōcarma*. Ten *hastas* make one *daṇḍa*; thirty (*trimśati*) *daṇḍas* make one *nivartana*; ten *nivartanas* make one *gōcarma*. But Hēmādri, minister of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri, defines a *nivartana*, in his great work *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, as equal to twenty *daṇḍas* or 200 *hastas*, or 40,000 *hastas* square. *Hasta* is a measure of length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, and equals to twenty four *aṅguḷas*. From this it is evident that two *vitastis* make one *hasta*. In view of Hēmādri's statement, the reading *trimśati* (thirty), given in the Nellore record quoted above, seems to be a mistake for '*vimśati*, which means twenty.[14] Since Hēmādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* was very popular in the Andhra coastal area during the period under review, *nivartana* as given by him, may be taken to have been in vogue then.

Paddy Seasons:

Cultivation of chief crops in different localities in the Andhra country was determined chiefly by the character of the soil besides rainfall and other climatic conditions. Rice and millet were the staple crops. A perusal of inscriptions of the Kākatīya period and a few of the Reḍḍi period[15] discloses the fact that there were generally two harvests, one in the month of Vaiśākha (April–May), and the other in the month of Kārtika (October–November). This shows that paddy had two main seasons, known as *Vaiśākham* and *Kārtikam*, the two months in which the harvest was gathered. It might be, because of these seasons, that the tax in kind due to the State from the agriculturist, was collected in the months referred to above. The tax the cultivator had to pay in kind was called *kōru*, or *kōru-pālu* (king's share), and the cultivator's share of the produce was called *meḍi-pālu* (the ryot's share). In almost all big villages the king had *rāca-gādelu* (royal granaries) to store the king's share of grain. Of these two harvests, that which comes in the month of Kārtika appears to be the principal one; for, whenever the two are referred to, *Kārtikam* is mentioned first as a rule, and *Vaiśākham* next. It is but proper to mention it first, since it comes after the close of the period of the South-West monsoon which brings rain to the coastal tracts of the Andhra country.

14. The texts in the inscriptions of the Nellore district are full of mistakes. The readings are very faulty. It is very necessary to correct, re-edit it and publish those inscriptions. It is no wonder if the word '*vimśati*' was wrongly read as '*trimśati*' by the authors. According to the *Līlāvatīgaṇita* also one *nivartana*, *niraṅga* as it was also called, was equal to twenty *vamśas* (bamboo poles) or *daṇḍakas*, and the length of each *vamśa* corresponded to ten *hastas*.

15. Ep. Coll. 380 of 1926,

Agricultural Implements:

The tillage implements were, as they still are, very few and simple, and they were prepared by the village blacksmith, who was one of the twelve servants of the village. His services were remunerated by *ināms*, called *vṛtti-mānyams*.

Irrigation

The soil of the country being generally dry, artificial irrigation was necessary. Irrigation works consisted of three principal types, namely, wells including *doruvu* wells on the river banks, river-channels, and tanks or reservoirs formed by constructing embankments across two hills, and rivulets or streams.[16] The Telugu work *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśika* gives a list of sources of irrigation and appliances to lift water from a lower to a higher level, such as *kālvalu* (canals), *pāyalu* (branches of rivers), *kōḷḷu* (artificial canals or marshes), and *rāṭnamulu* (appliances to draw water or water-wheels worked with feet).[17] In the regions of black soil where its depth is moderate, and the sub-layer is porous, well-irrigation was in vogue.

Water was drawn from wells, and if the fields were on a higher level, from channels, canals, and watery marshes etc., by means of lifts, like *ētam* (picottah), and *kapila* (*moṭa*). There were *diguḍu bāvis* (wells having steps to descend into) besides the ordinary wells. Irrigation from wells was rare in upland regions and common in plains, especially in the regions in the neighbourhood of rivers. It is only in the Nagaram and the Amalāpuram taluks in the East Godavari district that wells which are stated to have been dug during the Reddi period are found today. "They are very large, from eighteen to twenty four feet deep, hold from six to twelve feet of water, are rivetted with bricks and are said to be very ancient. They are some times called 'Jain' wells, and are supposed to date from the days when the Jain faith prevailed in the country; in Amalāpuram they are sometimes called

16. "..........పల్లములు చిక్కులి కొఱ్ఱులఁ ద్రవ్వి విత్తుదుర్
గోఁగె యూరటలుంబులఁగ గొండలఁ గాలువ లడ్డకట్టుదుర్
పేరి.........."—Hr. Vm., II, ix, p. 288.

17. "ఈరూఢఁ గర్మభూమియగు దెవ్వరికైనను బుద్ధి సేర్పునన్
జేయఁగలేదు కాల - [illegible]ఁజేసిన చెఱువులత్తి కాల్వలుం
బావులఁ గోళ్ళు [illegible]తులును బావులు రాట్నములున్ జలార్ద్రమై-
చేయఁగ నాయఁగాక మఱి చేయఁగరాఁ దట కాన పృథ్వికిన్."
—Sm. Dv., II, vi, v. 70.

'Reddis' wells'. They are largerly used for the irrigation of areca and coconut plantations, and the supply in them is said to be practically perennial."[18]

Natural River Channels, Ponds and Canals

There were natural spring and river channels and creeks which helped the cultivator to irrigate his fields. Land irrigated by water from such channels, yielded two (and probably three) crops of rice.[19] Besides these water-logged low lands, natural ponds, swamps, and marshes, called *paḍiyas, pāḍes*[20] or *pāḍavas* (*bāḍavas*), were also utilised for irrigation purposes.

Canals were dug for carrying water from the sandy beds of rivers and rivulets. Nāmaya Nāyaka is said to have ruled the country watered by the river Ēlā (*Ēlānadīmātṛkā*).[21] This statement suggests that the land in his kingdom was irrigated by canals dug out from the river Ēlā (Eleṟu). Such irrigation canals are referred to in the *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam.*[22] Irrigation by canals wherever possible was a special feature of the low-lying tracts. Many *agrahāras* were irrigated by such artificial canals.[23] These artificial canals were called '*kroppuṁ-gāliyalu*' (*kroccu* to dig; *kroppuṁ-gāliya*, a dug-out canal). Such canals as these were also dug by private individuals for acquiring merit for themselves, or for their near relatives.[24]

Irrigation Tanks

Irrigation by tanks was one of the chief features of the ancient Andhra country, mainly to the south of the Kṛṣṇā. A large number

18. Dg. Gd., Vol. I. p. 89.
19. "ఏటేఁటు విరినీటు నిరుగారునుం బండుఁ
బ్రాఁగంగువరిచేల పసిడిచాయఁ" — Bh. Pr., II, v. 54.
20. The term '*paḍe*' means a marsh; it was larger than a '*paḍiya*', a small pond. *Pāḍava*, the modern *baḍava*, is another form of *pāḍe*. *Pāḍe* does not mean a waste as is understood by some scholars.
"వడ్డపాడవ" — S. I, I. Vol, No 46.
21. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 357, and p. 369, l. 28.
బ్రాఁసంగువరిచేల పసిడిచాయఁ"—Bh. Pr., II, v. 54.
22. "ఏరేటి కోటి కాలువలవలన నదీమాతృకంబులగు పంటవలంతి",....
—Bh. Pr., II, Pr. 55.
23. "........అరేడు సారణీ
సలిల వివర్ధమాన బహుసస్య సమాకుల మగ్రహారమై......"—Bh. Pr., I, v. 49.
24. S. I. I. V. No. 87.

of good-sized tanks, found in the Guntur, Nellore, and Kurnool districts, were almost all constructed during the Hindu period, some at the expense of the State, and others by private individuals, as a meritorious act for the continuance of their name for ever. The construction of a tank is classed among the *Sapta-santānas* or seven kinds of progeny that keep on one's name for ever.[25] Though tanks are generally dug or excavated in the areas of soft clay soil, they are as a rule constructed in the catchment areas in the upland regions of hard soil, and land below such tanks was utilised for growing rice and garden crops.

The Pērumāmiḷḷa tank inscription, dated in Śaka 1291, of the Vijayanagar prince Bhāskara Bhavadūra, the governor of Udayagiri, is a remarkable record of this period giving details and specification of sites for tanks and their construction. The inscription enumerates the twelve essentials (*aṅgas* or *sādhanas*) for the construction of a good tank as specified in the Śāstras, namely,

"(i) A king (who undertakes this work) endowed with righteousness, rich, happy and desirous of acquiring the permanent wealth of fame;

"(ii) A brāhmaṇa learned in Hydrology or the science of water (*pāthas-Śāstra*);

"(iii) A ground of hard soil;

"(iv) A river conveying sweet water from a distance of three *yōjanas*;

"(v) Two projected portions of hills in contact with it (the site of the tank);

"(vi) An embankment or a dam of stone wall, not too long but firm between the projected portions of the hills;

"(vii) The two extremities of hills devoid of fruit-giving land (*phala-sthirā*);

"(viii) The bed of the tank extensive and deep;

"(ix) A quarry containing straight and long stones;

"(x) A fertile low land in the neighbourhood;

25. "నందనుఁడు ధనమ్ము న ల్లిల్లు నిధి సుర
గృహము చెఱువు మేలికృతి యనంగ
జగతి వెలయు సప్తసంతానములు వీనఁ
బుణ్యములఁ యశంబుఁ బొందవచ్చు"—Kb. Cr., I. v. 8.

"(xi) A water course having strong eddies in the mountain region

"(xii) A gang of men skilled in the art of tank construction."

The six *dōṣas* or faults to be avoided also are given :— They are (1) water oozing from the dam, (2) saline soil; (3) site at the boundary of two kingdoms; (4) a tank bed with an elevation in the middle; (5) scanty supply of water and extensive stretch of land to be irrigated; (6) too little land irrigated and excess or over-supply of water.[26] The Pōrumāmiḷḷa tank[27] in the Badvel taluk of the Cuddapah district was constructed in accordance with the *lakṣaṇas* given above. This inscription gives us an idea of how tanks in the hard clay soil in the region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā were constructed during the post-Kākatīya period. These were all rain-fed tanks, and depended for their water-supply on rainfall. Because of their large size these tanks were and

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26. Ep. Ind-, Vol, XIV. p. 103. verses 37, 38 and 39.

धर्माढ्यो धनवान् सुखी स्थिरयशो द्रव्याभिलाषीनृपः
पाथश्शास्त्रविद्ग्रजश्च दृढमृत्संशोभिताचोर्वरा
माधुर्याम्बुवहत्रियोजननदी तद्योगखण्डोगिरि
स्सेतुस्तत्र विनिर्मितो घनशिलाभित्यल्पदीर्घास्थिरः ॥ v. 37.

शृङ्गौ बाह्यफलस्थिरा परिहृतौ विस्तीर्णनिम्नोदरम्
(ऋज्वायामर) मृज्वायामदृषत्खनि श्च निकटक्षेत्रं फलाढ्यं समम्
अद्रिस्थानदृढभ्रमाजलगतिस्तत्कर्ममर्त्यव्रज
श्चेदम्द्वादशसाधनै श्च सुलभः श्रेष्ठस्तटाको भुवि ॥ v. 38.

सेतोश्चजालं जलमूषरोर्वी
द्विराज(शि) सन्धावथमध्यकूर्मम्
अल्पाम्बुभूविस्तरमल्पभूमि
स्तोयाधिकं चात्रहि दोषषट्कम् ॥ v. 39.

27. It is stated in the inscription that "for two years, 1000 labourers were working daily on the tank and the dam; and 100 carts were engaged in getting stones for walls which formed a part of the masonry work." We are told that the dam was 5000 *rēkhādaṇḍas* wide and seven high. The length and breadth of that tank at the present day is seven miles and two and a half mile respectively. The details of this tank are given here in order to give the reader an idea of the size of these artificial reservoirs.

are called *Sāgaras* or *Samudras* (seas). Ruins of such tanks as these and their embankments can be seen even to-day in the Guntur district; for instance, an embankment to the north of the village of Doṇḍapāḍu in the Vinukoṇḍa taluk connected formerly two hills to form a tank which irrigated the country as far as Vinukoṇḍa.[28] Near the village of Kollūru in the Sattenapalli taluk are found traces of two bunds of ruined tanks, 'originally intended to collect the water from the hills on the east.'[29] *Santānasāgara* was one such tank constructed during the reign of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma by his wife Sūrāmbikā. This fact is known to us from an inscription[30] in the Vīrabhadrasvāmi temple in the village of Phirangipuram in the Sattenapalli taluk, dated in Śaka 1331.

The Nāgulēṟu, which runs through Palnāḍu, had "a massive embankment which once dammed up its waters between the hills of Kārempūḍi and that of the Singaruṭla *agrahāram*. At Dācēpalli, Gāmālapāḍu and Śaṅkarapuram were huge stone dams, called *kuṭṭuvas*, whence small irrigation channels led to some garden lands.[31]" Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's son Rāca Vēma, the last Reḍḍi monarch that sat on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu, had a channel, called *Jaganobbagaṇḍa kāluva*, dug, in Śaka 1337, as a feeder to the tank *Santānasāgara*, constructed by his mother.

Besides the wells and tanks of the type described above, there were others which were also used for irrigational purposes, either dug or excavated at the bidding of the village community, or of the officers of the State, or of private individuals. One-tenth of the land irrigated by the water below such wells and tanks was given to those who were put in charge of their construction, repairs and maintenance. Such land was termed as the *daśabandham-mānyam*. Baden Powell, while enumerating the nine kinds of *ināms* classified according to their object,

28. *Manual of the Kistna district*, p. 201.

29. Ibid, pp. 170-171.

30. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 319, and p. 326.

The Phirangipuram inscription contains some beautiful Telugu verses, written by Śrīnātha, the court-poet of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, eulogising the *Santana sāgara* in hyperbolical terms comparing it with the ocean. Many other poets followed Śrīnātha's example in later times, and composed verses, probably at the bidding of their patrons, on the tanks constructed by them. We have thus a number of verses of this type in inscriptions which are in no way inferior to the verses in the classical Telugu *prabandhas*. This epigraphical literature may be properly called Tank-literature (తటాక వాఙ్మయము — Vide my paper on this subject in An. An., for 1922).

31. *Manual of the Kistna District*, p. 155.

or purpose, defines *daśabhandham* as an *ïnām* given for the construction, maintenance, and repair of irrigation works in the Ceded districts, in Kistna, Nellore, North Arcot, and Salem. Some of the Vijayanagar records of this period discovered in the coastal region are *daśabandham* deeds of an interesting nature.

Cultivation:

It seems to have been the universal practice throughout the coastal region to sow the seed broad-cast; but some were sown seed by seed in a furrow as is the custom to-day. Sowing the seed broad-cast had been the custom followed from some centuries past. It was probably due to this custom that the extent of land was measured in terms of the grain seeds required to sow over that particular area. As such, we come across, in the copper-plate charters of the early dynasties, like the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī, passages like '*dvādaśakhaṇḍikā-kōdrav-āvāpa kṣētram*', '*dvādaśakhaṇḍikā-kōdrava-bījāvāpakṣētram*', '*Vīṁśati-khaṇḍikā-vrīhibījaparipramāṇam-kṣētarm*' etc. These passages clearly show that sowing the seed broad-cast was the original method of raising crops, as there was no regular irrigation system of canals and tanks. After ploughing the field, the seed was sown at the fall of early showers (*tolakari*). All dry crops were grown as at the present day.

Varieties of Paddy:

Kōdrava and *vrīhi* are the only varieties of paddy mentioned in inscriptions of the early dynasties in the coastal Andhra country. *Āḍi*, mentioned in some of the records of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, is also a variety of grain. It is probable that there were many other varieties that do not find mention in records. The Telugu literature of the period under review furnishes the names of some varieties. Śrīnātha mentions in his works *Haravilāsam* and *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, some of the varieties of paddy, like *kalama*, *śāli*, *rāmukha*, *ṣāṣṭika*, *pataṅga*, and *hāyana*.[33] Of these varieties, *ṣāṣṭika* is said to be a two-month crop. Varieties of *prāsaṅgu* (?*rasangi*) and *rājanam* seem to be common. They are referred to in other Telugu works also of the period. Another good variety of rice is *kappurabōgam*.[33] Richer classes consumed good varieties of rice. Low class people and people in the interior, generally subsisted on *rāgi* and *cōḷam*. It was the custom, as it is even to-day in many

82. Baden Powell's *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. III, page 81.

33 "కంపాతరంగిణీ నదీమాతృకాయమాన విశ్వంభరాధరిత్రి కలమ, శాలి, శిరాముఖ షాష్టిక, పతంగ హాయనప్రముఖ బహువిధ వ్రీహిభేద సంపత్సంపన్నంబును....."

—Hr. Vl., I. Pr. 10.

of the villages, to set up a scare-crow to scare away birds, and to ward off the evil eye. Regular watchmen, called *kāvali-kāṇḍru*[34] or *kāvalikāṛu* (plural of *kāvali-kāḍu,*) were employed to watch and protect crops.

Transplantation:

In lands under wet cultivation, paddy was transplanted from seed beds. These fields for growing seedlings was and is still called '*ākumaḍi-paṭṭu*' in Telugu. '*Ākumaḷḷa-paṭlu*' are mentioned in inscriptions of this period[35].

Dry Crops:

We find all dry crops of the present day mentioned in the contemporary Telugu literature with the exception of *mirepa* (chillis) which, of course, was unknown in that period. Cotton was grown in the interior country of black soil, especially, in the Palnāḍu, Vinukoṇḍa and other *sīmas* in the Guntur District.

Garden Crops:

Besides paddy, there were other irrigated crops known as garden crops. Chief of these were sugurcane, betel-vine, and plantain. Arecanut and cocoanut palms were also raised, and probably occasionally irrigated. Mango and jack plantations were widely grown, as they are even now, in the Kōnamaṇḍala (Amalapuram and Rajole taluks of the East Godavari district), the garden of the Andhra country. Vilasa in the Kōnadēśa, granted to brāhmans by Prōlaya Nāyaka

"పథిక నాసాపుటీ కుటీరంబులకుఁ గుటుంబకములగు కమ్మదనంబులీని పాలు కుడిచి సుందరీప్రాయంబున నాము వలచునవియును; బదియాఱునాళ్ళకుండనంపుఁ దగడుఁ దెగడుచుఁ బండి యుద్దండకేదారవలయ కుముదషండంబు లాఘ్రాణింపనంగ్రోలనై వ్రాలునవియునై కమల శాలి శారదాముఖాది వ్రీహిసస్యంబులవలనను......"
—Bh. Pr., II. Pr. 55.

It is not known if *Sāradamukha* is another name for *Sirāmukha* or altogether a different variety.

"ఏరుఁబ్రాల కల మాహారంబు ....."—Bh. Pr., II, v. 141.

"ఏరుఁబ్రాల తెల్లప్పరబోగి వంటకమూ......"—Ibid, v. 139.

"ప్రాసంగు వరిచేల పసిడిచాయ........."—Ibid, v. 54.

"చెరకును రాజనంబు కృషిచేయుచునుండెను నేర్పు కల్మియున్."—Vk. Cr., I. v. 76

"రాలెల్లెను గత్నఁబుల, చేలెల్లను రాజనంబు .."—Rk. Cr., I, v. 7.

34. "చేల కావలివారిఁ జించి చిగురులేఁగి
పండిన సస్యముల్ పసుము చేసి......"—Rk. Cr., III, v. 10.

35. S. I. I., V. No. 28.

shone with very fertile fields fit for rice and sugarcane cultivation and with gardens of betel-wine, plaintain, mango, arecanut, jack etc.[36] The country in the neighbourhood of the Tulyabhagā is said to have been abounding in crops (*bahusasyasam=ujjvalataram Tulyabhāgātaṭē*).[37] We are told that the village of Vēmavaram granted by Allaya Vēma, was full of groves of cocoanut palm, arecanut, jack, mango, and plantain, and was abundant in crops, such as sugarcane, paddy, sesame, chick-pea and kidney-bean.[38] From the descriptions of villages in Kōnamaṇḍala, and those on the banks of the Tulyabhāga, it may be gathered that land in the neighbourhood of rivers was generally very fertile and yielded good crops.

Yield of Land:

The land was considered very fertile and the crop a bumper one, if one *tūmu* of paddy sown yielded in return ninety *puṭṭis*,[39] but this seems to be a gross exaggeration.

Podu' Cultivation:

The Telugu work '*Bhōjarājīyam*' written by Anantāmātya of this period, mentions the term '*pōḍu-cēnu*' in a particular context. A brāhman who lost his way while going to a town called Hēmavaṭapura, meets a *vanacara*, a forester in a forest, and asks him to show the way, when the latter takes the former to his *pōḍu-cēnu* (*pōḍu* field.)[40] This Telugu work, by using this special term *pōḍu* in connection with the field of a member of the forest tribe, enables us to know another

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36. *Forgotten Chapter* chapter, Appendix, No. 1. v. 67.

विभान्ति यस्याति पचेळिमानि
क्षेत्राणि शालीक्षुवनोचितानि
आरामभागाश्च भुजंगवल्ली
रम्भाम्रपूगीपनसादिरम्यः ॥

37. Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 243, ll. 53-54.
38. Ibid, V. 27, 55-56.
39. "తూమెండల్కి నను బుట్టు తొంబది (? తొమ్మిది) పండం
గా మెఱయు పొలములుగల స
గ్రామంబులు......... "—Sm. Dv., II, ii, v. 101.
40. "అని తనపోడుచేనికడ కాతనిఁ దోకొని పోయి యిట్లను నిజ
పొట్టకందులును నువ్వులు నున్నవి క్రొత్తకుండ లేదనఘ
యుపాయమెద్ది?............" —Bh. Rj., VI; v. 242.

method of cultivating lands in the hilly jungle tracts which was in vogue then. This method is still in use in the upland forest regions in both the Godavari and Vizagapatam districts. The reference to it in the above work shows that this method was followed in the hilly forest tracts in the coastal region of the Andhra country for the past many centuries. The Gazetteers of the Godavari and the Vizagapatam districts furnish the following interesting account regarding this method of cultivation.

"The majority of the hill Reḍḍis and the Kōyas in the Agency carry on shifting cultivation, called '*pōḍu*', by burning clearings in the forests.......... Two methods prevail: the ordinary (or *calaka*) *pōḍu*, and the hill (or *koṇḍa*) *pōḍu*. The former consists in cultivating certain recognised clearings for a year or two a time, allowing the forest to grow again for a few years, and then again burning and cultivating them; while under the latter, the clearing is not returned to for a much longer period and is some times deserted for ever. The latter is in fashion in the more hilly and wilder parts, while the former is a step towards civilisation.

"In February or March the jungle trees and bushes are cut down and spread evenly over the portion to be cultivated, and when the hot weather comes on, they are burnt. The ashes serve as manure, and the cultivators, also think that the mere heat of the burning makes the ground productive. The land is ploughed once or twice in *calaka pōḍus* before and after sowing, but not at all in *koṇḍa-pōḍus*. The seed is sown in June in the *Mṛgaśirakārti*. Hill cōḷam and sāma are the commonest crops. The former is dibbled into the ground."[41]

"This (*koṇḍa-pōḍu* or *pōḍu* system, consists in cutting a part of jungle, burning the felled trees and under growth, sowing dry grain broad-cast in the ashes (without any kind of tilling) for two years in succession, and then abandoning the plot for another else-where. ......The crops grown in *pōḍu* cultivation are usually dry grains like sāmai, hill chōḷam and the like."[42]

From a verse in the above-mentioned work *Bhōjarājīyam* we understand that dry grain, like *poṭṭi kandulu* (short variety of red gram) and *anumulu* (beans), were also grown.

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41. DG. Gd., I, Ch. IV, pp. 78–79.

42. DG. Vj., I, pp. 111 and 108.

Cattle:

Allied to agriculture there was cattle raising and dairy farming. Inscriptions recording donations to temples inform us that *bōyas* were generally in charge of cattle. In the early mediaeval period when [illegible]*dadīpa* was the greatest act of merit, every temple had its own *kil*[illegible] or cow-pen for herds of cattle. During this period the kings and nobles and the rich had their own cattle-herds. Cattle was their wealth.

The ox was held in great reverence by people. Friars Odoric (C. 1321-22 A.D.), and Jordanus (1323-1330 A.D.) attest to this fact. "All the people of this country worship the ox for their god", writes Odoric," [and they eat not his flesh]; *for they say that he is, as it were,* a sacred creature. Six years they make him work for them, and the seventh year they give him rest from all labour, and turn him out in some appointed public place, declaring him thenceforward to be a consecrated animal. And they observe the following abominable superstition. Every morning they take two basins of gold and silver, and when the ox is brought from the stall they put these under him and catch his urine in one and his dung in the other. With the former they wash their faces, and with the latter they daub themselves, first on the middle of the forehead, secondly, on the balls of both cheeks; and lastly, in the middle of the chest. And when they have thus anointed themselves in four places they consider themselves to be sanctified [for the day]. Thus do the common people; and thus do the king and queen likewise". "The Indians, both of this India and of the other Indies, never kill an ox", writes Jordnus, "but rather honour him like father; and some, even perhaps the majority, worship him. They will more readily spare him who has slain five men than him who has slain one ox, saying that it is no more lawful to kill an ox than to kill one's father. This is because oxen do all their services, and moreover furnish them with milk and butter, and all sorts of good things. The great lords among the idolators, every morning when they rise, and before they go any whither, make the fattest cows come before them, and lay their hands upon them, and then rub their own faces, believing that after this they can have no ailment." [43]

'Jaṭṭi' System:

Like *pōḍu* the term *jaṭṭi-gonu*, used rhetorically in the Telugu work *Simhāsanadvātrimsika*" written by Koravi Gōparaja, enlightens us about an aspect of disposing of the agricultural produce. This term

43. *Foreign Notices*., p. 205.

occurs in the *Bhōjarājīyam* and *Harivaṁśam* also. *Jaṭṭi* is a commercial term denoting a system of purchase that is in vogue even to-day. The Gazetteer of the Godavari district has an interesting note about this system. "Loans are often made", says the note, "on the security of standing crops on the condition that they shall be sold to the sowcar at less than the market price, an arrangement which is known as the *jaṭṭi* system."[44]

Value of Land :

It is difficult to ascertain the value of land in the period under review in general. But from the inscriptions found at Sarpavaram we come know that one *khaṇḍika* or *puṭṭi* of land was valued at twenty *ṭankas*. Evidence is lacking, if this was the general rate of the price of land prevailing throughout the country, and if the wet land also was of the same rate. Moreover, it is unknown whether this *ṭaṇka* was a gold or silver one. Inscriptions of this period refer to silver *ṭaṅkas*[45] and *māḍas*. *Māḍa*, also known as *gadde gadya, gadyāṇa* and *niṣka* seems to have been a gold coin. It should, however, be mentioned here that there were *veṅḍi ṭaṅkas* and *dīnāra ṭaṅkas* in this period. The Gaṇita texts state that ten *cinnas* make one *māḍa*. According to tradition current in the country, four *taṇkas* make one *rūka*, two *rūkas* make one *māḍa* and two *māḍas* make one pagoda or *varāha*. It cannot be asserted with any certainty that this same was the value of the *ṭaṅka* in the period under review also. Whatever might be the value, the price of one *Kēsaripāṭi ṭāmu* of land was one *ṭaṅka*, though it is not possible, with the evidence at our disposal, to indicate its value in terms of the present-day currency.

Labour;

The condition of the husbandmen and labourers cannot be definitely ascertained for want of evidence. The *jaṭṭi* system might have been, in those days of the domination of the higher castes, more rigorous than it is to-day. It appears likely that the needy cultivator was exploited by the influential and rich merchants, who gave advances to him in kind or coin to serve his needs even prior to the harvest, and made him undersell his produce.

The condition of agricultural labour is best indicated by the term *veṭṭi*, met with in the Telugu works of this period. *Veṭṭi* meaning free or unpaid labour was an old institution, as old as the work *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya treats this as a kind of tax in his work.

44. Gz. Gd., Vol I, p. 91.

45. S. I. I. Vi, No. 798.

The Telugu works of this period refer to *muvvetti*,[46] that is three kinds of *vetti*; but what these three kinds were is not stated therein. However, *rāca-vetti*, free or unpaid labour to the ruler of the land, was one of them. The other two might have been *grāma-vetti*, free labour in works relating to the village-common, and *kula-vetti*, free service in works done for the benefit of one's own community. In those days of absolute monarchy *rāca-vetti* must have been very exacting. It was almost a tax paid to the king in the form of manual labour. *Vetti-vari* is mentioned in South Indian Inscriptions as a tax. Therefore, it may be said to have been obligatory on every labourer to pay this 'tax' to the king whenever required.

Friar Jordanus (1323–1330 A. D.), describes the Telugu country (Telenc) in his work '*The Wonders of the East*' as given below:[47]

"There be also other kings, as the king of Telenc (Tiling), who is very potent and great. The kingdom of Telenc abounds in corn rice, sugar, wax, honey and honeycomb, pulse, eggs, goats, buffaloes, beeves, milk, butter, and in oils of diverse kinds and in many excellent fruits, more than any other part of the Indies."

46. బలువిడి శివశరణులం మర్వ సొచ్చి
తలఁచుచు మ్రొక్కి-వేల్పుల నెల్లఁ గాచి
యనయము ముప్వెట్టి గొనుచు బడుగు
ఘనులు తంపఁగ జేసి బ్రదుకుద మనుచు......—Bs. Pr, IV, p. 112.

47. *Foreign Notices*, p. 212.

CHAPTER VI.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

INDUSTRY

Evidence for a survey of industries in the Reḍḍi period is extremely meagre. Inscriptions of this period do not throw any light on the subject, though the Telugu works contain some words denoting costly articles of high class furniture and of luxury then in vogue. Industries indicated by such terms may be taken to have flourished in those times. Accounts of foreign travellers also furnish a little information regarding some industries.

Since the wants of the people of those times were very limited, and the community was predominantly an agricultural one, there was little scope for the development of industries on a large scale. The agricultural operations occupied a few busy months. As there was much leisure, every handicraft became a cottage industry and every craftsman an artist. The industrial workshop was a simple affair with simple apparatus. There are references to furnaces and big bellows [1] made of buffalo hide, fitted with iron tubes.

As in many other cases the base of industrial activity was the village. The village community had its own artisans to supply to it all the necessaries and luxuries of life, from the pot to the elaborate jewellery, from the top to the cot, and from the cattle-shed to the temple. The goldsmith, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the mason (stone cutter), the brazier, the potter, the weaver and the dyer, all these constituted members of the industrial class. Of these the first five classes of people, worked in metal, who were generally called *Pañcāṇamvāru*, a corruption of *Pañcananamvāru* These claim to be the descendants of the five sons of Viśvakarma, and hence their community is known as Viśvakarmakula. There is reason to believe that this community also was divided, in ancient times, into sects based on territorial divisions, just as in the brāhman and other castes. An early inscription [1a] of the

1. Nv, Cr., V, p. 285.

1a. Ep. Coll., No. 331 of 1986–87.

The Superintendent for Epigraphy (Southern Circle). in his *Annual Report* for 1986-87, has taken Kalgarabharaṇacarya to be "of the fourth caste", because of the mention of "Kammakula" in the inscription from Aiyangāripālem. This

seventh century in Cāḷukyan characters, at Aiyangārıpalem near Pulipāḍu in the Palnad taluk, Guntur district, refers to the architect Maindarāma who built the temple of Jalpēs'vara and to Kalgarābharaṇā cārya belonging to Kammakula. It is not clear, from what is given in the report on Epigraphy, if Maindarāma and Kalagarābharaṇācārya were identical. It is not necessary for our present purpose to find out if they were identical or two different persons. What we have to take note of is the fact that Kalgarābharaṇācārya belonged to Kammakula. Kammakula does not mean the Kamma community of the fourth caste, as has been interpreted by some scholars. It was only a sub-division of the Viśvakarma community, and means the Kammanāṭi sect of the Viśvakarma caste. We do not know if there were other sub-divisions also in that community, based on other territorial divisions. This Kammakula of the Vis'vakarma community, also lost its significance in course of time, and the communal distinctions in that community, disappeared with the progress of time, just as in the Vaiśya caste. *Āsāri* (corrupt form of *ācāri*) and *ōju* (*vikṛiti* of *ojja* or *upādhyāya*) are titles added as suffixes to their names by the members of the Vis'vakarma community. An inscription at Mācherla (Guntur district), dated in the twelfth century A. D., extols some of the *ācāryas* of this community as having been "experts in cutting liṅgas (of S'iva), in preparing images, in understanding the proper place of the latter (in Indian Iconography), in building the four kinds of mansions (*prāsāda*), and their innumerable sub-divisions, in grasping

interpretation, as stated above, is wrong. Basing probably on the *Annual Report*, Sri N.P. Chakravarti writes thus about this inscription, specially in his *Annual Report on Archaeology* for 1936–37 ·

"The next important inscription from the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district which is engraved in the Cāḷukyan characters of the seventh century, A.D., furnishes the interesting information that the temple of Jalpēs'a was constructed by the architect Maindarāma (Mahēndrarāma), who was otherwise called Kalgarābharaṇācārya and belonged to "Kammakula" of the fourth caste. This is one of the earliest references to "Kammakula"

There are two more inscriptions at Pondugula in the same Palnad taluk that refer to the shrine of Jalpēs'vara and Kalgarābharaṇācārya. Of these one (Ep. Coll. No. 85 of 1929–30), according to the *Report on Epigraphy*, "records the construction of the shrine of Jalpēs'a by a certain Maindarāma and mentions the master architect Kalgarābharaṇācārya". The other inscription (*Ibid*, 36 of 1936–87) is damaged. According to the *Report* it "mentions god Jalpēśvara and Kalgarābharaṇa of the Vis'vakarmakula." Kalgarābharaṇācārya of these inscriptions is, no doubt, one and the same individual, as his name is invariably connected with the shrine of Jalpēs'vara. So, from the damaged Pondugula record, it is evident that Kalgarābharaṇācārya was a member of the Vis'vakarmakula. If, in the Aiyangāripālem inscription, he is said to belong to "Kammakula," then we have no other option except to interpret that he belonged to the Vis'vakarmakula inhabiting Kammanāḍu.

the geometry (*kṣetra)* involved in the study of the *Vāstu Śāstra*, and in gracefully handling the implements of their profession.[2]" These five classes of people of the Viśvakarmakula formed the main industrial community, and were organised into a guild of their own. Like the trade and agricultural guilds of those times, the *Pañcāṇam* guild was a seventy-four[3] community. These five classes of people were specialists in metallurgical arts, wood and stone work. The weaver and the dyer were connected with the textile industry, and the potter with pottery.

The most important industry of those times was jewellery. The great number of ornaments which were in use in the Reḍḍi period bear eloquent testimony to the skill in workmanship and creative faculty of the goldsmiths of those times. Goldsmiths were experts in jewel making, and in preparing spittoons, toys, vases, cups, plates, and other articles of gold and silver. of different shapes and varieties required for domestic use, and things for temple use. Mañcella Narahari Nēḍu, commander of the army of Allaya Vēmā Reḍḍi, made a gift of a golden *prabha*[4] (*pasiṇḍi-prabha)* to god Rāmēśvara of Kṣīrārāma (Pālakollu).

Closely connected with jewellery was the art of inlaying precious stones. While writing about the throne on which the king of Vijayanagar sat, the Persian ambassador Abdur Razak says, "The throne which was of an extraordinary size, was made of gold, and enriched with precious stones of extreme value; the whole workmanship was perfect in its delicacy and ingenuity. It is probable that in all the kingdoms of the world, the art of inlaying precious stones is nowhere better understood than in this country[5]." It was not only in Vijayanagar but also in other kingdoms in the Telugu country that there were such expert workmen in inlaying percious stones. The Muslim historian Ferishta bears evidence to this statement. He tells us that, after the conclusion of a treaty with Muhammad Shāh I, the second Bahmani Sultān of Gulbarga, Kṛṣṇa Nāyaka (mistake for Kāpaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family)

2. Ep. coll., No. 575 of 1909; Ep. Rep., para 60.

3. Ep. Coll., No. 804 of 1917; This inscription refers "to certain privileges granted formerly to the seventy-four sub-divisions of the Pañcalas (Smiths) by Harihara. Mahāraya, for their having made the entrance-throne (*hajara-siṁhāsana*) of the palace."— (Ep. Rep. 1918, para 85)

"పృథ్వి. డెబ్బయినాలుగు ఆచారాలు మొదలయిన పంచాణంవారు..."

—N. D. I., III, v. 21, p. 1362.

4. S. I. I., Vol. V. No. 184.

5. Major, Abdur Razak, p. 38.

"presented to him a throne set with valuable jewels, originally prepared for himself to be given as a present to Muhammad Tughlaq, king of Delhi", and that the recipient caused it to be called *Takht-i-Ferōza* or cerulean (deep blue) throne. "I have heard old persons," writes Ferishta, "who saw the *Takht-i-Ferōza* in the reign of Sultān Mahmood Shah Bahmany, describe it as being six cubits long, and two broad; the frame was of ebony covered with plates of pure gold, inlaid with precious stones of great value, in such a way as to be taken off and put on with ease. Every sovereign of the Bahmany dynasty added some rich jewels, so that in the reign of Mahmood Shah, when it was taken to pieces, in order to remove part of the stones to be set in vases and goblets, the jewellers valued the whole at one crore of hoons. I learned also that it was called *Ferōza*, from being enamelled of a sky-blue colour, which was in time totally concealed by a number of precious ornaments[6]." Such was the exquisite workmanship of the smiths of the period under review. One of the ancestors of Avaci Tippaya Seṭṭi is said to have got a ruby *padmarāga* called *bālārka*, fixed in the navel of god Kañcī Nāyaka (Varadarāja)[7]. Vessels made of precious stones[8] (*māṇikya pātralu; harinīla-śilāmaya-pātralu*), and round cups made of crystal[9], find mention in the Telugu works of the period. Māmiḍi Siṅgaya Pregaḍa, minister of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma Reḍḍi of Koṇḍavīḍu, is stated to have made the lord of the goddess of Dākṣāyaṇi pleased by the gift of a brilliant *liṅga* (or *liṅgas*) made of the nine precious stones[10]. Gilding of *vīṇas* and other musical instruments, weapons and other articles, was common.

Copper, bronze, brass, and iron industries were in a flourishing state. Mention is made of copper vessels and bronze bells, lampstands, statues and cymbals, in literature and inscriptions. Anavōta Reḍḍi, son of Vēma Reḍḍi, made a gift of a bell (*gaja-pañca ghaṇṭā*)[11] to god Bhīmēśvara of Dāksharam in Śaka 1278. The bell that was presented is described as *dvipa-karṇa-caraṇa-saṅginaḥ pañca ghaṇṭāḥ*. He presented such bronze bells to god Śiva of other *ārāmas* also. His brother Anavēma also made a gift of *gaja-ghaṇṭas* to the chief Śiva temples in the

6. Brigg's Ferishta. Vol, II, p. 307.
"One crore of hoons = Four million sterling."

7. "బాలార్కమనియెడి పద్మరాగముఁ దాఁచె
నాకతాల కంచినాయకుని నాభి......"—Hr. Vl., I, v, 10.

8. Hr. Vl., IV, v. 41; Nr. Pr.. III, v. 96; Hr. Vl., IV, v, 41.

9. Rk. Cr., III, v. 228, V.. Pr. 190.

10. "నవరత్నోపల దివ్యలింగవరదానప్రీత దాక్షాయణీ
ధవ......"—Śr. Nd. II, v. 144.

11. S. I. I. Vol, IV., No. 1389.

Pañcārāmas. Mañcella Narahari Nēḍu, commander of Allayavēmā Reḍḍi, gave a gift of a statued bronze lampstand to god Bhīmēs'vara of Dākshāram.[12] Images of deities and saints for worship in temples were cast either in bronze, copper or brass. With the development of elaborate temple planning, separate niches and chambers were specially constructed for placing statues of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints, like the twelve Vaiṣṇava Āḷvārs and the sixty three S'aiva Nāyanārs and other *parivāra-dēvatas*. Vēmā Reḍḍi, son of Allāḍa Reḍḍi, made a present of a bronze (*kāṁsya*) bell weighing twelve thousand *palikas*[13] to god Markaṇḍēyēs'vara of Rājamahēndravaram.

Wood-carving and other wood-work, the trade of the carpenter, was in a very flourishing condition. Cabinet making developed into a fine industrial art. Different sorts of drawing-room and bed-room furniture were made to order. Different kinds of cots and couches, like *paṭṭe-mañcamu*, *sakinala-mañcamu*, *dōmalera-mañcamu* and *pañju-mañcamu*, and swings, like *ūyela-paṭṭemañcamu* and *gaṇṭala-ūyala*, find mention in literature.[14] *Paṭṭēmañcamu* is a co , the bottom of which is interlaced with broad tape. *Sakinala-mañcamu* may be interpreted in two ways. The term *sakina* means the figure of a bird; so, *Sakinala-mañcamu* might mean a cot elaborately worked out with figures of birds on it, or it might mean "a-bedding formed on a frame of wood, having orifices covered with perforated brass buttons that make a whistling or squeaking sound." *Dōmatera - mañcamu* is a cot fitted with mosquito curtains. *Pañju-mañcamu* is a variety of cot, the exact definition of which is not known. *Ūyela-paṭṭemañcamu* is a swing cot with tape-woven bottom. *Gaṇṭala-ūyala* is a swing adorned with bells which,

12. S. I. I, Vol, IV, No. 1378

13. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 242.

द्वादशसहस्रपलिकाप्रमाणसुकांस्यनिर्मितामसमाम्

प्रादाद्दल्लय वेमो मार्कण्डेयेश्वरायवरघण्टाम् ॥— v. 19.

A palm-leaf manuscript (No 18-7-5) in the Government Or. Mss. Lib., Madras, contains a date (probably of the gift) incised on a bell, which is stated to have been presented to the feeding house (*annasatram*) attached to the temple of Bhīmēs'vara at Dākshārām by Vīrā Reḍḍi, Vēmā Reḍḍi and Doḍḍā Reḍḍi, sons of Allāḍa Reḍḍi. The date is wednesday, the 13th tithi of the dark half of the month of Vais'akha, in the cyclic year Ānanda, corresponding to the S'aka year 1356. The date is irregular. It is Friday 7th May, 1434 A. D. The 13th tithi falls on Friday and not on Wednesday according to the *Indian Ephemeris*. If it was the bright half instead of the dark half, then the 13th falls on Wednesday. Its English equivalent then is Wednesday, 21st April, 1444 A. D. The bell referred to in the palm-leaf manuscript seems to be another bell which is different from the one presented to god Mārkaṇḍēyēs'vara.

14. Rk. Cr., IV, v. 85 v. 104; V, v. 64; Sk. Cr., II, v. 145.

when the swing moved to and fro, made a clinking noise. These varieties of cots particularly adorned the houses of courtesans. Full length mirrors (*niluvuṭaddamulu*)[15], winged glass doors (*gājurekkala-talupulu*)[16], and glass halls (*gājuṭōvarulu*)[17] are also referred to in Telugu works. The making of wooden temple-cars for annual *kalyāṇōtsavas* and *vasantōtsavas* of local gods formed one of the important works for skilled craftsmen in wood. Boxes of different shapes and sizes, like *paṭṭu-canduvalu, mandasamulu, ballānipeṭṭelu,*[18] were made for ordinary use and on special orders.

Ivory work also was not uncommon.[19]

There is reason to believe that iron smelting was done in a crude fashion to some extent and agricultural implements, iron tyres,[20] and some of the weapons used in warfare, like spears, swords and arrow heads, were made locally to meet local requirements. Iron was found in many parts of the Guntur district. It is reported that, to the west of the Sattenapalli taluk (Guntur district) in three villages, blast furnaces continued to be working till almost the middle of the nineteenth century.[21]

Diamond mining was another industry. It was of great antiquity in the coastal country. The Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who visited the Andhra country in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, A.D., says that diamonds were procured in the kingdom of Mōṭupalli in the beds of torrents among mountains. He repeats the myth told by Sindbad about the method of procuring diamonds, by throwing pieces of flesh into the valleys.[22] A similar account is given by Nicolo de Conti. His interesting account is as follows :

" At fifteen days' journey beyond Bizenegalia (Vijayanagar) towards the North, there is a mountain called Albenigaras, surrounded by pools of water which swarm with venomous animals, and the mountain itself is infested with serpents. This mountain produces diamonds

15. Sk. Cr., II, v. 145; Vk. Cr., IV, v. 148; v. 219.
16. Hr. Vl., VII. v. 187.
17. Sr. Mh., II, v. 368
18. Rk. Cr., IV, v. 85; Pv. Cr., p. 4.
19. Rk. Cr., III, v. 6.
20. " కయ్యంబులఁ గాచి కమ్మరి
    చయ్యనఁ బదనిచ్చు నుక్కుచక్రము....." Sin. Dv., I, IV, v. 95.
21. *Manual of the Kistna district*, p. 244.
22. *Foreign Notices*, pp. 174-175.

The ingenuity of man, not having been able to find any mode of approaching the mountain, has, however, discovered a way of getting at the diamonds produced on it. There is another mountain near it, a little higher. Here, at a certain period of the year, men bring oxen, which they drive to the top, and having cut them into pieces, cast the warm and bleeding fragments upon the summit of the other mountain, by means of machines which they construct for that purpose. The diamonds stick to these pieces of flesh. Then come vultures and eagles flying to the spot, which, seizing the meat for their food, fly away with it to places where they may be safe from the serpents. To these places the men afterwards come and collect the diamonds which have fallen from the flesh. Other stones, which are considered precious, are procured with less difficulty. They dig holes near sandy mountains in places where the stones are found, and continue their excavations until they come to sand mixed with water. This sand they collect and wash with water, through sieves made for the purpose. The sand passes away through the sieve, and the stones, if any, are left behind; this mode of digging for stones of this description prevails universally. Great care is exercised by the masters to prevent theft by the workmen or servants, overseers being appointed, who not only shake the clothes of the operators, but even examine every part of their persons.[23] "

As the seaport Peudifetania on the east coast was at twenty days' journey, and the mountain Albanigaras, at fifteen days' journey from Vijayanagar, the latter also seems to have been in the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom.[24] Ancient Andhra was famous for its diamond mines, though the above accounts seem to be incredible.

Textile industry was the most important of the cottage industries in the Andhra country in the period under review. Cotton spinning and cotton weaving reached their perfection. In some of the western *sīmas* of the Kondavīdu kingdom, like Vinukoṇḍa and Palnāḍu, cotton was grown in the areas of black soil. Cotton spinning was the common

23. Major, Conti, pp. 29-30.

24. " There can be little doubt that the Kollūr mines were worked more than a hundred years before Tavernier's date (1605-1689), and may be the mines described by Marco Polo and Nicolo Conti. There are large numbers of very old abandoned diamond pits in gritty quartzite beds in the jungles east of the Pulichinta range " (K. D. M. p. 247. Also, Ibid, pages. 244-247).

Kollūru (in the Sāttenapalli taluk, Guntur district)—" A very important place in years gone by where diamond mines were worked......... It seems probable that these were diamond mines visited by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century and by Nicolo Conti, and possibly these hills are the scene of the marvellous legends of Sindbad the Sailor. " - Ibid, p. 71.

avocation in leisure time, during the day, of the adult members in every family. This vocation was followed so extensively, specially in the Palnāṭi *sīma* by the high and the low, that poet S'rīnātha, while deriding that uncouth country, stigmatized it in a *cāṭu* verse as one in which even the *dēva-vēśya* Raṁbha spins cotton, and even Manmatha, the god of Love, eats millet food.[25] The fine cotton fabrics produced in this kingdom were a marvel that excited the admiration of foreign travellers of the mediaeval period. Marco Polo writes, " In this kingdom also are made the best and most delicate buckrams and those of the highest price ; in sooth they look like tissue of spider's web ! There is no king or queen in the world but might be glad to wear them "[26]

From references in contemporary literature we come to know that the coastal region maintained its reputation for such fine quality of cotton fabrics long after Marco Polo's time, even during the Reḍḍi period. Maḍiki Siṅgana states that his patron king Muppa, wore white clothes, which were like unto the foam of moon light.[27] The Telugu poets, Jakkana[28] and S'rīnātha,[29] also refer to coloured and white muslins in connection with the description of dress in their works.

Dyeing was an allied industry to weaving. There were many varieties of dyed and printed cloths. Red colour[30] in its different shades and varieties was the fashion in vogue. Many varieties of borders, both dyed and printed, are mentioned in contemporary literature. Borders adorned with designs of peacock tails, royal swans, rows of parrots, deer, horses, elephants, lions, doves, and other different figures, black borders, and of many other types were in use. Some of the varieties of cloth were called after the places where they were produced : for instance, *Sūravarams*, and *Kāmavarams* were the names given to cloths

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25. "రసికుఁడు పోవఁడు పలనా
డెసఁగంగా రంభయైన నేకుల వడకున్
వసుధేశుఁడైన దున్నును
కుసుమాస్త్రుండైన జొన్నకూడే కుడుచున్".—

26. *Foreign Notices*, p. 175.

27. "పరపైన వెన్నెల నురువుం బోలికఁ
దనరారు ధవళవస్త్రములు గట్టి......"—Vs. Rm., I. v. 38.

28. Vk. Cr., IV, v. 160.

29. Bh. Pr., V, v. 108.

30. *Candanakāvulu*, *Paṭṭeḍakāvulu*, *Ceṅgāvulu*, *Kadaṁbakāvulu* were some of the varieties of red cloth.

manufactured in Sūravāram and Kāmavaram, two famous villages in the coastal region.[30] There were fine beautiful cloths with gold - borders also.

Silk also was in great use among the nobles and the rich. There were many varieties of silk also, like *veli-paṭṭu, nīli-paṭṭu, hom-baṭṭu Puligōru-paṭṭu, udayarāgapu paṭṭu, netra-paṭṭu* and *vajra-paṭṭu*; besides these there were cloured silks like black, yellow and red.[31] It is however not known if these silk cloths were woven in the coastal region during this period.

Salt manufacture:

From early times salt was manufactured from sea-water in coastal villages, and from saline soils in inland villages in the Andhra country. The salt-pans (*uppalamulu*) of Peda Gañjām, Pina Gañjām, Kaḍakuḍuru, Kuravāḍa, Pērali, Uppuṅgoṇḍūru, Pāyundoṟṟu, Upparaḷla all in the Guntur district, were some of the important ancient centres of salt manufacture.[32] Peṭṭipōli[33] (present Nizāmpatnam in the

30. "...చందనకావులును, బట్టెడకావులును, కెంగావులును, కదంబకావులును, గరకంచులును, బొమ్మంచులును, ముడుగుబొమ్మంచులును, ముయ్యంచులును, జిలుగుచాళ్లును, పేటచాళ్లును, నిండువన్నెలును, నఖుతచాలువన్నెలును, గంటువన్నెలును, ఖుప్పడివన్నెలును, రుద్రాక్షవన్నెలును, నాగబంధంబులును, భూజాబంధంబులును, జలపంజరంబులును, గామవరంబులును, నూరవరంబులును, దారామండలంబులును, హంసావళులును, హరిణావళులును, దుర్గావళులును, గజావళులును, సింహావళులును, ద్రౌపదీ స్వయంవరంబులును, లక్ష్మీవిలాసంబులును, మదనవిలాసంబులును, వసంతవిలాసంబులును, రత్నకీలితంబులును, రాయశృంగారంబులును, కనకదండెలును, గచ్చులంబులును, కర్పూరగంధులును, చారువంపుగంధులును, శ్రీతోంపులును, శ్రీరామతోంపులును, శ్రీకృష్ణవిలాసంబులును, [illegible]ను, నూగిపట్టంబులును, సన్నవలిపంబులును........"—Sm. Dv., I, Pr. 88, page, 74.

"దొడ్డుఁగజ్జలచీర దూఁగుచుండ్యోదయు......"—Pn. Cr., I, p. 188.

"కటిమండలంబునఁ గరకంచుబట్టంబు......"—Hr. Vl., II, v. 93.

"రాయంచయంచుఁ జీరకుఁజోకయగుఁగాక......"—Ibid, IV, v. 28.

"కురువిందపేరులు గుబ్బచన్నులఁ దాల్చి
కెమిలిపించంపుఁ బట్టములఁ గట్టి......"—Ibid, V. v. 88.

31. Sm. Dv., I, iii, Pr. 183, p. 74.
Ibid, II, ix, v. 67

32. S. I. I., Vol. VI, Nos. 606 and 685.

33. Peṭṭipoli is the corrupt form of Peddapalli.

Guntur district) also seems to have been another important centre.[84] Earth salt was manufactured from saline soils in Tripurāntakam[85] (Kurnool district) and other inland places. Like some of the trades which fetch much revenue to the State, salt also was farmed out to the highest bidder.

TRADE

The physical features of the country and the nature of communication and transport are the prime factors that determine the character of trade and its progress during any period. In the period under review, the Andhra country for a great part was overgrown with scrub and jungle. The Eastern Ghats clad with thick forests, divided the country into two well-defined regions, the low lying coastal plain, and the upland plateau, and placed limitations on the nature of transport and the volume of trade. The forest ways were generally infested with thieves and wild beasts. The mountain passes, *kanumalu* as they are called in Telugu, however, served as main routes both for travel and trade between the two regions.

Internal communication also was difficult owing to the presence of many local mountain streams and to the absence of good roads and bridges across the rivers, the Gōdāvarī, Kṛṣṇā and Brahmakuṇḍi (Guṇḍlakamma). The dry season was usually the busiest period for trade when almost all mountain streams were generally dry during summer.

Means of communication:

Though the means of communication were not quite adequate and good in quality, yet those available were fully used, and trade was developed as far as it was possible under the circumstances. Important provincial capitals and forts seem, however, to have been connected with one another by broad ways fit for cart traffic. Such main routes are referred to, though rarely, in the material available

84. Thomas Bowrey writes, "Great abundance of white salt is made in the valleys of Pettipolee, with very little industry, only fencinge in the lowest of soile which is soe brackish that the Sun doth cause the water which lyeth there not above one foot deep to harden into a perfect good and cleare salt. It is afterwards laid in great heaps, and vended all the kingdom over. Noe merchant is admitted to deal in this commoditie, being the king's commoditie as is bees 'wax alsoe. I have heard it by severall eminent persons affirmed that this very commoditie salt draweth into the king's exchequer two millions of gold pagodas yearly." —*Travels of Thomas Bowrey*, p. 56. The value of the old pagoda is given as 12 shillings.

85. Ep. Coll. No. 221 of 1905. Bāpaṭla (Guntur district) also was once a very important salt manufacturing centre (Ep. Coll., No. 207 of 1897).

to us. The Telugu poet Kētana of the thirteenth century indicates, in a verse[1] in his *Andhrabhāṣabhūṣaṇam*, a treatise on grammar in Telugu verse, that the main route to Ayōdhya from Kāñcī passed through Nellore and Oṛugallu (Warangal). This seems to have been the chief inland route from North to South, connecting the towns of Nellore and Warangal with Ayōdhya. Muhammad bin Tughlaq also took the same route and came as far as Warangal, while proceeding to Madura to put down the rebellion there in person. All important coastal towns must have been connected with Warangal, the capital of the Kākatīya monarchs. Similarly, Nicolo de Conti speaks of another inland route from Vijayanagar to Udayagiri on the east coast which passed through Candragiri[2] (in the present Chittoor district). It is likely that this route connected Penukoṇḍa also, another very important fort in the Vijayanagar kingdom.

Kandukūru, Addaṅki, and Koṇḍavīḍu and other important towns in the Reḍḍi kingdom must have been connected with one another by broad ways. It is probable that there were other such inland roads. These were the main routes of trade and travel. Besides these broad ways fit for cart traffic, connecting important towns and local holy places or *tīrthas* of repute, there were other narrow pedestrian tracks leading to each and every village. The broad way, termed as *baṇḍi trōva*, finds occasional mention in the copper-plate grants of the period, in the course of enumerating the boundaries of villages granted to brāhmans or gods. These village tracks and cart-ways constituted the most important means of communication on land.

Generally, trade routes also were the pilgrim routes and pilgrims followed the trade routes. Śrīśailam, Ahōbalam, Tripurāntakam and other places were famous centres of worship, and attracted pilgrims from all quarters of the country for many centuries before the Reḍḍi rule. It is likely that traders followed these pilgrim routes for carrying on trade and commerce. The insecurity prevailing in those days made it imperative for the pilgrims, pedestrians, and traders to unite together and to follow generally the same route in order to be able to offer resistance effectively to thieves as well as to wild beasts when attacked.

There was very little communication on inland waters though not wholly absent. It was only a limited number of inland places that

1 "కంచి నెల్లూరు మఱి యోరుగ ల్లయోధ్య
యను పురంబులపై గంగ గరుగు మనిన
పగిది నాకగ్రోకం జూపెద........" —An. Bh., p. 4, v. 12.

2. Major, Conti. p. 7.

could be reached by water, as great rivers were not navigable for a long distance inland. Water transport in the inland country was by means of small country craft that plied to a limited distance up and down the river in the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, the two big rivers of the Telugu country, which do not dry up even in summer. Even these rivers were totally un-navigable when they were in freshes. Small country boats plied even along the sea coast.

Great rivers like the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā were crossed by means of a kind of circular basket boats, called *puṭṭis, puṭis* or *puṭikas* in Telugu. *Puṭṭi* which was in use during the Reḍḍi period, is referred to in an inscription [3] at Anantagiri in the Guntur district in connection with the levy of tolls. This variety of basket boat was in use almost throughout the Telugu country, both in the Koṇḍavīḍu and the Vijayanagar kingdoms. The accounts of European travellers reveal the fact that they were in use in this country not only during the mediaeval period, but very late till the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Muslim historian, Ferishta, refers to these boats as *sabads* (baskets) "which in the idiom of the people of the Deccan were called *naukras*, covered with cow-hides"[4]. Paes who visited Vijayanagar in the reign of Kṛṣṇādēvarāya informs us that they were used in crossing the Tungabhadrā near the city of Vijayanagar. What these were like, can be gathered from an interesting description of these boats which he gives. "People cross to this place", writes Paes, "by boats which are round like baskets; inside they are made of cane, and outside are covered with leather; they are able to carry fifteen or twenty persons, and even horses and oxen can cross in them if necessary, but for the most part these animals swim across Men row them with a sort of paddle, and the boats are always turning round, as they cannot go straight like others; in all the kingdom where there are streams there are no other boats but these."[4a] Wilks also in his *History of Mysore* adverts to these boats. He writes that they are "of a simple but excellent construction for militray purposes, made of bamboo wicker work, constructed exactly in the manner of a common circular clothes-basket, covered, and rendered water-tight by green hides, and from eight to twelve feet

3. Ep. Coll., No. 380 of 1926.

4. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. III, p. 80, f. n. 2.
In one of the campaigns of Fīrūz Shāh against Vijayanagar, we are told that some of his officers and men crossed the river Kṛṣṇā in such boats.

Col. Briggs who translated *Ferishata*, calls them baskets. He says in a note (Vol. II, page 371) that "the same sort of basket-boats, used in the Tigris, in the time of Herodotus, are still employed there, and are almost the only description of passage boats known in the Indian Peninsula, at this day, to the natives of the country."

4a. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 259.

diameter."[5] These were the only type of ferry boats that were in use in the period both for military and other purposes for crossing wide rivers.

Inland transport was done by means of pack animals and carts. Horses do not appear to have been used for land transport in great members; for, they had to be imported from other countries in Western Asia. The Russian traveller Nikitin says, "Horses are not born in that country (India), but oxen and buffaloes; and these are used for riding, and conveying goods, and every other purpose."[6] Nicolo de Conti says, "The Indians use the ox as a beast of burthen which they consider it a crime to kill or eat, as being of all the most useful to man".[7] The ox, the mule, and the buffaloe were the chief conveyers of goods and other commodities. These drew carts, and carried goods on their backs.

Inland Trade :

Traders carried their wares in large bags or sacks which open in the middle. Each end of these bags was filled with grain or other commodity, and laid across the back of the animal. These sacks were called *perikes* in Telugu. Those who carried on trade in this manner were called *perike seṭlu*, bag-men or sack-traders. Some of the inscriptions of the Kākatīya period make mention of *perikes* of different commodities, like vegatable, fruit, and all sorts of grain. All these were conveyed generally on pack animals and in carts. It appears that, in course of time, some of these merchants, who carried their wares in *perikes*, formed into a separate group of their own, which, later on, crystallised into an endogamous sect; for, we come to know of a community in the *caturthakula*, called *Perikes*. Thurston says, "Gunny bag is the popular and trading name of the coarse sacking and sacks from the fibre of jute, much used in Indian trade." He further writes, "The Perikes claim to be a separate caste, but they seem to be in reality a sub-division, and not a very exalted sub-division, of Balijas being in fact identical with the uppu (salt) Balijas. Their hereditary occupation is carrying salt, grain, etc., on bullocks and donkeys on *perikes* or packs.[8]" It cannot however be definitely said that this sect or community had thus crystallized in the Reḍḍi period.

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5. Wilks, *History of Mysore* Vol. I, p. 417.
6. Major Nikitin, p. 10.
7. Ibid, Conti, p. 25.
8. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, 191–192, quoted from the *Madras Census Report*, for 1891.

Andhra, as it is even at the present day, was purely an agricultural country, and most of the agricultural products were exclusively used for local and domestic consumption. Each village provided for its own requirements to a great extent. However, owing to difficulties in transport and communications, it was not able to store any commodity largely and replenish the stock. This want was relieved by fairs which were held on a fixed day of the week in all the big villages. The surplus produce of the surrounding country and other products were brougt to the weekly fair. Wholesale and retail merchants from far and near used to assemble there and transact business.

Want of proper means of communication to convey goods and to exchange the various products of villages was responsible for the inequality in prices. If the yield of the crop was good and the price of different food-stuffs was cheap in some parts of the country, it was very dear in other parts where the crops failed. Owing to the inadequacy or the absence of means of communication, paddy and other grains could not be conveyed and distributed to the deficient and distressed parts of the country. The result was that, while famine devastated some parts of the country, others remained unaffected and lived in plenty in their wholesome isolation.

Religious festivals gave enormous impetus to trade. The *kalyāṇōtsavas*, the *Vasantōtsava*, the annual festivals of village goddesses in some important villages, and the pilgrimages to holy shrines, were generally the occasions for crowds of people to gather from far and near. On such occasions certain articles which were generally difficult to procure in the weekly fairs and local markets, could be obtained, and business was transacted both wholesale and retail.

Trade Unions:

The insecurity of trade routes and the absence of proper communications were also responsible for another important factor, namely, the unity found among the people of the trading classes of the country, and the corporate activity evinced by them for purposes of trade and industry. From the earliest times those who carried on trade in a particular commodity formed into a group or corporate body of their own, which, with the progress of time, crystallized into a separate community, either endogamous or exogamous. Such corporate bodies or trading guilds have been a regular feature of Indian economic life from the time of the Andhra Sātavāhanas. The records[9] of the

9. Luders' *List of Brahmi inscriptions*, No. 1137; Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 166. Mālikā *s'rēṇi*, or the guild of the gardeners, is mentioned in the Cintra pras'asti of the reign of king Sāraṅgadēva-vide. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 277, v. 50. This shows that every

Sātavāhanas and Śakas found in the caves of Western India, bring to light a number of such guilds, like the *Odayantrikas* (workers fabricating hydraulic engines), weavers, and *kularikas* (potters). A study of those records reveals the fact that these guilds or corporate bodies served as local banks[10] also. The early *smṛtikartas* or the latter *Dharma Śāstrakartas* recognised these corporate bodies,[11] *śrēṇis*, or *samayas* as they were called, which had an independent organisation of their own, with rules and regulations to carry on their work. The conventional number of such *samayas* is eighteen. The number of communities grew gradually with the growth or multiplication of professions and trades.

Of such croporate bodies or trading communities, praticular mention should be made of the Teliki and the Vīra Balañjya which were very active, influential and prosperous in this period. These bodies left behind them some records, generally registering their gifts, and sometimes recording their transactions. The information furnished by such records is very meagre, and does not enlighten us much regarding the working of these organisations, their rules and regulations, or their mode of transacting business.

The Teliki Community:

The Telikis, that is, oil millers or oilmongers, seem to have formed into a corporate body even from the time of the Sātavāhana emperors. *Tilapiṣakas*[12] were one of the several guilds mentioned in their records. We do not hear about them any more until the time of the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa emperor, Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I, of the eleventh century A. D. The Tēki plates[13] of his son Rāja Rāja Cōḍa Gaṅga, the viceroy of Vēṅgī, dated in Śaka 1006 (1084 A.D.), throw interesting light on the Teliki community. These plates record the grant of certain social privileges to the Telikis, who are said to comprise one thousand families, to have migrated to the South along with Vijayāditya, the lord of Ayōdhya, and the alleged progenitor of the Cāḷukya race, and to have protected the Cāḷukya kings, from the beginning of their rule, with their lives, with their courage, and qualities of virtue.

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trade and calling in ancient times had its own *śrēṇi* or guild. The *Ambaṭṭha Suttanta* of the Buddhists (I, 113) and the *Artha Śāstra* of Kauṭilya (XI, I) refer to *kṣtriya śrēṇis*, corporate bodies of warriors.

10. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 82, and p. 89.
11. *Laws of Manu*, VIII, 41 and 42; *Nyaya Sūtras* of Gautama XI, 20–22
12. Luders' list, No. 1137.
13. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 334 ff.

The Telikis had a sort of *vakkaṇa* or preamble [14] which, though historically unimportant, furnishes some details about them.

This corporate body is said to have consisted of one thousand families. The number one thousand is enigmatic, and its full significance, as in the case of the numbers of other bodies, is not known. It might represent either the number of families of the Telikis which originally immigrated to the south, or the total membership of this corporate body consisting of elders, one from each of the thousand families. It appears to have become conventional to call the guild 'the Teliki one thousand'.

Each record of this guild refers to it as *akhila-dēśāla Teliki-vēvuru*, the Teliki one thousand of all countries. It is not known if the guild had any central organisation, consisting of local branches in different districts, towns, and villages. Nor is the nature of the relations, if any, between the central and the local bodies, very clear. Some of the records of the Telikis refer to some items of business they had transacted in the interest of their whole community as one corporate body.

The Vīra Balañjya Samaya

The Vīra Balañjya corporation of traders and businessmen is referred to in a few inscriptions of this period. The texts of these records have not yet all been published. What is known of this body

14. S. I. I., IV, Nos. 668 and 774. According to this *vakkaṇa* or *pras'asti* in their records the Teliki vēvuru, as they were commonly called, are described as *Brahma-sambhūta-Manuvaṁs'yādhinatha-sambhavulu*, those who sprang from the lords of the progeny of Manu descended from Brahmā, *Brahma-saṁbhava-Paulastya-kula-kramāgata-Manuvaṁs'ōdbhavulu*, those who were born in the race of Manu, descended gradually from the family of Paulastya, an off-spring of Brahmā, *Paulastya-sahasra-s'ākhānvaya-gōtrulu*, the *gotrins* of the one thousand branches of families which sprang from Paulaṣtya, and *Kapilamaṭha-pratiṣṭhitulu*, those that were established in the Kapila *maṭha*. From the epithet *Vijayavāḍa-s'āsanulu* given to them in the preamble, Vijayavāḍa appears to have been their first habitat in the Andhra country, probably after their immigration to the south. Their *pras'asti* further informs us that they were the recipients of boons from goddess Bhagavatī (*Bhagavatī-labdha-varaprasādulu*), the worshippers of the feet of their gurus (*guru-dēva-pad-arādhakulu*), adepts in all the Sāstras (*Sakala-s'āstra-vis'āradulu*), and lords of Kanakapura and Gajapura, and the servants of the lords of Ayōdhya *Kanakapura-Gajapur-ādhināyakulu, Ayōdhyapuravarēs'vara-bhṛtyulu*). They are further extolled as *yama-niyama-dharma-parāyaṇulu*, and *Satya-s'aucācarca-virājitulu* (those bent upon observing *yama, niyama* and *dharma*, and *satya-s'aucācāra-virājitulu* those who shone by *satya, s'auca* and *ācāra*). They are also said to have been the main support of the kingdom of the Cāḷukyas which was obtained by the boon of the great sage Kapila (*Kapilamahāmunivara-prasāda-labdha-Cāḷukyarājya-mūlastambhāyamānulu*). Some of their records state that they were established in the Paulasti-Bhagavatī-sthāna —(S. I. I. VI, No. 149).

from these inscriptions is very meagre. However, as the Vīra Balañjya corporation was the sole Trade Union which spread its activities over the whole of South India, Ceylon, and some countries and islands in the East, its records are found outside the Andhra country also. Though a study of these records enables us to get a correct and complete idea of the functions and duties of this corporate body, the standards and principles of historical research place limitations on the scope of this account in this work, and what little is given here is gathered mainly from inscriptions found in the coastal region of the Andhra country from early times till the end of the Reḍḍi period. A few records outside the Andhra also are taken into account, only to elucidate some points relating to the organisation

The different commercial and business bodies that constituted the Vīra Balañjya *samaya* are mentioned in an unpublished inscription of Śaka 1162 (1240 A. D.) discovered at Chintapalli[15] (Guntur district). We come to know from this inscription that the Ubhaya-Nānādēśis, the Gavares, and the Mummuridaṇḍas were some of the bodies constituting the Vīra Balañjya *samaya*, and that they were the recipients of five hundred hero edicts (*pañcaśata vīraśāsanas*) and the protectors of the Vīra Balañjya *dharma*. The term Ubhaya-Nānādēśi represents merchants from all quarters and countries consisting of Dēśis, Paradēśis and Nānādēśis (natives, foreigners, and itinerants from all countries). All these terms find mention in the inscriptions of the Andhra country. Sālumūla-samasta-pekkanḍru, Ebhaiyāṟu dēśāla-samasta-pekkanḍru, denoting all merchants from all quarters of the earth, and the multitude of merchants from the fifty six countries, are some more phrases recorded in the Telugu inscriptions, to denote, merchants from all countries and quarters. The body of Gavares seems to have derived its name from worshipping god Gavarēśvara, one of the gods, referred to in the *praśasti* of the Vīra Balañjyas, as having been worshipped by them Mummuridaṇḍas was another component sect of the Vīra Balañjya *samaya*. This sect of tradesmen is frequently mentioned in the Canarese records of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Mummuridaṇḍas is a puzzling term. Probably the Mummuridaṇḍas represented the advance guard of the trading caravan, or those that have borne a staff with three bands, probably as their weapon. In some of the Canarese inscriptions of the twelfth century, they are said to have been Baṇañjigas (Vaṇajigas) "the brave of the brave, protectors of the submissive, cruel to the wicked, good to the good, and conquerers of powerful enemies."[16] In these inscriptions their warlike spirit is well described.

15. Ep. Coll., No. 277 of 1934-35; Ep. Rep. 1935, pages 67-68, para 38.

16. S. I. I., Vol. IX. i, Nos. 297 and 296.

The Vīra Balañjyas had a *vakkana* of their own, which is generally found in their inscriptions registering their gifts, or recording their business transactions. From the preamble contained in their inscriptions, we come to know that they belonged to the Manumakula, that they had immigrated from Ahicchatrapura, a town in Northern India, that they were the recipients of five hundred hero edicts (*pañca-śata virasāsanas*), and that they were the followers and the protectors of the Vīra Balañjya *samaya dharma*. What this *dharma* was, is not defined in any of the records of the Vīra Balañjyas. These were extolled as *raṇaraṅga-Rāmulu* (virtual Rāmas on the field of battle), and *Saṁgrāma-Bhīmulu* (virtual Bhīmas on the battle-field) and so on. These titles attest to the warlike spirit of the Vīra Balañjya tradesmen. In fact, the prefix vīra is enough to indicate their heroism.

Inscriptions of this period bring to light another body of traders, the Svāmins of Ayyāvaḷipura (lords of the town of Ayyāvaḷi). An inscription[17] at Appāpuram (Guntur district) dated in Śaka 1327, records the construction of a tank by a certain Kāṭūru Vallabhi Seṭṭi of Varidāla *gōtra* and the lord of Ayyāvaḷipura. A great many records of these lords of the town of Ayyāvaḷi are found scattered over the whole of South India, a great many in the Canarese country, and some in the Tamil and Telugu countries. A perusal of these records shows that they had also a *praśasti*, not a whit different from, but completely identical with, that of the Vīra Balañjyas. The Ayyāvoḷes, or lords of Ayyāvaḷipura, also claim to have been the protectors of the Vīra Balañjya *dharma*, to have obtained *pañcaśata vīraśāsanas*, evidently the same as those claimed by the Vīra Balañjya union, and to have immigrated from Ahicchatrapura to Ayyāvaḷi,[18] the modern town of Aihole, in the Hangunda taluk, Bijapur district. The Canarese records of these Ayyāvoḷes also mention a number of mercantile and business bodies, like the Ubhaya-Nānādēśis, the Gavares, and the Mummuri-daṇḍas. These facts clearly prove that the tradesmen who called themselves the lords of the town of Aihole, were in fact Vīra Balañjyas and formed one of the bodies, probably the major body, that made up the Vīrā Balañjya *samaya*. Hence, it seems probable that all the Svāmins of Ayyāvoḷe were Vīra Balañjyas, but all the Vīra Balañjyas might not have been Ayyāvoḷes.

17. Ep. Coll., No. 402 of 1915.

18. Ayyāpuḷal seems to be the ancient from of Ayyāvaḷe or Ayyāvoḷe which means the town of the Aryās (Ayyas), puḷal being the corrupt from of the *dēsi* term *prōlu* a market own. In fact, this form Ayyāpuḷal and its equivalent Ayyāpoḷel are found in Tamil inscriptions at Kāṭṭūr (Chingelput district) of the time of the Cōḷa emperor Rājēndra Cōḍa I, and at Tirumuruganpūḍi (Coimbatore district) of the time of Vikrama Cōḷa (Ep. Coll., Nos. 256 of 1912; 97 of 1915).

Since Ayyāvoḷepura in the Canarese country was the headquarters of this body, styled as the Fivehundred Svāmins of the Ayyāvoḷepura, the language of this guild was naturally Kannaḍa, since the portion enumerating the various bodies of traders in the Chintapalli record adverted to before, is written in Kannada "with a mixture of Telugu expressions." The Superintendent of Epigraphy opines that the language (of the central chamber of commerce located at Aihole) "was evidently adopted by the subordinate bodies as a mark of affiliation to the central organisation".[19] It may however be pointed out here that all the records of the Vīra Balañjya *samaya* found in the coastal region are in Telugu. If the observation made above is true, it might be that the major sect of the Ayyāvoḷe Svāmins formed the managing body of this Vīra Balañjya *samaya*. However, future researches have to clarify these points.

The expression 'Five hundred' in the *vakkaṇa* of the Vīra Balañjyas or of the Ayyāvoḷes is unintelligible. The records of the Ayyāvoḷes lead us to believe that it represents the number of the lords of Ayyāvoḷepura comprising the guild, who probably managed the affairs of the body. But, according to the inscriptions of the Vīra Balañjyas, it represents the number of *vīrasāsanas* (hero-edicts (concerning probably privileges in business and trade obtained from the rulers of the land). However the full significance of the term 'five hundred' is not yet known.

The Canarese records of the Ayyāvoḷes describe them as "brave men, born to wander for many centuries ever since the beginning of the Kṛtayuga," "experts in the testing of the *navaratnas*, *vāhanas* like horses and elephants," and as "adepts in business." The articles in which they traded were elephants, horses, oxen, buffaloes, cows, carts, rubies, pearls, coral, emeralds, topazes, diamonds, sapphires, agates, lapislazuli, moonstones, jewels, cloth, cotton, articles for gods, cuscus, civet, camphor, musk, saffron, and other perfumes and drugs, arecanut, salt, grain, flowers, pepper and many others. They carried these articles on oxen, asses or buffaloes, "adorned with red trappings" and "tinkling bells." They sold these articles either wholesale or hawked them about on their shoulders[20]. They further state that they carried on their business in the thirty two sea ports (Vēlānagara or Vēlōma), eighteen cities, sixty four *yōgapīṭhas* and sixty four *ghaṭikāsthānas*. Those records enable us to know that the guild had a flag of its own. The guild had also the right to confer titles with some honours and

19. Ep. Rep., 1935, para 38, page 68.

20. Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Sk. 119.

privileges attached to them, on certain individuals, probably in recognition of their services to it. Pṛthivīsetṭi (the mayor of the Earth) seems to have been the highest honorary title which the guild conferred in some special cases. From the Chintapalli inscription referred to above we come to know that Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Cāgi Dōrayarāja had the title Pṛthivīseṭṭi[22]. Dōrayarāja was not a Vīra Balañjya. He was a feudal chief of the Cāgi family which appears to have been a kṣatriya one, since its members are said to have been born of the *bāhus* (shoulders) of Brahmā[23]. Pṛthivīseṭṭi, therefore, seems to have been a title conferred on him by Vīra Balañjya *samaya*. That the term Pṛthivīseṭṭi was a title is definitely known from a Canarese inscription of the Vīra Balañjyas, which records the conferring of the title of Pṛthivīseṭṭi on a certain Muddaya Daṇṇāyaka (*avarige Pṛthivīseṭṭitana - koṭṭu*).[23] Another Canarese record[24] of the time of the Vijayanagar king Harihara II, dated in 1379 A. D., details the honours and privileges to which the Pṛthivīseṭṭis were entitled. If the Pṛthivīseṭṭis of any country went to another country, the authorities of that country first presented them with betel leaf, cloths, and allowance of food, and granted them other privileges. The examples cited above clearly prove that Pṛthivīseṭṭi was the greatest title of honour conferred by the Vīra Balañjya[25] trade union. Seṭṭi seems to be the general title of the members of these trade guilds.

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22. Ep. Coll., No. 288 of 1924; Ep. Rep., 1924, para 57, p. 116.

23. Rāyanimantri Bhāskara, another eminent brāhman scholar and statesman, had the title Pṛthivīśeṭṭi (Ep. Coll., Nos. 377 of 1911, and 18 of 1917; Ep. Rep., 1918, p. 174, para 84.)

24. Ep. Carn., Vol, XIII, Si. 76.

25. In the term vīra Balañjya vīra is an honorific term indicating bravery. Balañjya or Balañje is the real name of the *samaya*. That these Ayyāvoḷes and others of the Vīra Balañjya *samaya* are today represented by the Balajes, commonly called Balijas, is proved by the following lines in a *cāṭu* verse in Sīsa metre, preserved in a palm leaf manuscript (Mack. Mss., No. 10-16-10) in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. It was composed in praise of the Balijas of Siṁhavikramapura (Nellore).

"శ్రీ మదయ్యావళీ సింహ విక్రమపుర
వరులు బల్లిదులైన బలిజవారు
దుష్ట నిగ్రహమున శ్రేష్ఠులై మ్రోంకాటి
పట్ట బద్ధు లయిన బలిజవారు................"

Some of the passages like *mrōṅkaṭi paṭṭabaddhulu* and *moyiluvale gūḍi mañcuvale vīḍi* are found in the *praśasti* of the Vīra Balañjyas recorded in their inscriptions. The verse is full of mistakes.

Nagara :

Another notable guild of the period was the Nagara. It finds mention in the Telugu inscriptions as Nagara or Nakaramu. This seems to have been purely a vais'ya guild. Nagara seems to have been the contracted form of Penugoṇḍa-nagara (West Godavari district), the habitat of the vais'yas of the one hundred and two *gōtras*, and the place where Vāsavīkanyā is said to have immolated herself by falling into the fire-pit to save her honour. These vais'yas of Penugoṇḍa, Nagaramvāru as they are also called in Telugu inscriptions, seem to have formed into a sub-group in the vais'ya corporation consisting of one thousand *gōtras* (*sahasragōtrapavitrulu*). They styled themselves as *Penugoṇḍapuravarāśvaras* (lords of Penugoṇḍapura) and lord-chiefs of Penugoṇḍa (*Penugoṇḍa-prabhumukhyas*)[26]. Their tutelary deity was Vāsavīkanyā. They were also the worshippers of Nagarēs'varadēva.[27] Members of the Kubēra-vaṁs'a mentioned in Telugu inscriptions, were also reckoned as vais'yas. They were extolled in a record at Nādeṇḍla (Guntur district) as having "earned the blessings of the learned (by patronising them)", "practised self denial", and "entertained the maintenance of *dharma* as their chief object."[28]

The Trading Caravan :

The trading caravan, *Sātu* in Telugu, consisted of a great number of merchants of different sects, dealing in different articles of trade. About these tradesmen Ibn Batūta writes, "One merchant may be accompanied by about hundred men carrying his wares. Every one of these men carries a stout stick fitted with an iron point at the lower end, and a hook of the same metal at the top; when the porter is fatigued and does not find any place for resting himself, he sticks his baton into the ground and suspends his burden on it. After rest, he takes up his charge without any one to assist him and resumes his march.[29]" While writing about the reign of the Bahmanī Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, the Muslim historian. Ferishta, refers to "a band of grain merchants, called in Hindoosthan Bunjaras, who were on their way to Berar with two thousand head of oxen," who were "joined by horse-dealers who were taking with them three hundred horses for sale.[30]"

26. Ep. Coll., Nos. 84 and 85 of 1917; S. I. I., Vol., IV, Nos. 660 and 696; Ep. Coll., No. 448 of 1915.
27. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 660.
28. Ep. Coll., No. 305 of 1915.
29. *Foreign Notices*, page 236.
30. Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 393. Aziz-u lla states that these Bañjaras were cattle-hirers (*mukaryān*) - J. S. King - *History of the Bahmanī Dynasty*. p. 44.

Tradesmen - Toll Farmers:

The Vīra Balañjya records generally register gifts to temples of tolls and taxes, which formed one of the important items of revenue to the State. This fact of remitting tolls presupposes that these tradesmen of the traditional eighteen *samayas* were masters of the income from tolls and that they spent it in the interests of the *samaya*. This state of affairs would have been possible only when these merchants farmed tolls from the king, probably periodically, by paying the amount fixed by him in a lump sum to the State, and the income to the State from this item did not on any account suffer. Members of these *samayas* farmed, either individually or collectively, tolls including grazing tax on pasture-lands (*pasula-pullari*). These were called in Telugu *sunka-guttakāṇḍru* (toll-farmers). These are mentioned in an inscription of the time of Kumāragiri Reḍḍi.[31] These toll-farmers had their own office-establishment. They had a number of accountants, called *sunka-karaṇālu*, to keep their accounts of tolls, collected in different localities. Two copper-plate grants belonging to the end of the Kākatīya period, that is, the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., throw further light on these *samayas* (guilds or corporate bodies). The members of the trade-guilds exercised unlimited authority in dealing with offences, committed by any member of their establishment or by any of their agents or accountants. Members of these *samayas* usually met in the front hall (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) of a temple and transacted their business or decided their cases. It was the custom in those days to set up at such meetings *Vajrabaisiga* (or *baisuga*), the ensign of the Vīra Balañjya corporation comprising the eighteen *samayas*.[32]

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31. Ep. Coll., No. 380 of 1926.

32. In this connection it may be interesting to note the following lines, extracted from Edgar Thurston's *Castes and tribes of Southern India* (Vol. II, pp. 121-23).

"The word Dēsāyi means of the country (Dēs'a is a subdivision of Balija). For almost in every taluk in the North Arcot district there is a head-man, called Dēsāyi Cheṭṭi who may be said, in a manner, to correspond to a Justice of Peace. The Head-man belongs to the Kavarai or Balija caste, their family name being Dhanapāla - a common name among the Kavarais which may be interpreted as 'the protector of wealth.' The Dhanapala Dēsāyi Cheṭṭi holds sway over the eighteen castes. ... ... All those that are called Valangai or right-hand castes fall within his jurisdiction. ... A large cup-shaped spoon is the ensign of the Dēs'āyi. On the outer surface, all round its edge, are carved in relief eighteen figures, each one being typical of one of the castes of which the Dēs'āyi is the social head. Under each figure is inscribed in Tamil the name of the caste which that figure typifies. The figures are smeared with red powder and sandal, and decorated with flowers ... ... (On the occasion of trying cases) the Dēs'āyi's emblem is placed in front of him in the midst of the Pañchāyat and a regular enquiry held. ... ... The Dēs'āyi maintains a

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions mentioned above, one records the grant of privilege to trade in certain articles without paying tolls to a certain Puliyama Seṭṭi for having killed one Kārapākala Kāṭi Nāyaka, who had become a traitor to the *samayas*, by the merchants of the eighteen *samayas* of all countries (*akhila-deśāla padunenmidi-samayāla - samastam-aina - pekkanḍru*) residing in the Nandyāla sthala;[33] the other, a similar record, registers the grant of privileges by the same body of merchants (*Cālu-mūla - padunenmidi - samayāla - samasta -pekkanḍru*) to a certain Attena for having killed Annama Rāja and Singa Rāja, the *suṅka-karaṇas* (toll accountants) of Cerunūru in Peḍakanṭi *sīma*.[34]

The above records, if genuine, unmistakably attest to the great power wielded by these corporate bodies. From these records, we come to know that the king never interfered in the internal management of their affairs, but gave them a free hand to do as they liked. They enjoyed full autonomy in the management of their own affairs. The king was probably unable to do anything even in the case of a death sentence pronounced by the tribunal of these bodies on any one, who proved a traitor to the *samaya* and worked against its interests. Since these tradesmen of the eighteen *samayas* were bankers and served the king by joining the ranks of the army in times of war, they appear to have wrested more concessions from time to time and grown gradually more powerful. They consolidated their ranks more formidably in this period of political revolution and Hindu religious revival than in the early medieval era, and wielded enormous influence in the State.

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regular record of his enquiries and judgements, and in the days of the Nawābs, these decisions were, it would appear, recognised by the Court of Justice. The same respect, it is said, was also shown to the Dēs'āyi's decision by the early courts of John Company (a corruption of Company Jehan, a title of the English East India Company)".

The Kavarais in the above account represent the Gavares of the Vīra Balañjya records and the eighteen castes, the eighteen *samayas*. The cup-shaped spoon was the *Vajrabaisiga*, the ensign of the corporation. The name of the caste under each figure on it was in Tamil, because the above account refers to the Tamil country. The above account helps the reader to form a good idea of a meeting of the members of the *samaya* in ancient times, and of the value attached to the judgments of the Dēs'āyi Seṭṭi. The passage quoted above suggests that the *spoon*, the ensign of the Dēsāyi Seṭṭi, and the *Vajrabaisuga*, the emblem of the Vīra Balañjya corporation are one and the same. It may be worth recalling in this connection that the utensil used by the goddess, Annapūrṇā of Kās'ī, for distributing food, is also a ladle, a spoon-like thing. It seems, therefore, that the ladle, the spoon, or the *Vajrabaisuga* was the Hindu symbolical representation of economic plenty, and its distribution.

33. C. P. No. 10 of 1918-19.

34. C. P. No. 11 of 1918-19.

CHAPTER VI

SEA-BORNE TRADE

From the early centuries of the Christian era, the Andhra country including Kaḷiṅga, which extended from the Gōdāvarī in the south to the Mahānadī in the north, maintained its reputation as one of the foremost of the nations of India that had sea-borne trade with countries and islands far and near The trade with the east was exclusively in the hands of the nations of Eastern India, while that with the West was carried on chiefly by the Arabs and the Moors. The long coast-line of the Andhra country was responsible to a great extent in making the Andhras a sea-faring nation from early centuries.

The intercourse between the Andhra country and the countries and islands in the East, which had begun during the supremacy of the Sātavāhanas (Andhra kings), was steadily kept up in the later centuries by the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgi and others. Coins of the Cāḷukya monarch S'aktivarma 1, also called Cāḷukya Candra, were discovered in lower Burma and Siam.

During the twelth century, the sea-borne trade of the Andhra country seems to have received a set-back owing to the Western Cāḷukya invasions of Vēṅgī, the rivalry of the *maṅḍalikas* (feudal chiefs) in extending their authority, and the indifference of the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa sovereigns. Pirates grew in number and made it impossible for merchant ships to sail safely. The inevitable result was that maritime trade suffered heavily, and many of the ports, called *karapaṭṇas* in Telugu, fell into disuse and were deserted. This state of affairs was made still worse by the imposition of unjust taxes and unjust ordinances, compelling the traders to sell their goods at prices fixed by local chiefs. These high-handed measures almost strangled the foreign trade.

A welcome change came when Gaṇapatidēva of the Kākatīya family of Warangal conquered the *maṇḍalikas* and brought the whole of the coastal region under his sceptre in the thirteenth century. He revived the sea-borne trade by many benevolent measures. He offered protection to foreign merchants trading with countries and islands beyond the seas, from oppressive taxation and piracy, fixed export and import duties on articles of trade in accordance with the custom prevailing before, and withdrew all uujust taxes newly imposed by the local chiefs. As a result of his wise and beneficent policy, merchants again resorted to the deserted ports and carried on trade as before. During the rule of the Kākatiyas, Mōṭupalli was a great emporium

(*dēśyūyukkoṇḍapaṭṭaṇa*). During the later half of the Kākatīya period, the great Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, visited this port when it was n a very flourishing condition.

The Muslim invasions, and the anarchical state of the country, consequent on the fall of Warangal in 1323 A. D., dealt a death- blow to the sea-borne trade again.

After the re-establishment of Hindu independence, it took considerable time for the Andhra leaders to restore law, order and peace. Prōlaya Vemā Reḍḍi, the chief leader to the South of the Kṛṣṇā, re-captured the coastal tract from the hands of the enemy and emulated the example of his predecessors, the Kākatīya monarchs of Warangal, in clearing the seas of pirates. It was his younger brother Mallā Reḍḍi who, under his orders, defeated the local enemy chiefs in the Mōṭupalli region and brought it under the sway of the Reḍḍi kings. Vēma's son and successor, king Anavōta, renovated the port of Mōṭupalli and restored it to its former glory. He issued a charter of concessions to merchants coming to settle and trade at Mōṭupalli, and to those tradesmen belonging to other ports and islands coming there on business. He fixed the duties on articles of export and import. This charter of Śaka 1280, that is, 1358 A. D., was incised in both Tamil and Telugu languages,[35] on a pillar in the maṇḍapa of the Vīrabhadrasvāmin temple at Mōṭupalli, under orders of Anavōta's minister, Sōmayamantri. To those that had deserted Mōṭupalli for other places, but were now willing to return, Anavōta promised to give the garden land (tōṁṭa-dharaṇi), which was in their enjoyment before. He allowed them liberty to sell their goods brought from other shores to any one at their pleasure (*viccalaviḍi*), and, if they still so desired, they could carry the goods and leave for other places on business.

King Anavōtā Reḍḍi abolished the taxes called *aputrika-daṇḍam* and *kaḍḍūyam* (forced impost) on foreign merchants (trading in his dominions), and remitted the duty on gold and silver (?) completely and a third of the import duty on sandal [*valubaḍi* (*varuṁbaḍi*) *suṅkamu*]. "It was proclaimed that henceforward no cloth would be detained in the warehouse (?) and tolls on other articles would, under no circumstances, be different from what they were before." "The following rates of duty were fixed: (A) goods coming from the southern side – on 100 (packages)

35. Ep. Coll., Nos 601 and 602 of 1909:

These two inscriptions have not yet been published. The Tamil copy seems to be the more important of the two, and contains more information than the Telugu one. I had to quote from the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1910 for the information contained in it.

of import, 3 (packages), and on 100 cloths of export, 2 coins (?); (B) on goods coming from the north - on 100 packages of import, 5, and on 100 cloths of export 3 coins (?); (C) on goods exported to foreign lands - 3 (coins) on 100 cloths and (D) 7½ (?) on 100 pearls[86]"

From a perusal of the inscription of Anavōtā Reḍḍi cited above, we can very well imagine the difficulties and disabilities to which foreign merchants visiting Mōṭupalli were formerly subjected. The very fact that the inscription containing more details was written in Tamil, proves that many of the foreign merchants visiting that place belonged to the Tamil country. Of all the *karapaṭṇas* (ports) of the Andhra country, Mōṭupalli was the leading one in the period under review.

Navigation :

The sea-borne trade was carried on by means of many kinds of sea-going vessels, some of which are mentioned in the contemporary Telugu literature. Their names are *kappali, jōngu, valli, valika,* and *samman.*

Of these *kappali*, the Telugu equivalent of the Tamil *kappal*, a ship, represented the native craft that particulary plied in the Indian seas and coastal waters. About these ships Conti writes thus: "They (the natives of India) build some ships much larger than ours, capable of containing two thousand butts, and with five sails and as many masts. The lower part is constructed with triple planks, in order to withstand the force of the tempests to which they are much exposed. But some ships are so built in compartments, that, should one part be scattered, the other portion remaining entire, may accomplish the voyage.[87]

Jōngu was the name of the large Chinese ship that plied in the Chinese and Indian seas between China and India. This was the common type of vessel extensively used for trade in the Eastern seas in the period under review. Ibn Batūta writes, "There are three kinds of Chinese vessels: (1) large ships, called *Junks*;[88] (2) middling ones called *Zu-s*, and (3) the smallest *Kakams*. Of the large vessels there are three sails or more, upto a dozen. Their sails are made of cane reeds plaited together like mats; they are never lowered, but are turned about according to the direction of the wind. When the ships are anchored, the sails are allowed to float in the wind.

86. Ep. Rep., 1910, Para 61, page 118

87. Major, Conti, p. 27.

88. Sir H. Yule thinks that this term was derived from the Malay jong or ajong, a great ship - See *Cathay*, IV, p. 25.

Each of these ships is manned by a thousand men, six hundred sailors and four hundred soldiers, among whom are archers, men armed with shields, and persons who throw naphtha. Each large vessel is followed by three smaller ones. a middle-sized, a third and a fourth-sized.

"They make four decks on a vessel; it contains chambers, cabins, and saloons for the merchants. Many of these cabins contain chambers and water-closets. They have keys and their occupants lock them. They take their wives and concubines with them. It often happens that a man lives in his cabin unknown to any others on board, till they meet on their arrival in some place.

"The sailors' children live in these cabins. They grow vegetables, pulses and ginger in wooden tubs. The commander of a ship is like a great amir; when he disembarks, archers and Abyssinians march in front of him with javelins, swords, drums, bugles and trumpets. When he arrives at the inn where he is to live, they place their lances on either side of the door and continue to do so throughout his stay."[39]

Valli and *valika* were some other types of vessels about which nothing is known to us.

Samman (plural, *sammans*) seems to be a corruption of *sampan*, a common name applied to the native vessel which plies in the waters in the Malay Peninsula.

One could navigate through eight months in the year, that is from September to April in the Eastern waters. The sea would be stormy from May to August[40]. About the steering of ships Nicolo de Conti writes: "The Natives of India steer their vessels for the most part by the stars of the Southern hemisphere, as they rarely see those of the north. They are not acquainted with the use of the compass but measure their courses and the distances of places by the elevation and depression of the Pole. They find out where they are by this mode of measurement." [41]

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39. *Foreign Notices*, pp. 212-213.

40. Ibid, p. 190.

41. Major, Conti, pp. 26-27.

It is, however, interesting to note in this connection Vasco de Gama's observation. According to a passage in Barros, Vasco de Gama found the compass already in use by Indian pilots (*Asia*, *dec.* I, Bk. IV, Chap. 6).- Quoted in *The Portuguese Pioneers* by Edgar Prestage, p. 317.

" The shores of the said sea (the sea of India in some places," writes Jhon of Montecervino, " run out in shoals for 100 miles or more, so that ships are in danger of grounding. And they cannot make the voyage but once a year, for from the beginning of April till the end of October the winds are westerly, so that no one can sail towards the west; and again 'tis just the contrary from the month of October till March. From the middle of May till the end of October the wind blows so hard that ships which by that time have not reached the ports whither they are bound, run a desperate risk, and if they escape it is great luck." [42]

Imports and Exports:

While describing the maritime trade carried on by the Avaci family, one of the richest merchant families of the Reḍḍi period, S'rīnātha, with a surprising historic sense, enumerates, in his *Haravilāsam* the various countries and islands with which the Andhra country of his time had dealings, and also the articles they supplied. [43]

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42. *Foreign Notice*, p. 190.

43. "పంజారఁ గర్పూర పాదపంబులు దెచ్చె
జలనోంగి బంగారు మొలకఁ దెచ్చె
సింహళంబున గంధసింధురంబులు దెచ్చె
హురుమంజి బలు తేజి హరులు దెచ్చె
గోవ సంశుద్ధ సంకుమద ద్రవముఁ దెచ్చె
యాంపఁ గట్టాణిముత్యాలు దెచ్చె
భోటఁ గస్తూరికాపు[టకోశ]ములు దెచ్చెఁ
జీనిఁ జీనాంబరశ్రేణిఁ దెచ్చె
జగదగోపాల రాయవేశ్యాభుజంగ
పల్లవాదిత్య భూదాన పరశురామ
కొమరగిరి రాజ దేవేంద్రు కూర్మిహితుఁడు
జాణ జగజెట్టి దేవయచామిసెట్టి ".—Hr. Vl., I, v. 26.

"తరుణాసీరి తవాయి గోవ రమణా స్థానంబులం జందనా
గరుకర్పూరహిమాంబుకుంకుమరజఃకస్తూరికాద్రవ్యముల్
శరధిం గప్పలి జోంగు వల్లి వలికా సమ్మృన్న (సంపన్న?)ఁ దెప్పించు నే
ర్పరియై వైశ్యకులోత్తముం డవచితిప్పం డల్పుఁడే యిమ్మహిన్." — Ibid, v. 28

The countries and islands mentioned by S'rīnātha and the articles of import from them are given below in a tabular form.

Countries and islands.	*Articles of import.*
Cīni	Silk cloths (*Cīnāṁbaraśrēṇi*)
Siṁhala	Elephants and gems (*Sindhuraṁbulu, ratnāṁkuramulu*)
Pañjāra	Camphor trees (*karpūrapādapamulu*)
Jalanōṅgi	Sprouts of gold (*baṁgāru maloka*)
Hurumuñji	Horses (*Tēji harulu*)
Gōva	Liquid Civet (*Sankumadadravamu*)
Yāṁpa	Pearls (*Kaṭṭāṇimutyālu*)
Bhōṭa	Musk (*Kastūri*)
Taruṇāsīri Tavāyi Gōva Ramaṇa	Sandal (*Candana*) Aloe wood (*Agaru*) Camphor (*Karpūra*) Rose water (*Himāmbu*) Musk (*Kastūri*) Pollen of Saffron (*Kuṅkumaraja*)

Cīni: This is the ancient name of China. There is evidence to prove the existence of an active intercourse between China and Southern India beginning from the second century B. C.[44] This intercourse, though occasionally subjected to ups and downs, was kept up during the succeeding centuries until this period. Cāmi Seṭṭi, a member of the Avaci family, is said to have imported from Cīni into the Andhra country *Cīnāṁbaraśrēṇi*, a great number of *Cināṁbaras*, China-cloths.[45] From very ancient times China has been famous for its silk cloth which was called *Cīnāṁbara* by the Indians.

Siṁhaḷa: Siṁhala is, of course, Ceylon. The commodities which were brought from this island were elephants and precious stones. Ceylon was famous for its breed of elephants, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it supplied war elephants to the countries on the

44. *Foreign Notices.*, pp. 44-45, Introd. p. 4.

Several embassies were sent from South India to Chinese emperors. The last embassy was sent during this period. Dr. E. Bretschnider, in his *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, writes under caption "A-nan-gung-de, a kingdom in Sit-'ien (Western heaven)," – a Chinese name applied to India in some Chinese translations of Buddhist works:—" In 1374 Bu-halu, the ruler of this country, sent his chief explainer (kiangchu) by name Bi-ni-si-, with tribute to the Chinese Court. He brought among other things, a stone which had the property of neutralising poison. After this no embassay from that country was seen in China. That is all the Ming Shi records with respect to this Indian kingdom "-Vol. II, pp. 221-222. A-nan-gung-de in the above passage is Anegondi (Vijayanagar). Bu-ha-lu seems to be the corrupt form of Bukkarāya I of Vijayanagar.

45. Hr. VI. I, Introd. verses.

mainland. "And in this island," says Barbosa, "are reared many wild elephants which the king has caught and tamed. These he sells to the merchants of the Choramandel, of Narasinga, Malabar, Daquem, and Cambea who come thither to seek them."[46] He also writes, "And in this island also are found precious stones in plenty, of many kinds."[47]

It is said that Tippaya Seṭṭi, another member of the Avaci family, had a long acquaintance with the land of Lankā and Siṁhaḷadvīpa (*Cira-paricita-Laṅkā-Siṁhaḷadvīpa-bhūmi*), and that he pleased all kings by satisfying them with the commodities brought from Lankā and other islands (*Laṅkādikadvīpānīta suvastu-tarpita-samadhēyākhilakṣmāpa*).[48]

Pañjāra: This seems to be the Telugu equivalent of the name of a town in the island of Sumatra, called Pansor, Pansur or Fansur by the mediaeval Arab and Western writers, and 'Barus' by later travellers. And Barus is the name of the principal mart of that "commodity (camphor) in Sumatra, and the word has been affixed by traders to descriminate it from the camphor of Japan."[49]

Jalanoṅgi: This place which supplied *baṅgārumolaka* which literally means 'sprout of gold', cannot be definitely identified. C. P. Brown takes *baṅgārumolaka* to mean 'fairy gold', supposed to grow in snake-holes,[50] though it is difficult to understand how it could mean that. Whatever be the exact meaning of the term, it is obvious that it denotes some kind of gold, probably the best. It might also probably mean alluvial gold, obtained by washing the silt near the banks of rivers and in their beds Gold was certainly imported to India from abroad from the earliest times. It continued to be so even in the

46. Barbosa, I, p. 113.
47. Ibid, I, pp. 115–116.
48. Hr. Vl., I, 31; VII, 195.

The above statements raise the question whether Lankā and Siṁhala are not different islans. To identify Laṅkā with Siṁhala (Ceylon) seems to be erroneous. Laṅkā which has been known to the Hindus from the days of Valmiki, appears to be different from Ceylon. This question cannot be, however, conveniently discussed here. In this connection it may be interesting to note a place called Lang-kia or Lang-Ya-hsin on the Isthumus of Kra (Gerini, pp. 113–115).

49. Chau Ju-kua, T. P. Vol. XIII., p. 194.

There is a town called Banjor Massin in Borneo which also produces camphor. Vide, Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 308. Pañjara mentioned in the Telugu work *Haravilasam* might be identical with either of these two towns (Pansor or Banjar Massin.)

50. Tel. Eng. Dict., p. 818 (1852)

middle ages. It is not possible even to indicate the direction where Jalanōṅgi is situated. However, as most of the trade of the Avaci family was with the Eastern countries and islands, it is possible that it should lie somewhere in the East. It may however be noted that in the Archipelago, there was a district called Jih-lo-ting in 'the south-eastern end of the Malay Peninsula', where gold and silver wares were manufactured.[51] It seems not unlikely that Jih-lo-ting and Jalanōṅgi are corrupted forms of some Malay place-name which played an important part in the international trade of ancient times.[52]

Hurumuñji: This is the same as Hurmuz or Ormuz in Persia. This town is 'situated on the small island of Jerun in the Straits still known on our maps as the Straits of Ormuz.' 'The original Hurmuz was a town on the Persian mainland, on the banks of the Minab river ... Its situation on the mainland laid it open to attack in troubled times, and the inhabitants finally, about the year 1300, abandoned it and founded the new town of Hormuz on the neighbouring isle of Jerun or Jeraun[53].'' This town supplied horses to Indian kings in the middle ages. That Hurmuz supplied horses to the Indian kings, is also corroborated by the account of Duarte Barbosa. He writes 'And from the city of Adem they (merchants) bring

51. Gerini, p. 826 (627).

52. In connection with *baṅgarumolaka*, it will be interesting to read what Milburn has written about gold-dust produced in Borneo. "Borneo produces", he writes, "immense quantities of gold; it is procured at Sambas, Momparva, Pontiana, Borneo town, and Banjar Massin. It is stated from very good authority, that two hundred peculs of gold-dust are annually procured by the Chinese, Dutch, and English, chiefly by the Chinese, from the places visited by their junks. At Banjar Massin gold-dust is divided into head, belly and foot. The head is also called Molucca gold (? *baṅgarumoluka*); it is in grains as large as bay-salt, of a very irregular shape, free from any artificial alloy, and comes up in fineness to about twenty two carats. ... ... The second sort or belly is in smaller grains, like sand or brass-filings. ... ... The foot nearly resembles the belly to out-ward appearance, but is often found mixed with iron-dust or something resembling it."—(*Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 311). Jalanōṅgi seems to be a Malay town which supplied the Andhra country with *baṅgarumoluka* (probably the correct term) of Borneo.

53. Barbosa, I, f. n. 2. p. 90.

"Outside in the same isle is a little hill of rock-salt, also some brim stone, but very little. The salt is in blocks as large as great rocks in rugged hills; it is called Indian Salt.

"All ships which come to this city take it as ballast for it is worth money at many places. The merchants of this isle and city are Persians and Arabs.

"It has a right good harbour where many sorts of goods are handled which come hither from many lands and from here they barter them with many parts of India"—Ibid, I, p. 91.

to Ormuz abundance of copper, quicksilver, vermillion, rose-water, many brocaded cloths, tafetas and ordinary camlets. ...And from Barem and Julfur come seed-pearls, and large pearls and from the cities of Arabia a great number of horses come, which they carry thence to India, whither every year they used to take one and at times two thousand horses, and each one of these is worth in India, taking good and bad together, three or four hundred Cruzados, more or less according to the demand for them. And in the ships in which these horses are taken they carry also abundance of dates, raisins, salt and sulphur, also coarse seed-pearls in which the Moors of Ṇarasinga take delight.[54]

Gōva: This is the modern Goa, the famous sea-port on the west coast of India. During the middle ages it was the biggest port in India. All the commodities coming from Western Asia, Europe, and Africa, found their way to Indian markets through this port. It supplied civet to the Andhra country. It was not a product of Goa. It must have come there from the West. Chau Ju-kua states that civet 'comes from the country of 'K 'ie-liki (Kalhat?) of the Arabs.[55] Commenting on this passage the editors of Chau Ju-kua observe thus: "It seems clear that at the time of which our author writes, there were two drugs known to Chinese.....The one was derived from Northern Asia, from Mancuria to Khirghiz steppes, the other was brought to China by the Arabs of Oman who called it Zi-Po-tu-min which we have no diffiiculty in recognising the Arabic word Al Zabad, our civet".[56] The civet which Cāmi Seṭṭi of the Avaci family secured from Goa, must have been brought there by the Arabs. This becomes a certainty when we compare the Telugu word *Zavādi* (Zabadi) civet with the Arab word, Al Zabad.

Yāṁpa (*Yāpa*): Yāpa from which pearls were imported, is Yālpāṇa, that is, Jaffna, a province in the north of Ceylon. The Gulf of Mannar is famous for pearl-fishery; and it is only natural that Cāmi Seṭṭi should have obtained best pearls at Jaffna (Yālpāṇa)

Bhōṭa: This is the ancient name of Bhōṭān which has been famous for musk. According to the *Tārā Tantra*, Bhōṭa extends from Kashmir to the west of Kāmarūpa (Assam), and to the south of Mānasarōvara.[57]

54. Ibid, I, pp. 93-94.
55. Chau Ju-kua, p. 234.
56. Ibid, p. 234. n. 4.
57. N. L. Dey - *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 83.

Taruṇāsīri: This is mentioned among a group of places, the remaining being Tavāyi, Gōva, Ramaṇa and others, which supplied sandal, aloe-wood, camphor, rose-water, musk and pollen of saffron. As all these places, like the articles of import, are mentioned collectively, it is not possible to mark out the particular place which supplied each of the above articles. The printed text of the *Haravilāsam* has *Taruṇā-Cīni*; but the manuscript copy has Taruṇā-Sīri.[58] *Taruṇā-sīri* therefore seems to be the correct reading. However, it is difficult to say if this term stands for a single place or two entirely different places, namely Taruṇā and Sīri. Candana (sandal wood) was probably the article of import from Taruṇā-sīri. In fact, sandal wood is a characteristic product of the west coast of South India. Since it is said that it was imported also from abroad, it must have been brought from the East Indies. It is said that the best Sandal wood "came from two countries, Takang and Ti-wu, both of which were the dependencies of San-fo-t'si[59] (Palembang)." The former still remains unidentified, and the latter has been identified with the island Timor[60]. There are, however, no towns in the East Indies bearing the name either of Turuṇā or Sīri. The name Taruṇā-sīri reminds us and sounds almost akin to Tarnāssari, a town in the Malay Peninsula. It seems probable that either of these two names is a variant or a corrupt form of the other. If such is the case, Taruṇā-sīri and Tarnāssari, (the modern Tenassarim) are identical. The following note seems in a way to strengthen this view and fix its position.

"*Tenaceree*: (Portugese Tanaseri, Malay Tanah Sri) — "From Martavan coasting the shore southwards sixty myles, and then thirty myles south-east by East; between two Islandes the coast runneth inwards like a bow, wherein lyeth the town of Tanassarien...........The Portingalles have great traffique unto this town......and thether commeth great great [store of] merchandise out of Pegu, and Siam..."[61]

Tavāyi: The next place in the group referred to before is Tavāyi, the modern Tavoy. It is the name of a city situated on a

58. See, Tr. Cat. Tel. Mss, 1910-11—1912-13, page 814. The editors or publishers of *Haravilasam* must have corrected Siri, an unknown term, into Cini, a well-known place.

59. Chau Ju-kua, p. 208:

"There come like-wise merchants from the whole of India, from the Coromandel, from Bengal, from Tenasarim from Pegu, with provisions and rich merchandise. They carry like-wise to Malaca the cloves of Molucus, the camphor of Borneo, the mace and the black nut-meg of Banda, the white and red sandal of Timor." Castenheda (1528-38); *Foreign Notices*., p. 312.

60. Gerini, p. 519.

61. Linschoten in Hakl. Soc., Vol. LXX, p. 103.

river of the same name falling into the gulf of Martaban. Barros mentions it as one of the ports of the Malay Peninsula.[62] The principal industry of the people of Tavoy appears to have been the manufacture of camphor. "The Tavoyers", says Gerini, "make an impure camphor from it (chapa or chapu tree) by a very simple process...... ...The product in its refined form appears identical in all its properties with the Chinese camphor.[63]

Ramaṇa: It is not easy to identify Ramaṇa, as there is more than one place bearing this name in Indo-China and the Archipelago. There is in the first place Ramannadēśa which is said to correspond to Pegu and Arakan.[64] Then there is an island called Ramaṇakadvīpa, mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. It is said to be identical with the island of Rami, Ramin or Raumi of the Arab geographers and travellers. Gerini believes that it is the district otherwise called "Lameri or Lamri, that is, north-western part of Sumatra."[65] According to Barbosa, Moorish merchants visited Pegu which formed part of Ramannadēśa for the purpose of purchasing musk among other articles. As musk was one of the articles of import from the group of places referred to before, it seems probable that Ramaṇa was identical with Ramannadēśa which is Pegu. If this identification is correct, musk was brought to the Andhra country both from Goa and Ramannadēśa.

We have now to consider the places which imported *himāmbu* (rose-water), *kuṁkumaraja* (pollen of saffron) and *agaru* (aloe-wood).

Rose-water: This commodity, according to Chau Ju-kua,[66] was sent loaded on camels by the Ta-shi (the Arabs) to the island of Kish on the Persian Gulf. They put it "on board ships on arriving in this country to barter with other countries." Le Strange states[67] that "the province of Fars was celebrated for the so-called attar of roses (atar or 'itar in Arabic signifies a 'perfume' or essence), which of diverse qualities was made specially from rose that grew in the plain of Jur or Firuzabad".[68] This is corroborated by Ibn Hankul who states

62. Gerini, p. 86.

63. Ibid, p. 485, n. 3.

64. Ibid, p. 57.

65. Ibid, p. 464, 2, p. 677.

66. Chau Ju-kua, p. 134.

67. *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 257.

68. Chau Ju-kua, p. 134 n. 1, 2.

that "rose-water from Fars was exported to all parts of the world."[69] According to Barbosa one of the articles of import to Hurmuz (Ormuz) from Adem was rose-water. From Hurmuz it was probably brought to Goa and from thence to the Andhra country.

Saffron: This appears to have been a characteristic product of Kashmir, and it was also grown in some of the countries in Central and Western Asia. According to Barbosa, Saffron was one of of the articles which was brought to Hurmuz (Ormuz) for the purpose of exchange. Probably, it was imported to Goa from Ormuz or from one of the ports in North Western India.

Agaru (aloe-wood): This commodity also was brought from the East, though the particular place from which it was imported is not known. However, Chau Ju-kua states that Hainan (in China) produced "Gharu-wood of a pure and lasting fragrance."[70] *Gharus*-wood (*agaru*), was an important product of the island of Sumatra also.

Whichever might have been the place of production, these articles (sandal, aloe-wood, camphor, rose-water, musk and pollen of saffron) were imported to Taruṇāsīri, Tavāyi, Gōva, Ramaṇa and other places, from which members of the Avaci family brought them to the Andhra country.

The Telugu work *Haravilāsam* contains a prose passage[71] which furnishes another group of places, including islands and towns, like the one referred to above, and the several articles imported from them The places mentioned in this group are Cīni, Siṁhala, Tavāyi, Hurumuñji, and Jōṇaṅgi, and the articles said to have been brought from them are *dhana* (treasure), *kanakavastu* (articles made of gold), *vāhana* (conveyances - vehicles, horses and the like), *māṇikya* (rubies) and *gāṇikya* (courtesans). All these places with the exception of Jōṇaṅgi are already identified. Though it is not possible to mark out the special article of export from each of the above places as stated before, it seems probable that *māṇikyas* and *gāṇikyas* were exported from Jōṇaṅgi. The word Jōṇaṅgi which is in current use in Telugu, denotes

69. Ibid, p. 203.

70. Ibid, p. 205.

71. "చీనిసింహళ తవాయి హురుముంజి జోణంగి ప్రభృతి నానాద్వీప నగరంబులకు ధనకనకవస్తువాహన మాణిక్య గాణిక్యంబులు తెప్పించియు..."

— Hr. VI., I, Pr. 7.

a Mussalman trader of the Tamil country, otherwise known as Labbes.[72] C. P. Brown states that this is a corruption of the Tamil word, Cōṇahar.[73] This word is derived in its turn from the Sanskrit *yavana*, meaning a Greek, an Arab, or a Moor.[74] In the middle ages the term could have only denoted an Arab or a Moor, as the Greeks had disappeared centuries ago from the Indian continent. The Jōṇaṅgis must have been so called because they either migrated from Jōṅaṅgi (yōnaka) country or were somehow connected with it intimately. Since the Jōṇaṅgis, are Mussalmans by faith, it may naturally be held that they derived their name either because they migrated from, say, Arabia. Persia, or some other Mussalman country, or had intimate trade relations with them. However that may be, the Jōṇaṅgi country cannot be identified with any Mussalman countries known to us. Though handsome slave girls could have been purchased in the market of any Mussalman country, rubies could not have been procured therefrom, as none of them is known to have produced that gem. It must be sought for elsewhere. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the middle ages the western Laos or Shan country was known as the Yōnakadēs'a,[75] because it was occupied at one time by offshoots of the great Yavan, Yon, or Yuen race.[76] As ruby is available plentifully in upper Burma and the Shan States, which roughly correspond to the ancient Yōnakadēs'a, the Jōṇaṅgi country which supplied rubies to the Andhra country may be identical with this region.

We do not know the exports of the Andhra country in this period, though cloths, printed and plain, must have been one of the important items.

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72. Jōṇaṅgi means also a breed of hunting dogs famous for their speed.

73. *Dict. of Mixed Telugu*, p. 40 (1854).

74. *Tamil Lexicon*, p. 1679.

75. Gerini, p. 132.

76. Ibid, p. 58.

CHAPTER VII.

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

The favourite games and amusements in a community indicate fairly the standard of culture which they have reached in their tastes and their fancies. The games and amusements of the Andhras in the Reḍḍi period make an interesting and useful study. Many of these have taken such a deep root in the tradition of the people that even to-day they hold their ground and fill the countryside with innocent merriment. Age and social changes have, no doubt, resulted in the disappearance of some, but several still linger in remote parts of the country. The decay of feudalism, the growth of towns, railways and cinemas, and the impact of western culture, have all been responsible for the disappearance of many of these indigenous pastimes.

Some of the games and amusements contributed to the health and proper development of the body, while some others gave scope for the play of intellect and individual skill. Spectacles and diversions, such as wandering minstrels with their *taṁburas* and cymbals, conjurers with their skilful feats of magic and sleight of hand, doṁbaris or rope-dancers and great gymnasts with their feats of strength and skill, Bhāgavatas, or the stage-players with their *yakṣagānas* or dramas set to music and dance, ballad singers with their emotional narrative songs and rustic dances, and puppet-players with their beautifully-trimmed leather puppets representing mythological characters, and painted with variegated colours and adorned with ornaments of different kinds, all these contributed to the enjoyment of the people. The votaries of these pursuits enriched and gave colour to the social life of the village, for which the society in its turn treated them with affection and showed its appreciation by customary dues and other gifts. These professional actors had also annuities or yearly grants in kind from every village.

The holiday season of the village generally commenced with the annual wedding festival (*kalyāṇōtsava*) of the village god, or with the *jātara* or the annual feast of the village goddess. Generally, this festive season was the period when the professional players and actors who had annuities from the village, visited it, and gave performances. The chief items of entertainment in those days were music and dance.

Music :

Among all the fine arts Music held a high and unique position. It was patronised by kings and the aristocracy of the land. Proficiency or a good working knowledge in it was one of the requisites for a nobleman or prince to qualify him to be a member of the cultured society. Many of the rulers of this age encouraged this art and were great musicians themselves. Among such patrons and scholars in music, to name only a few, may be mentioned chiefs like Pratāpa Vīra Gaṅgarāju [1] of the Surabhi dynasty, Kṛṣṇadēva [2] of the Pottapiṭāla family, and Viśvēśvara [3] of the Cāḷukya family. Of these the first two belonged to the fourteenth century and the last to the fifteenth. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma Reḍḍi, the fifth king of Koṇḍavīḍu, was an adept in music. He was the author of a treatise on Music, called *Saṅgīta-cintāmaṇi*. The two manuscripts [4] of this work which are now available, begin with the description of *vīṇa* in the *vādya* section, and go up to (Chapter XV in the) *nṛtta* portion describing *dēśi nṛttas*. Dēvarāya I, son of the Vijayanagar ruler Bukkarāya I, and for sometime the governor of Udayagiri, was another great scholar in music. [5] King Kumāragiri and his brother-in-law Kāṭaya Vēma *were learned in the technique of both music and dance.* Siṅga II of the Rēceṛla family, a master in the Science of Music, wrote a commentary, named *Saṅgītasudhākaram*, on the *Saṅgītaratnākaram* of Śārṅgadēva. Vīrabhadra Reḍḍi, king of Rājamahēndra Rājya was a master in music. He was learned both in the *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa* of the *Saṅgīta Śāstra*. [6] It may be taken for granted that these chiefs who were very learned, both in the artistic and scientific aspects of music, were great patrons of that art, and contributed much to its development. Jannaya Siddhāmātya, who accepted dedication of the

1. S. I. I. Vol VI, No. 725.
   "*Ās'adhīs'akṛpānam ruci-kalitayas'as: = candrikas-sat-kalāvān Saṅgītajñō vadnāyah*................."

2. S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 780.
   "*Prādat Kṛṣṇadēvas-saṅgītambōdhi-Candras-sakala-guṇa-nidhir*........."

3. "సంగీతసాహిత్యసరణి నేర్చి" —Kv. Cd., I, v. 9.

4. See chapter IX on Literature (Sanskrit).

5. Mack, Mss., No. 15—4—17.
   '*Sōyam-rājati Dēvarāyanṛpatih Sangitaratnakarah* "—Preṛaḷḷapāḍu grant, dated in 1891 A. D.

6. "వేంగి విషయాధీశ్వర,
   శంకర గంగా తనూజ, సాహిత్యకళా
   సంగీత లక్ష్యలక్షణ
   భంగీ సర్వజ్ఞ......"—Ks. Kh., V, v. 388.

Telugu work *Vikramārkacaritram*, was a *Sangītakalādōhala*,[7] one interested in the art of Music. Nāganātha, to whom the Telugu poet Bhairava dedicated his kavya *Śrīraṅgamāhātmyam*, is described as *Viṇādi-sangīta-kalā-vilōla*,[8] one who was fond of music connected with vīṇā and other instruments. Siṅgaya Nāyaka, brother of Mummaḍi Nāyaka of the Mangipūḍi family of Kōṛukoṇḍa, was a great patron of music. He is said to have always delighted in sporting with women, proficient in playing on vīṇā, and who were illustrious for their charming and attractive dances.[9] Any number of instances may be cited to show that this age was adorned with many scholars and patrons in music.

From very early times Andhras had a special aptitude for music. They did much in times of yore to develop that art (*gānakalā*) and contributed a special *rāga* called *Andhrī* after their own name to the series of musical notes. This fact is known from a treatise on Music, named *Bṛhaddēśi*[10] written by Mataṅgamuni. The author states in his work that in the opinion of Śārdula *Māḷava-pañcama* has six *rāgiṇis* of which *Andhrī* was one.

Vocal and instrumental music was much developed in the Telugu country by the time of the Reḍḍi kings. The *rāgas* and *tālas* enumerated in the Sanskrit musical treatises have all been mentioned in some of the Telugu works produced about the beginning of this age. Pālkuṛiki Sōmanātha refers, in his works *Basava Purāṇa* and *Paṇḍitārādhya caritra*, to the *rāgas*, *tālas*, and the many different kinds of *vīṇas* then in vogue.[11] He mentions more than twenty or twenty five kinds of *vīṇas*, of which *Kanakavīṇa*, *Brahma* or *Brāhmivīṇa* find mention even in inscriptions of the period.[12] The *dēśi* terminology used by the author in the above works bears evidence to the great development that art had attained in the Telugu land. It cannot, however, be asserted that all the *dēśi* terms are exclusively Telugu. A close scrutiny of these terms linguistically may enable one to estimate the contribution of the different nationalities in the Deccan to the development of the art of Music.

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7. "సాహసవరసాహసాంక! సంగీతకళా
దోహల......" —Vk. Cr., V, v. 1.

8. Sr. Mh., II, 440, p. 67.

9. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 266, v. 39.

10. Vide *Bṛhaddēśi*, published in the Trivendrum Sanskrit Series, No. 94, p. 186; and J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, p. 14.

11. Bs. Pr., III, pp. 89-91; and Pn. Cr., *Parvataprakaraṇam*, pp. 443-44.

12. S. I. I., V., No. 1150.

Just as at the present day, the musical system then in vogue was that of *jatis* and *grāmas*.[13] In those days a *gītam* without *tānaka rāga* was not appreciated.[14] The musical compositions that appear to have been commonly sung in those days were *sudhādi gītams*,[15] *sūḷādi gītams*[16] and *jati gītams*. Besides these there were folk songs called

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13. "జతులు నానాగీతజాతముల్ గాక..."—Pn. Cr., III, p. 704.

"జతిగీతములమీఁదఁ జప్పట లిడుచు..."— Bs. Pr., II, p. 29.

"శ్రుతతాళంబున వీరగుంఫితక ధుంధుంకిటాత్కారసం
గతి వాయింపుచు నాంతరాళిక యతిగ్రామాశ్రితామంబుగా..."—Kd. Rm., v. 116.

Yati in the second line in the above verse seems to be *jati*. "According:to the method of *S'ardūla* the *jatis* of *s'rutis* are five in number, namely, *dīpta āyata karuṇa*, *mṛduh*, and *madhya*. - *Sangīta Sudhā* (J. M. A., I, p. 143).

"చచ్చత్పుట చాచత్పుటషట్పితాపుత్రకసంపద్వేష్టకోద్ఘట్టాదితాళంబుల
ఘంటారవశంకరాభరణాదిగ్రామంబుల......" —Ks. Kh., VI, Pr. 40.

"A *grāma* is a group of *svaras* forming the basis of the *mūrchanas*. The great sages who had known the truth of the Science of Music say that this is the definition in general (of a *grāma*). Of the three kinds of *grāmas* the *Ṣhadja grāma* is said to be the first, secondly the *madhya grāma*, and the third, the *gāndharva grāma*. The *gāndhrva grāma* does not exist in the human world. It is fit to be sung only by Nārada and others."—Ibid, vv. 175–183, p. 146.

14 "తంత్రులు లేని వీణయును దానక రాగము లేని గీతముల్
మంత్రులు లేని రాజ్యము సమానము లిన్నియు వ్యర్థకార్యముల్..."
—Sm. Dv., I, i, v. 191.

The expression *tānaka raga* may mean that singing (*gītam*) does not shine without the elaboration of the *raga* through *tāna*; or it may refer to the employment of the traditional and auspicious sounds in the singing of the *rāga*, namely, *tēna* or *tennaka*, mentioned by the treatises as one of the limbs or *aṅgas* of *gītam* or song. I am indebted to Dr. V. Rāghavan M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras for this explanation.

15 "మోహినీకన్య దనచేతి రత్నవిపంచి మ్రోయించుచు షడ్జపంచమ
స్వరంబుల ననేక రాగతాళ సంకీర్తనంబుల సుధాధి గీతంబులు
పాడుచుండె........ ......"—Rk. Cr., II, v, 89.

16. "సాళాదిగీతములను సు
తాళము ధ్రువ గురువు లఘుతుతంబులు తమలో
మేళనమునఁ జెడకుండఁగఁ
దాళము వాయించె నొకతె తగ్గక కోలఁదిగా." —Sm. Dv. II, i, v. 169.

The phrase *sūḷādi gītamulu* instead of *sāḷādi gītamulu* is found in some manuscripts of this work. The former term appears to be the correct one. S'rīmati M. A. Sundarambal, mentions in the course of her paper on "*The Musical compositions of South India*", many of the varieties, like *gīta*, *sūḷādis*

in Telugu *padamulu*, metrical compositions set to music both devotional and ordinary. The popularity attained by *padamulu* during this period made the later Telugu poets write *lakṣaṇa* relating to them. Tāḷḷapāka Tirumalayya, a Telugu poet of the sixteenth century, gives, in his work *Sankīrtanalakṣaṇa*, definitions of musical compositions called *sankīrtanas*. He says that a *padamu* may be written in vernacular language (*dēśa bhāṣā*), Sanskrit, or Prākṛt. A list of names of such varieties of songs (*gēyams*) is provided by Pālkuṛki Sōmanatha's works. They are *prabhāta-padamulu*, *tummeda - padamulu*, *ānanda - padamulu*, *parvata-padamulu*, *Śankara-padamulu*, *nivāḷi-padamulu*, *Vālēśu-padamulu*, *gobbi-padamulu*, *vennela-padamulu*,[17] and *ēlalu*.[18] Of these *tummeda-padamulu*, *gobbi-padamulu*, *Vālēśu-padamulu* and *vennela-padamulu* are in vogue even today in the country side, though none of the compositions of those days with a very few exceptions here and there, has come down to us. *Dhavaḷams*,[19]

Ṭhaya, *Prabandha*, *Svarajati*, *Jatisvara* and so on. "*Sūḷadis*, are", she writes, "similar to *gītas* to some extent in as far as the structure is concerned, but differ greatly in character. *Sūḷadis* are, to put it briefly, *talamlaikas*, composed as illustrations of the *sūḷadi talas*. *Sūḷa* is a corrupted form of the word *Sūḍa*. In one piece it employs all the seven principal *talas* and sometimes their varieties. *Sūḷadis* are of a much higher standard than the *gītas* and require great scholarship to handle them. Not only is a *sūḷadi* set in different *talas*, but also in different *kalas* (speed). In the *sūḷadis*, *akṣaras* are fewer than in the *gitas* and there are vowel extensions in plenty"—J. M. U., XI, p. 216 (1939)

17. "పదములుఁ దుమ్మెదపదముల్ ప్రభాత
పదములుఁ బర్వతపదము లానంద
పదములు శంకరపదముల్ నివాళి
పదములు వాలేశుపదములు గొబ్బి
పదములు వెన్నెలపదములు..."—Pn. Cr., III p. 518.

ఆనందగీతంబు లగ్గింపువారు
పూని శంకరగీతములు పాడువారు..."— Bs. Pr., II, p. 29.

18. "ధరలోకై యేలలు పాడెదువారు..."— Pn. Cr., V, p. 365.
"అలినాదంబులు దానమానములు గా నాలపింపఁగావించుఁ దో
ష్యాలి మెరా ర్త్రోక్త తె పాడు విశ్వసిద్ధు నేలాదిప్రబంధంబులన్"—Kv. Cd., III, v. 120.

"*Ēla* is a very auspicious *prabandha* as the name is formed by the three letters a, i and la, the letters of Viṣṇu, Manmatha and Lakṣmī. In this composition much importance is attached to the literary aspect, and several varieties are distinguished by the *sahitya* portions, the metre, the language etc. The subject matter should be of sterling quality and the *prabandha* should speak of his admirable qualities."
—J.M.U., XI, p. 237.

19 "వినుతికెక్కినట్టి వేదిమీఁద
ప్రపదములు ప్రోక్కించి చంద్రముఖులు
ధవళములువాడ ద్విజులు మంత్రములు చదువ..."—Rk. Cr., V, v. 77.

kalyāṇa-gītams or marriage songs, and *mangaḷa-gītams,*[20] that is, songs sung on auspicious occasions and on the occasion of worship, either in temples or in private houses, may also be classed among *gēyams*. It was the custom in those days to sing particularly *Gaurīkalyāṇam*[21] on the occasion of a marriage festival. Poet Srīnātha refers, in his *Bhīmvēśvara Purāṇam*, to yet another variety of *gēyam* called *jādara* songs,[22] sung at Dakṣavāṭi in *Hindōḷarāga*, especially in the

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20. "కదళీ పేరంటాండ్రు కళ్యాణములు పాడ....."

S. I. I., VI, No. 941.

21. "విశాలవిజృంభితజగజ్జేగీయమాన గౌరీకల్యాణగానపరికల్పితకర్ణ
పారణంబున......—Vk. Cr., IV. Pr. 130.
"భేరీజయఘంటాదిమ
హారావములును వసుంధరామరవిజయా
శీరుక్తి సుశబ్దములును
గౌరీకల్యాణవిభవగానధ్వనులున్"...—Bj.Rj., IV, v. 87.

సారోదారసుధారస
ధారాహారాను సారి ధరణీదివిజో
దీరిత వేదధ్వనితో
గౌరీకల్యాణమధురగానము మెఱసెన్.—Vk. Cr., IV, v. 179.

Gaurīkalyaṇam, the marriage between Gauri and S'iva, was the ideal marriage, since the latter has given away half of his body to the former, and became *Ardhanarīs'vara*. Hence, to put forth this grand ideal before the married couple, *Gaurīkaḷyaṇam* was sung in those days on the occasion of a marriage celebration. In course of time it became almost customary to observe it as a part of the ceremony itself.

22 " జాదర జాదరంచు మృదుచర్చరి గీతులు వారుణీరసా
స్వాదమదాతిరేకములఁ జంద్రికఁ గాయఁగ దక్షవాటిలో
వేగుల వేదులన్ గనకవీణలు మీటుచుఁ బాడి రచ్చరల్
మోద మలర్పఁగా భువనమోహనవిగ్రహు భీమనాథునిన్."

—Bh. Pr., V, v. 102; Vide, Andhri, Vol. III, pp. 180-181,

"సుందరగాంధర్వ...........గంధర్వవంశోద్భవల్
హిందోళంబునఁ బాడి రచ్చరలు భీమేశుం ద్రిలోకాధిపున్
మందారద్రుమవాటియందు సుమనోమైరేయముల్ గ్రోలుచున్."—Bh. Pr., V, v. 97.

In a paper on '*Bhīmakhaṇḍamu and paṭhabhēdamulu* contributed to the Telugu Journal *Āndhri*. Mr. Nidadavolu Venkatarao discusses about the correct reading of the verse and the significance of the word '*Jādara*'. On the analogy of the,' *jājara saṅkīrtanams* (songs with the *pallavi jājara*) written by poet Tāḷḷapākam Annamācārya of the sixteenth century, he comes to the conclusion that the term *jadara* or *jajara* represents the *pallavi* of a type of songs.

spring season during the *vasantōtsava* celebrations. Of these above mentioned varieties of *gēyams vennela padamulu* referred to by Pālkuṟiki Sōmanātha, seem to be the same as the *Candamāma* (moon) *padamulu* in the *Sankīrtanalakṣaṇa* mentioned above. In this work the author, Tirumalayya, mentions *darūvu* (Sanskrit *dhruvā*), *jakkularēku*, *ardhacandrika* and *Candamāma-padamu* and *ēla*, as varieties of *padamu*, and gives their *lakṣaṇa*[23].

Instrumental music was much in requisition in temples also. We come to know from inscriptions of the early mediaeval period recording gifts for instituting services in temples that, in all important *kṣētras*, provision was made for those who played on different kinds of instruments, like *muraja*, *āvaja*, *kāhaḷa* and so on. Some of these instruments had different varieties, such as the *murajas*, *vīra-maddaliyas*, and ordinary *maddalas* among the drums.

In a manuscript (No. 785 of D. C. T. M., Tanjore Palace Library) entitled *Cillara padyamulu*, containing verses from a number of classical works, like *Kāsīkhaṇḍam*, *Manucaritra*, and *Vasucaritra* we find the following reading of the verse in the *Bhīmēsvara Puraṇa* referred to above:

జాదుర జాదురంపుమృదు చంచరిగీతిల వారుణీరసా
స్వాదమదారికేకమలచంద్రికఁ గాయఁగ దక్షవాటికన్
పీధుల వీధులన్ కనకవీణెలు మీటుచుఁ బాడి రచ్చరల్
మోద మెలర్పఁగా భువనమోహనవిగ్రహు భీమనాథునిన్.

The first two lines of this verse also are faulty. The correct reading of those lines seems to be as follows:

"జాదుర జాదురంచు మృదుచర్చరిగీతుల వారుణీరసా
స్వాదమదాతిరేకమునఁ జంద్రికఁ గాయఁగ దక్షవాటికన్"

23. The verses quoted below from the *Sankīrtanalakṣaṇa* give the definitions of *Candamāma padamu*, *ēlapadamu* and *daruvu* respectively.

దుస్తర విప్రలంభమున దూతికతోడ మొఱంగి చంద్రవి
న్యస్తధరస్వభావమున నాయకుఁ డేనియుఁ గాంతయేనియున్
విస్తరవాదివాదముల వేడుకఁ జందురుఁ జేసికొన్న చోఁ
బ్రస్తుతికెక్కు! దర్పదము భాసురమై ద్వి చతుష్పదాకృతిన్."

నాయకు వర్ణనపూర్వమై నయముఁ గలిగి
మ్లేచ్ఛపరిభాషఁ దగి గ్రామికతమైన
యేలపాట సరంబునా నిలఁ జెలంగు
మహిత నాయక సంబుద్ధి మకుటము."

Dance :

Music and Dance were allied arts. Each complimented the other and flourished with the growth of the other. The *Nṛttaratnāvaḷi*, a treatise on Dance produced in the thirteenth century in the Kākatīya court, mentions the various occasions on which a dance recital was deemed necessary. It was generally presented for the sake of one's prosperty and welfare, on the occasion of a marriage celebration, the birth of a son, of nuptials, *vrata*, *parva*, pilgrimage, entry into a new city or a house, anointment, (*mahābhiṣēka*), *mahādāna*, examination festival (of scholarship), victory etc. [24] Especially religious ceremonies and rituals were never performed without music and dance. In short, music and dance were necessary accessaries to all public functions, feasts and festivals, religious rites and rituals, and court assemblies. Religious worship even in private houses of the aristocracy was not usually performed without the important item of music and dance. The Reḍḍi kings of Rajamahēndravaram were ardent S'aivas, and in accordance with the injunctions of the *Āgamas* they worshipped Śiva six times a day, and this worship included the presentation of music and dance. [25] No religious ceremony in temples was complete without these two performances. On these occasions hymns in praise of Śiva and Viṣṇu were sung in their respective temples to the acompaniment of dance. For this purpose separate endowments in the form of service *ināms*, *vṛttis*, as they were called, were made by devotees or *bhaktas*. The recipients of these service *ināms* include members of both

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మహీమహిమాఖ్యఁగ ద్రుత మధ్యమానములను
శ్రీతర్జంబు తాళంబుఁ జెన్నుమీఱ
మునుపఁ బాడిన పద వాక్యములఁ బొసంగి
ధరణి ద్విచతుష్పదాకృతి దరువు చెలఁగు."

24. "त्यागोद्वाहमहाभिषेकनगरी वेश्मप्रवेशोदक
क्रीडासुप्रियसङ्गमव्रतमहादानात्मजोत्पत्तिषु
यात्रापर्वपरीक्षणोत्सवजयानन्दप्रतिष्ठेहित
प्राप्तिष्वभ्युदयाय नृत्तमुचितंस्यादेवपूर्वाद्रिषु॥"

25. "వల్లకి చక్కి కాహళము డంకము ఢక్క హుడుక్క ఝర్ఝరల్
ఝల్లరి యాదిగాఁగలుగు శబ్దపరంపర తాళశబ్దమై
యుల్లసితం ప్రబంధముల కొప్పగ నాడుదు రఁగ వేదిపై
బల్లవపాణు లీశ్వరుని బంటమహేశులు పూజసేయఁగన్."— Ks. Kh., I.v. 56.

the sexes. Generally, women of the dancing class or courtesans were from time immemorial, the custodians of the twin arts of music and dance. They learnt these arts from their childhood, and after attaining high proficiency and skill in them, made a living by them. There were many varieties of *prabandhas* or musical compositions, of which *Dhruva*, *Mandraka*, and *Ēlā prabandhas* appear to have been popular in those days. These are alluded to in the contemporary literary works.[26]

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26. "ఆడిరి ప్రమోదనృత్తము
పాడిరి మంద్రకమహాప్రబంధములు..." — Ks, Kh., II, v. 87.

"గంధర్వులు దివ్యగాంధర్వంబున మంద్రకాది మహాప్రబంధంబులు
పాడిరి..." — Ibid, VII, Pr. 220.

"గంధర్వుల్ పదువాల్గురు దోషములు దక్కన్ దాళమానంబులన్
గాంధర్వంబు ధ్రువాప్రబంధసరణిన్ గావింపగా వాద్యముల్
ధిం ధిం ధిక్కు ధిమిక్కు తక్కు ధిక తోం ధిక్కు త్తకో ఝుక్కు ణిం
ధిం ధాం ఝుంకు ఝుక్కు ధిగ్గడధి ధా ధీయంచు మ్రోసెన్ వెసన్..."

—Sm. Dv., I, iv. 129.

Nādeṇḍla Gōpa, an officer of Kṛṣṇadēvaraya of Vijayanagar, quotes, in his commentary *Candrika* on the drama, *Prabōdhacandrōdayam*, the following verses about *dhruva* from Kumāragiri Reḍḍi's *Vasantarājīyam*.

" तथोक्तं वसन्तराजीये ॥
सूचने पात्र भेदानां तत्स्वभावार्थसूचनी
या गीतिः साध्रुवा तुल्यसंविधानविशेषगो ॥
प्रावेशिक्याक्षेपिकीच तथा प्रासादिकीति च
नैष्कामिक्यान्तरीचेति तासां लक्षणमुच्यते ॥
प्रवेशसूचकादौतु ध्रुवा प्रावेशिकी मता
प्रसङ्गमध्येऽन्यार्थ स्याक्षेपा दाक्षेपिकी मता ॥
प्रासादिकीतु पात्राणां व्याकुलानां प्रसादनात्
निष्कामसूचिकायान्ते ध्रुवानैष्कामिकी भवेत् ॥
विषादे विस्मृतौ क्रोधे प्रमादे संभ्रमे मदे
दोषप्रच्छादनादौच गीयते यातुसान्तरी ॥— इति.

Dhruva, according to the above verses, is a kind of *gītam* sung to indicate the different characters and their qualities in any performance. It is of four kinds namely, *pravēśiki-dhruva*. *akṣēpiki-dhruva*, *prasadikī-dkruva* and *naiṣkramiki dhruva*. S'rīnātha refers to the *pravēśiki-dhruva* in the following verse in his *Haravilsāam* while describing Indra's visit to S'iva.

Like Music Dance also thrived during the middle ages, having been patronised both by the princes and the rich. Pālkuṟiki Sōmanātha's *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra*, furnishes ample information about dance. In this work the poet describes the various entertainments, on the night of the *Mahāśivarātri* day, given at Śrīśailam, the famous Śaivakṣētra, when the Śaiva pilgrims who visited that place kept holy vigil. In this connection the poet furnishes much information about both Music and Dance.[27]

Dance is calssified into two distinct divisions, called *mārga* and *deśi*, the former being the classical dance, and the latter the country or folk dance. The classical dance consisted of two varieties, the masculine *tāṇḍava*, and the femnine *lāsya*;[28] the former was practised by Śiva, its traditional *pradhāna vidyāguru*, and the latter was invented by his consort Pārvatī.[29] The classical dance was patronised by the aristocracy, kings, nobles and learned men, and the country dance by the common people.

The Pāśupata system of Śaivism which greatly flourished during the Kākatīya period, appears not a little responsible for the development of the classical dance. The exquisite sculptures in the Rāmappa

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"ఆకేళిని గంధర్వులు
కైవారపదానుసారకమనీయము గా
బ్రాకేళిక ధ్రువా గా
నావళులం బరిఢవించి రంచితలీలన్."—Hr. Vl., VI, v. 9.

27. Pn. Cr., V, Parvata prakaraṇa, pp. 486-448.

28. Koravi Gōparāju, a Telugu poet of this period, describes, in the following verse, a danceuse playing on *lasya*.

" తనువున గీతాలంబన
మును జేతుల నర్థవ్యక్తియును నేత్రయుగం
బున భావముఁ బదముల దా
ళనిర్ణయమ్మును నెఱయఁగ లాస్యము నెఱపెన్."—Sm. Dv., I, i, v. 183.

See also Kv. Cd., II, v. 57; and Vk. Cr., II, v. 91.

29. "దత్తిల కోహళ భరత మతంగ నందికేశ్వరాది మునిశానుసారంబున వివిధ
ప్రబంధంబుల నిర్మించి దానికి బహువిధ స్థానమండల చారీకర
ణాంగహారరేచకదశవర్తనాది శిరోభాగ చతుర్భావ చాలనంబులు
నెఱయ దేశీ మార్గ లాస్యతాండవంబులు పరిఢవించుచు..."—Ks. Kh., VI, Pr. 40.

"మానకేతనహరుఁ డెట్లు మెచ్చు నెట్లు
తాను తాండవవిద్యాప్రధానగురుఁడు
అలన పార్వతి సుకుమారలాస్యజనని."—Ibid, v. 169.

temples which contain finely-carved statues in beautiful dance poses and those in the Svayambhūliṅgēśvara temple in the fort of Warangal, containing miniature representations of S'iva's dance, which were unearthed during the recent excavations by the Archaeological department of H.E.H. the Nizam, fully bear out the great level which the art of Dance had reached during the Kākatīya period. *Nṛttaratnāvaḷi* was produced under the patronage of the Kākatīya monarchs. The author of this work, Jāyapa Nāyaka, was the *gajasādhanika* (*gajasāhiṇi*), the commander of the elephant forces, of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva. The author states that he was taught the science of dance by Guṇḍāmātya at the instance of his lord, Gaṇapatidēva.[30]

The interest in Dance did not abate in the post Kākatīya period but grew more than before. Treatises on classical dance written by sage Bharata and others, were regularly studied by poets and scholars as well. Like other Sciences, brāhmans also learnt and studied this art. Sūrāmātya, father of Vennelakaṇṭi Annaya, the author of the Telugu work, *ṣōḍaśakumāracaritra*, is praised as the modern *Bharatācārya.*[31] Some of the brāhmans made their living by teaching it to the courtesan girls, who paid their *kaṭnams* to their gurus on *Davana-Punnama*. Some of the kings of this age were skilled in the science of Dance. King Vis'vēs'vara of the Cāḷukya family of Elamañci, king Kumāragiri

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30. "प्रेष्यप्रज्ञामतिशयवतीं स्वामिभक्तश्च हृद्या
दाकौमाराद्गणपतिनृपो जायनं यं समर्च्य
गुण्डामात्ये सकलसुमनः सेव्यमानोजयन्तम्
वाचांपत्यौ हरिरिवकला श्लाघनीयां व्यनैषीत् ॥

As the following *s'loka*, purporting to give the opinion of the great Sanskrit scholar and master of all Sciences, Vira Bhallaṭa dēs'ika, who flourished in the court of Kakati Pratāparudra, is found in a work on *Naṭya S'astra* in the Tanjore Palace Library S'ri Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garus uggests that the opinion, whatever that might be given by Vira Bhallaṭa, must have related to a question concerning Nāṭya. He puts forth this piece of evidence, though frail, to show that Pratāparudra also was a patron of *Naṭya* See, *Sarasvati*, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 7.

"इतीवकथयामास वीरभल्लाटदेशिकः
प्रतापरुद्रदेवस्य सन्निधौ सर्वशास्त्रवित् ॥

31. ౪. " . ...
నాటకముఖకోహళాది నాట్యరహస్య
జ్ఞాటన నిపుణప్రజ్ఞా
పాటవచాతుర్య మాత్రభరతాచార్య" —VIII, v. 91.

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80. "प्रेष्यप्रज्ञामतिशयवतीं स्वामिभक्तश्च हृद्या
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गुण्डामात्ये सकलसुमनः सेव्यमानोजयन्तम्
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प्रतापरुद्रदेवस्य सन्निधौ सर्वशास्त्रवित् ॥

81. ४. " . ...
నాటకముఖ్యమార్గాది నాట్యరహస్య
ఘటన నిపుణప్రజ్ఞ
పాటవచాతుర్య నూత్న భరతాచార్య" —VIII, v. 91.

and his prime-minister and brother-in-law, Kāṭaya Vēma, Kumāragiri's successor, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, and Siṅgabhūpāla of the Rēceṛla family, were all adepts in the science of Nāṭya. Some of these wrote commentaries on old treatises on Dance and also original works in Sanskrit. King Kumāragiri, son of Anavōtā Reḍḍi wrote *Vasantarājīyam*, an original work on *Nāṭya*, and his minister Kāṭaya Vēma wrote a commentary, *Kumāragirirājīyam*, on the dramas of Kālidāsa, in accordance with the tenets propounded in the former work. *Sangītacintāmaṇi* of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍaviḍu deals with some of the *nṛttas* also then in vogue.

Many dramas were written in Sanskrit by Vāmanabaṭṭa Bāṇa, Siṅgabhūpāla, Pas'upati Nāganātha, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and others. These dramas were generally enacted on the occasion of the *vasanta-mahōtsava* celebrations during the spring festival, or of the *kalyāṇa-mahōtsava* of local gods. Pas'upati Nāganātha, the court-poet of the Rēceṛla chiefs, wrote a drama named *Madanavilāsabhāṇa*[32] for the occasion of the spring festival of god Kalyāṇa Nārāyaṇa. The *Sṛṅgārabhūṣaṇabhāṇa* of Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, the court poet of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, was enacted at the time of the *Caitrayātrāmahōtsava* of god Virūpākṣa of Pampātīrtha. Similarly, the drama *Ratnapāñcālika*[33], written by Kumāra Siṅga II, son of Anavōtā Nāyaka of Rājukoṇḍa, was put on boards on the occasion of the annual festival of Mailāradēva of Rajukoṇḍa. These instances are enough to show that it was a general custom to enact a drama of one of the ten types, in *pandals* temporarily improvised for the occasion, during the spring and other seasonal festivals. These plays were intended for learned scholars and the aristocracy. There are allusions either figuratively or otherwise to *nāṭakaśālas* or dramatic halls, and *nāṭakas* or dramas in contemporary Telugu literature[34]. In private *naṭakaśālas* lives of noted individuals of either sex were enacted in the form of a drama. The Telugu work, *Krīḍābhirāmam*, mentions an instance of this kind. We are told that the life of Mācaladēvi, a reputed *vēśyāṅganā*, and friend of Kākati Pratāparudra, was dramatised and

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32. *Bhaṇa* is one of the ten types of dramas (*das'a-rūpakas*).

33. This work has been recently printed in the Trivendram Sanskrit Series, and translated also into Telugu and published by the Mahārāja of Pithāpuram.

34. "సంపెంగ నాటకశాలలఁ గలహంస

లతనుగీతంబుల నాడుచుండ" — VK. Cr., viii, v. 62.

"ప్రమథపురాతనపటుచరిత్రములఁ

గ్రమమొందబహు నాటకము లాడువారు" —Pn. Cr., V, p. 485.

enacted in her *naṭakaśālas*.[35] There were however *nāṭyamaṇḍapas* in temples in all the important Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *kṣetras*, where the *līlas* of Śiva and Viṣṇu were played, to the accompaniment of instrumental music, by dancers who had *vṛittis* in the temple. *Nāṭya-maṇḍapa* or the dancing hall had become one of the prominent features in the developed plan of temple-architecture during the middle ages. The traditional number of *nāṭyakūṭas* in the holy place of Śrīśailam is 'sixty four'. The Telugu poet, Śrīnātha, informs us that on the occasion of the *Śanivārōtsava* or the customary festival celebrated on every Saturday in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Dākshāram, the *Gandharvas* and *Āpsaras* are said to have danced both in the *mārga* and the *dēśi* styles.[36]

Women of the dancing class or courtesans, as stated already, were experts in dancing. Literature preserves the name of only one such woman, Lakumādēvi, who flourished in the reign of king Kumāragiri Reḍḍi of Koṇḍāviḍu. She was the leading danceuse in his court. It is said that she mastered the art of dance and won laurels, for interpreting the *bhāvas* in the *gītis* or musical compositions in a thousand ways,[37] from her patron Kumāragiri, who was himself an expert in the science of *nāṭya* as well as an art critic,

Side by side with the classical dance, the *dēśi* or the popular one was also well developed during these centuries. It had its own votaries. In fact, the *mārga* and the *dēśi*, the two styles of dance, like two streams issuing from the same fountain source, flowed through the country affording pleasure and enjoyment to two different strata of society the high and the low, the aristocracy and the common men. By the early mediaeval period, the advance which the *dēśi* had made was so great, and some of the dances in that style were so popular, that some of the *Bharatācārya*

35. Kd. Rm., v. 182.

"తెప్పగాఁ గీరాట యాతెమపుచత్రి
మాడుదురు నాట్యశ్రీ(బుగ గానిలోఁన"

36. Ks. Kh., III, v. 18.

37. Sr. Sr., p. 57.

जयति महिमालोकातीतः कुमारगिरिप्रभुः
सदसि लकुमादेवी यस्यप्रियासदृशी प्रिया
नवमभिनयं नाट्यार्थानां तनोति सहस्रधा
वितरति बहूनर्थां नर्थिव्रजाय सहस्रशः ॥

gave their approval to them and included them in their works. Jāyapa Nāyaka describes, in his *Nṛttaratnāvaḷi*, some of these popular *dēśi* types,[38] like *Goṇḍli* and *Cindu*. This work, it may be presumed, gave fresh impetus to the *dēśi* dance which was patronised both by the kings as well as by common people in the Kākatīya period.

Dēśi found a ready place in the festivals of local village deities. The popularity which these types enjoyed during the middle ages can be gauged from references to some of them in contemporary Telugu literature. *Pērani, Goṇḍli, Daṇḍalāsaka, Kanduka, Jakkini, and Cindu* were ome of the popular dances of the day during the Reḍḍi period.

Pērani is a kind of dance-recital more or less 'akin to capers or gambolling'. It is called *Prērani* also in Sanskrit. The descriptions,

88. भाषावेषविभूषणै रनुगुणैस्तैस्तैर्मनोहारिभिः
नानादेवरुचिर्विदग्धपुरुषा नावैजयन्तीगुणै
भूपासै रुपलालिता बहुफलैः प्रौढेव वाराङ्गना
देशीसंप्रवदन्ति सैन्यपतिना सान्द्रादरं वर्ण्यते ॥
भवन्तिधरणीपालाः प्रायेणाभिनयप्रियाः
तस्मात्तत्प्रीयेद्यापि यदुत्पाद्यते नवम्
नृत्तं तत्तत्स्मृतं देशितत्तद्देशानुसारतः
भूतं शास्त्रमुखादूज्ञेयं भविष्यात्त्रावगद्यते ॥

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तौर्यत्रियतविज्ञानमहातत्त्वविशारदे
मार्गदेशि विभागस्त विवेचन विचक्षणे
महाराजाधिराजेस्मिन गणपत्यवनीश्वरे
समुद्रमेखलामेनां बहुनारक्षति क्षमाम् ॥
यादेशिवर्ततेलोके साम्माभिः कथ्यतेस्फुमट
निरूप्यतेऽधुना देश्यां स्थनिकानि यथाक्रमम् ॥

Taken from S'ri Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri's paper on "The *Sanskrit poets of the Andhradēs'a-Jaya senapati*" -Vide, The Telugu Journal, *Sarasvati*, Vol. I, No. 6, pp. 6-7. Mahāmahōpādhyaya S'ri P. P. S. Sastri, in his note on this work, states that the work closely follows Bharata's *Natya S'astra*.—T. C. S. M. (Madras) 1931-32 to 1933-34), Vol. VIII, Introduction.

left by Srīnātha in his Telugu work, *Kāśīkhaṇḍam*, give us to understand that this was a favourite dance of the Saivas, and that Bhṛṅgīśvara was an expert in it.[39] This can even now be seen in Śiva temples in the Telugu country during festivals.

Goṇḍli,[40] a type of the Sanskrit *Kuṇḍalīnṛtya*, was played in both the *mārga* and the *dēśi* styles[41] by young women and girls, arranging themselves in rings or circles. *Nṛttaratnāvaḷi* states that the Western Caḷukya king, Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara, was the originator of this

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39. "చాముండి యొనరించు జంపెతాళమునకు
భృంగీశ్వరుం డాడెఁ బేరణంబు..." —Ks. Kh., IV.v. 296.

"అంగనాజాతికి నావంద మొదవ
భృంగి ముందటివంకఁ బేరణిచూప" —Pn. Or., II.

"భ్రమణముల్ పాళెముల్ బయకముల్ మెఱసి
రమణఁ బంచాంగి పేరణి యాడువారు..." —Pn. Or., V, p.485.

"జేరుక నాడెను పేరణివిధము
సౌరాష్ట్ర నాయకుసంప్రదాయంబు..." —Bs. Pr., II, p, 80.

The Hindi speaking people play a kind of dance called *Pēraḷi* in Hindi. It might be *Pēraḍi* or *Pēraṇi* itself. *Pēraḍi* is described as a variety of the *taṇḍava* dance in which there is more of the movement of limbs and less of gesticulation.

40. In the Ahmadnagar district there is a kind of dance called *Gondhal*. " In the Ahmadnagar district, to the south-west of Nagpur the Gondhlis sing in honour of Dēvi during the day, and dance the *gondhal* at night. While dancing, the men wear long coats, shell-neck laces, and ankle bells, and they perform the *gondhal* regularly, during the Navarātra or nine nights preceding the festival Dasahra ".—Vide, "*The story of Indian Music and its instruments*" by Ethel Rosenthal. It seems likely that the *Goṇḍli* of the Telugu country corresponds to the *Gondhal* of the Ahmadnagar district.

"వీరు మైలారదేవర వీరభటులు
గొండ్లియాడించుచున్నారు గొరగపడుచు..." —Kd. Rm. v. 148.

41. "కుండలీనృత్తంబు కోహలాద్యాచార్య
మతభేదముల దేశి మార్గ సరణి
చారి కాకరణాంగహార రేచకముల
భ్రమరికా ఠులుల వర్తనగతులను
నాడి మెప్పించు నెట్టి చోద్యంబొ తరుణి..." —Ks. Kh., VI. v. 169.

variety of dance.[43] Sōmēśvara's encyclopaedic work, *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* alias *Mānasōllāsa* was popular in the Telugu country both in the Kākatīya and post Kākatīya periods.

What is known as *Daṇḍalāsaka* in Sanskrit is called *Kōlāṭa*[44] in Telugu. Beautiful sculptural representations of girls playing on *Kōlāṭa* can be seen in some of the temples built during the Kākatīya and Vijayanagar periods.

Kandukakrīḍa (*Kandukanṛtta*) is another variety of dance representing the play with a ball. The Telugu poet, Vallabhāmātya, gives in his *Krīḍābhirāmam* a very fine description of young girls playing on ball with both their hands.[44] King Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma describes this type in his *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi*. From his description of *Kandukanṛtta*, extracted from one of the two available manuscript copies of his work, which has got small gaps, we are able to gather that it comprised appropriate glances, beating of the ball, and varied movements of both hands and feet, the latter representing also whirling movement (*bhramarī*).[45]

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42. " सोमेशः कौतुकीं काञ्चिझिल्लीवेषमुपेयुषीम्
नृत्यन्ती मथगायन्तीं स्वयं प्रेप्यमनोहरम्
प्रीतोनिर्मितवां श्चितं गौण्डिनी(गोंडिली)विषमद्भुतम्
स्वतो (ततो) झिल्लीमहाराष्ट्रे गोंण्डलीत्यभिधीयते ॥

— *Sarasvati*, Vol, I, No. 6, p. 7; An, An., (1928), p,829.

43. "కోలాటమున బాత్ర గొండ్లి పేరణియుఁ
గేళిక కోకయు లీల నటింప..."—Bs. Pr., I, p. 22,

44. "పంచారించిన లేతచన్నులపయిం బ్రాలంబముల్ గాల్లఁగాఁ
గాంచీనూపుర కంకణ క్వణనముల్ గర్జింప బాలాజనుల్
కించిన్న్యంచదుదంచిత క్రమముగాఁ గ్రీడించెద ర్వ్యాదుమా
చంచత్కుండన కందుకత్రయముల న్సవ్యాపసవ్యంబులన్."—Kd. Rm. v. 90.

45. D. C. S. M. (Trivendram), Vol. VII, No. 1418.

Jakkini[46] and *Cindu*[47] were also favourite dances of the people of this period. A fine description of *Cindu*, a favourite dance of the Saivas, is given in the *Nṛttaratnāvaḷi*.[48] Even at the present day, a veriety of this dance is played in the temple of god Subrahmanyēs'vara of Payanimalai in the South, and it goes by the name of *kāvaḍi-Cindu*, because the dancer dances with a *kavaḍi*, a yoke on his shoulders.

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46. Dharaṇīdēvula Rāmayamantri, author of *Das'avatāracaritra* describes '*jakkini*' in his work as given below.

"దురుపదంబులు సొక్కు లైంసిరులు వొగ్గగ
సగగ నిరుగేలఁ గుంచియల్ సవదరించి
కైకొన్న జక్కిణీకోపుఁ ద్రొక్కు కొక్కు
చక్కని మిటారి నరపతుల్ సొక్కి చూడ." —VII, v. 286.

Vide, also Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadra's *Ramābhyudayam*, II, v. 188.

"कुण्डली भोगवत्यान्तु कल्पिता मार्ण्डकर्णिना
अयोध्यायां कृतापूर्वे पेरणिवांशुसूनुना
घूर्जरी द्वारवत्यान्तु कल्पिता बाणकन्यया
काळिकाया: कृतेजाता मङ्गनैवजक्किणी" —An. An., (1928), p. 828.

47. "చిందుఁ ద్రొక్కఁ జిందు పాడంగ సద్దు
కొండిక యూపులఁ గుణిసెడువారు.." —Pn. Cr., v, p. 484.

48. मृदङ्गकरटाकांस्य ताळकाहळवादकै: ॥
वाद्यमानेषु वाद्येषु प्रतिप्रहरणादिषु
रुद्राक्षाभरणै: श्लक्ष्णवलुप्तभूतित्रिपुण्ड्रका
शिवैकतत्परा भक्ता नरानारीजनोऽथवा
श्रेणीभूता: प्रमोदेन गायन्तश्चन्द्रशेखरम् ॥
अङ्गैर्यथोचितै: पादैर्लास्याङ्गै गीतिसंयुतै:
अन्योन्याभिमुखीभूय द्विधाभूता: कदाचन
कदाचिन्मण्डली भूता युक्तिभिर्बहुभङ्गिभि:
शिवोत्सवेषु कर्तव्यं नृत्तमेतच्छिवप्रियम् ॥
करताळयुतोपेतैर्वा द्यैर्वक्त्रभवै: सह
पादैर्ललितलास्याङ्गैश्चारिभिर्गतिभिस्तथा
गीताभिनयनोपेतैर्द्विपदैश्चिन्दुमंज्ञकै:
चिन्दुनृत्तमितिप्रोक्त मिदं द्रविडवल्लभै: ॥

—*Nṛttaratnāvali*—An. An., (1928), p. 82

In addition to the above types there was another one, the *Pārasīkanartana* (a type of Persian dance). This appears to have come into the Telugu country along with the Mussalmans. As it was probably popular in this period, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma introduced it into his treatise on Music, *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi* and named it *Pārasika mattalli-nartana* [48 a], probably on account of its similarity to the *mattallī* dance, described by Bharatacārya in his *Nāṭya Śāstra*, and wrote *lakṣaṇa* to it. This *mattalli-nartana* finds mention in the works of Srīnātha [48b].

Hallīsaka, [49] another variety of *goṇḍli*, was yet another popular dance of the variety of *maṇḍalākāranṛtya*. This was one of the dances which continued to be popular in the Telugu country until the eighteenth century. [50]

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48 a. D. C. S. M., (Trivendrum), Nos. 1417 and 1418.

हस्तपादप्रसारैश्च नीरभो (?) भ्रमणेन च
गात्रस्त चलनैश्चापि नेत्रयोर्घूर्णनेन च ॥

खण्डसूची जानुगतप्रमुखैः स्थानकैरपि
योग्याभिर्भ्रमचारीभिर्लालितोध्दतभावतः ॥

नानागीतैः पारसीकदेशभाषाविनिर्मितैः
नृत्तं कुर्यात्तालयुक्तं क्वचित्तालविवर्जितम् ॥

एतद् भवेत् पारसीकदेश्यमत्तल्लिनर्तनम्
अलकन्दुकनृत्तंच मत्तल्लिनर्तनं तथा ॥

48 b. "హేలాహాస మొనర్చి యుద్ధమును నన్యోన్యంబు మత్తల్లికా
కేళీనృత్త వినోద కందుక మణి క్రీడావిహారక్రియా
లీలాహాస్యకళా ప్రసంగముల నుల్లంఘించి వర్తింతు రె
కాలంబున్ ఘటజన్మ కాశి నడుమన్ గర్వించి యద్దేవతల్ ॥

—Ks. Kh., VI. 209.

49. Hemacandra defines it as follows:

मण्डलेनतुयन्नृत्यं हल्लीसकमितिस्मृतं
एकस्तत्रतु नेतास्या द्गोपस्त्रीणां हरिर्यथा ॥

50. The Telugu poet, Kaṅkaṇṭi Pāparāju, who lived in the early part of the eighteenth century, describes *hallīsaka* in his *Uttara-Rāmāyaṇam* in the following verses as it was played in his time. This, however appears to be a different variety.

"అభినయంబులకొప్ప లరుదైన తీరుపుల్
తెలయంగాఁ బదచారి విధ మొకర్తు

There were other varieties of dance like *puṣpagandhikānṛtya*[51] and so on. In some dance recitals, beautiful maidens entertained the audience by their physical feats. Vallabhāmātya describes one such interesting dance. He says that arching herself back-wards, a young danceuse picked up a nose ornament which was placed at the bottom of a trough

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లాగు మైసిరియుఁ బల్లటియుఁ గత్తియు బెళ్కు-
　　విలసిల్లు జక్కి-ణివిధ మొకర్తు
బుసుకడు చంక బంగరుబుట్ట తగుజాతి
　　వినికిగాఁ గొరవంజివిధ మొకర్తు
తీవిఁ దాళము లుగ్గడింపుచోఁ దిరుచో
　　విఁత గాఁ బేరణివిధ మొకర్తు
　　కలరి వినిపింపఁ జతి మెచ్చ నంత నిర్వ
　　రిరువు రెనమండ్రుఁ బదియా లుగురును ముప్ప
　　దిద్ద ఱువది నలువురు హెచ్చుగాఁగ
　　బంతులై వంతు లాని యా య్యంతు లెల్ల.

అన్యోన్య హస్త దండావృత్తు లెసఁగ నొం
　　డొరుల సామ్ముఖ్యంబు లొంది యొంది
యీవలావల వచ్చి యితరేతరము ద్రోల్తు
　　నిలిచిన నెలవుల నిలిచి నిలిచి
కంకణ మంజీర కాంచికల్ మ్రోయ స
　　వ్యాప సవ్యస్ఫూర్తి జూపి చూపి
తాళవాద్య రవానుకూలంబు గా మంద
　　నృత్యమృదు గతులను నేగి తిరిగి
　　యనుపమ రసోదయంబున నభినవాతి
　　చిత్రవర్తన భంగులఁ జెలఁగి చెలఁగి
　　విడివడి మన్మథోన్మద ద్విరదము లన
　　సఖులు హల్లీసకము సల్పు సంతసిల్లి" — VI, vv. 139—40.

51. "పేరి మండిలోద్యానవీధులం బల్లవాధరలు పుష్పగంధికానృత్యంబులు వరిధ వించెదరు. వారి కొందఱు మంటిగ ప్రాంగణంబున వారాంగనా జనంబులు విచిత్ర శ్లోకంబు లనేకరాగంబులం గూర్చి లాస్యాంగం బుత్తమంబుగాఁ జూపెదరు. మఱియు నంతరాంతరంబులం బ్రచ్ఛేదన సైంధవ ద్విమూఢక స్థిత పాఠ్యాది మార్గాభినయ భేదంబులు రసభావ భావనామోద మధురంబుగా గాత్రోదయ అభిన యించెదరు..."—Kd. Rm., Pr. 257.

of water and adorned her nose with it; and that she threaded quickly small black glass beads into a necklace.[52]

All the *dēśi* varieties of dance were incorporated in the *yakṣagāna*, the dance-drama. The period under review was the age which saw the beginnings of the *yakṣagāna* type of drama, which, later in the Vijayanagar period, became very popular in the Telugu country.[53] *Dhruvāgāna* or *daruvu* was extensively brought into play in this type of drama. Stories from *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa* formed, in a majority of cases, themes of these dance-dramas, which were enacted during nights, on a stage improvised in a street or on an open maidan. A curtain often beautifully imprinted with the figures of tigers[54] and other animals and trees, is held by two men on either side, at the commencement of a dance-recital or a drama, and before the entrance of every new character on the stage. The dress of a courtesan consisted of a silk cloth, jacket and breeches for the occasion of a dance recital.[55]

Dance began with *puṣpāñjalīvikṣē pa*, the scattering of flowers over the audience with the hands joined. Abdur Razak, who witnessed the *Mahānavami* celebrations at Vijayanagar, writes thus about the dance performance. "The part of musicians is generally filled by women. Some young girls, with cheeks as full as the moon, and with faces more lovely than spring, clothed in magnificient dresses, and showing features which, like the freshest rose, charmed

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52. Kd. Rm., v. 144.

"జనుకకు మొగ్గ ద్రాలి కడువిన్నను వొప్పఁగ దొట్టినీళ్లలో
మునిఁగి-తదంతరస్థముగు ముంగర ముక్కున గ్రుచ్చికొంచు
చెను రకనాప్రణాళమున శీఘ్రము గ్రుచ్చెను నల్లపూసపే
రనుపమలీల నిప్పుడు చుపాయము లిట్టివి యొట్టు నేర్చెనో."

I am indebted to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya for the correct reading of the verse as given above.

53. Consequently *yakṣagāna* was alluded to in one of the important treatises on music in Sanskrit, named *Sangītasudhā* by Ragunātha Nayaka, written about 1628 A. D. Until this date it was not even referred to in music, in any of the treatises. *Trivēṇi*, Vol. VII, 188–89.

54. "తెరల వ్రాసిన వ్రాఁత దీపించు పులులకు
మదిలోఁగు జందురుమచ్చ యుత్రీ" —Sr. Mh., IV. v. 998.

55. "రసఁణ దకూలాంబరమును గంచుకము
నమరఁ జిక్కొని చల్లడము బిగియించి
యేతెమ్మ నీవు పూగతమ్మ! శీఘ్రము
మాతతమ్ముగ నృత్య మాడుమగాని" —Ba. Pr., III. p. 62.

every heart, were placed behind a pretty curtain opposite the king. On a sudden, the curtain was raised and again fell, and the damsels arranged themselves for dance, with a grace calculated to seduce every sense and captivate every mind." [56] From the traditional practice now in vogue, it may be said that, in dramatic performances, each character, as he or she entered on the stage for the first time, announced to the audience his or her role through *dhruvāgāna*, to the accompaniment of dance. Then dropped the curtain. This variety of entertainment is suggested to us by a description of the evening twilight in the west in a verse in Eṟṟā Pregaḍa's *Nṛsiṁha Purāṇa*. Therein the poet compares the twilight to a great new purple curtain which the *sūtradhārī*, namely Time, held before the damsel of Night, in order to dance gracefully in the presence of a host of the lords of the Quarters. [57] Such was the advance that the art of dance had made during the age of the Reḍḍis. The Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu and of Rājamahēndravaram kept the kingly tradition well in maintaining and developing the art of dance, the invaluable heritage which was left to them by their predecessors, the Kākatīya monarchs of Waraṅgal.

Besides these, other entertainments like puppet shows and other plays, are referred to in the *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra.* [58] The puppet show

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56. Major,—Abdur Razak, pp. 86-87.

"ఆపిరళింబుగ నంత నార్భటం బిచ్చి
జవనిక రప్పించి సరసమై నిలిచి
పొలుపగు ముఖరసంబును సౌష్ఠవమ్ము
లవియు భావంబు ధూకళియు ఝుంకళియు
మతియు లేవయు విభ్రమమును రేఖయును
నెఱయగ నీరీతి నృత్యంబు సలుప .." —Bs. Pr., III, p. 62.

57 "సురుచిర తారకా కుసుమశోభి నభోంగణభూమిఁ గాలమ
న్గురువపు సూత్రధారి జవనంబున దిక్పతికోటి నొందటన్
సరసముగా నటింపఁగ నిశాసతి కెత్తిన క్రొత్తతోఁపుఁ జెం
దెర కాన నొప్పు సాంధ్యనవ దీధితి పశ్చిమదిక్తటంబునన్." —Nr. Pr., III, v. 78.

58. "ప్రమథ పురాతన పటుచరిత్రములఁ
గ్రాలు మొంస బహునాటకము లాడువారు
లీలాంగ రసకళాలంకార రేఖ
లలరార బహురూప మాడెడు వారుఁ

also was given during nights.[59] Dommaris danced and played on ropes and poles, and magicians and jugglers showed their wonderful tricks, and dexterous feats. They won the appreciation and admiration of Abdur Razak who specially writes in his account of travels about elephant feats. Vijayanagar was neighbour to Koṇḍavīḍu. If these feats of skill and strength were shown at Vijayanagar they might as well have been shown at Koṇḍavīḍu also in the same period. Art knew no political barriers.

Magic and jugglery were also very popular in the period under review. This science consisted of many *vidyas*, namely, *jalastambhana, śilāstambhana, sthalastambhana, agnistambhana, vāyustambhana, rasastambhana, raktastambhana, indrajāla, mahēndrajāla, adṛśyakaraṇa, adṛśyākarṣaṇa, naṣṭavastusamuddharaṇa* and the like, which are mentioned in contemporary Telugu works.[60]

కరణముల్ మెరవణుల్ గతులు జిత్రములు
నరుదుగ వెడ్డంగ మాడెడువారు
నమరాంగనలు దివి నాడెడుమాడ్కి
నమరంగ గడలపై నాడెడువారు
నావియద్గతిఁ బత్తు లాడెడునట్టి
భావన బ్రోకులపై నాడువారు
భారతాది కథలఁ జీరమఱుఁగుల
నారంగ బొమ్మల నాడించువారుఁ
గడునద్భుతంబుగఁ గంబసూత్రంబు
లడరంగ బొమ్మల నాడించువారు
నాదట గంధర్వ యక్షవిద్యాధ
రాదులై పాడెడు నాడెడువారు
విధమునఁ బ్రచ్ఛన్న వేషముల్ దాల్చి
*   *   *   *
జనులు వారింప నాస్థానముల్ సొచ్చి
యనుకూల వివిధ వాద్య సమేళనమున
నార్భటం బిచ్చి యొయ్యన జవనికల
గర్భంబు వెడలి యక్కజము వ్రేటిల్ల ... "—Pn. Cr., V, pp. 435-37.

59. "అప్పు దిద్దినవానియటులు వేగినదాఁక
బొమ్మలాటలు గన్న భోగి పగిది"—Pu. Pp., I. v. 24.

60. Sm. Dv., II, xi, p. 112.

A wonderful story illustrative of this art is narrated in the Telugu kāvya, *Siṁhasanadvātriṁś'ika* (Sm. Dv., II, xi, 30th story, pp. 106–113). This story, on an examination, is found to be merely an adaptation of the one taken from the Jain

Hunting :

Hunting was a favourite pastime of kings and nobles. Telugu poems of this period describe very elaborately and in vivid colours the game and the mode of hunting wild animals and birds,[61] and also mention the various implements and weapons used in hunting.[62]

work, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, Vol. II, Ch. VI, pp. 200–209, "Story of the magician in the form of a Vidyadhara" (381–522), (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. LXXVII). The Jains appear to have developed this art greatly, and this statement is supported by tradidition current in the country.

61. "అచటఁ జెమటకోఁక యమరించి కుడిచేతఁ
గడిఁది డేగఁ బట్టి యొడమచేత
నేలకోలఁ ద్రిప్పఁ జక్కఁ జెరివి మోమ మిక్కించి
కాఁజుఁ గక్కురలను గదియవైచె." —Sm. Dv., I, v. 235,

62. "పలల కావళ్లు చివ్వంగుల బండులు
తిరుచుట్టు బొంగు కాలురులు చీర
తెరులు నుగ్గంబులు దీమముల్ వారము
లెన్నిక దారికత్తులు మొకముబోను
లాలపైన గొడ్డండ్లు మెఱుఁగు బల్లెంబులు
తట్టగొమ్ములు పులిచెట్టు మందు
బలువిండ్లు బొట్టగోలలు తోటమోకులు
గొరకత్తళమ్ములు కరకజీలు
నాదిగా వేటలకు యోగ్యమై తనర్చు
సాధనంబులు సవరించి సరభసమున
నాటవిక సైన్య మేతెంచి యధిపుఁ గాంచి
దండములు పెట్టి నిలిచి ప్రతాప మలర." —RK. Cr., III. v. 70.

"తఱచుగా జల్లిదంతపు బిల్లలమర
చిఱుతకత్తులు వలచెంపలఁ జెరివి
పసిఁడికాముల నొప్పు బలుపందిగోళ్లు
వేసఁ బూని చాటున వేటకుక్కలను
బట్టుపట్టెడ త్రాళ్ల బలువుగాఁ బట్టి
దట్టంపుమూఁకల దండడి నడుమ" — Nv. Cr., I. p. 37.

"దీమంపువేఁటలు దాపెనవేఁటలు
తెరవేఁటలును నేర్పు తెరలికలును
బండివాడివఱిగఁ బంగుల నొప్పింపఁ
బూఁటకాం ద్రవఁదగు వేఁటకాండ్రు

A pack of hounds (*jāgilamulu*) were attached to each royal palace, and a special staff of servants to look after them. The hounds were called *nagari-jāgilamulu, and the servants that tended them nagari-kukkala-vāru.*[63] The Telugu kāvya, *Rukamāṅgadacaritra,* mentions the names of hounds, such as Gaḍikōṭa Basuvaśaṅkaruḍu, Copparikāḍu, Kāṭrēḍu, Jagajeṭṭi, Gālipaḍaga, Koṇḍīḍu, Puliyamārkōlugaṇḍaṇḍu, Baṇḍi Mallaḍu, Veṇḍigudiya, Ciccurugōla, Veṇḍiguṇḍu, Ādibhairavuḍu, Bhūtabhairavuḍu, Calipiḍugu and Talāri.[64] It is interesting to find in them the name of Puliyamarkōlugaṇḍaḍu, the well-known title borne by some of the Vijayanagar nobles of this period.

Duels :

Some of the Telugu works of this period contain descriptions of duels, thereby indicating the prevalence of the custom of duel-fighting. This fact is corrobarated by the accounts of foreign travellers as well.

సారమేయంబులొ సారమేయంబుల
పట్టెడ గొలుసులు పట్టి నడువ
భేరుండ గండగంభీరత్వ మెడిగించు
భేరీరవంబులు బోరుకొనగ
వారువమునెక్కి మితపరివారుఁ డగుచుఁ
వేటకాండ్రును వడిగల రేటుకాండ్రు
వాటపడ వెన్క నరుదేర వేఁట గదలె
మందరంబున కవని పురందరుండు.” —Sm. Dv., II, Viii, V. 22.

63. ....దానిఁ గోప మడరఁ
బొడిచె విడాలంబు, నొడయని నగరికు
క్కలవారు చంపిరి కడఁగి దాని...” — Kb. Cr., II, V. 114.

64. “గడికోట బసువశంకరుఁడు చొప్పరికాఁడు
కాట్రేఁడు జగజెట్టి గాలిపడగ
కొండీడు పులియమార్కొలుగండండును
దురుగాలి మాష్టిఁడు దొంగబొజాఁగు
బండిమల్లఁడు వెండిగుండు చిచ్చురుగోల
పట్టుగొల్లెన భూతభైరవుండు
కొదమసింగము వెండిగుదియ కోటలగొంగఁ
డాదిభైరవుఁడు మోహనమురారి
చలిపిడుగు విక్రమార్కుఁడు బలుదలారి
యనెడు నామంబులను బేర్చు నవనినాథు
నగరి జాగిలముల నేర్చి తగినరీతి
గొలుసులను బట్టి చని రొక్క కొంద ఱప్పుడు” — Rk. Cr., III, V. 69.

Koravi Gōparāju's *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśika* vividly describes a duel fought between two *leṅkas* or servants during a spring festival (*vasantōtsava*) in the reign of king Vikramārka of Ujjain. Even though the author narrates the stories of the famous king, Vikramārka, he describes therein only contemporary life, and gives a full account of the duel as fought in his days, in one of the stories which runs as follows.

During the celebration of the spring festival, it was the custom to sprinkle camphor, perfumes like sandalpaste, and saffron over people. While coming through the crowds, Kalahakaṇṭha, a servant of king Vikramārka, shook off the sandal-paste which had fallen on his moustache with his hand. Just at that time an Ēkāṅgavīra, a servant of another king, who happened to pass near by him, observed him, and out of his arrogance thought that he was twirling his moustache insultingly, as if to challenge him to a fight with him. After some altercation, both wanted to fight a duel, each to show his superiority over the other. Immediately they took out their shawls, and drew out their daggers, when the *talavarlu*, or police-men, came on the spot, and separated them, saying that lanes and narrow streets were not the proper places to fight duels. They led them to the audience hall of the king where the commander, was informed of what had happened. The people there dissuaded them from fighting; but Kalahakaṇṭha and Ēkāṅgavīra did not give heed to their advice. As soon as the king entered the hall and took his seat on the throne, the minister represented to him that Kalahakaṇṭha and Ēkāṅgavīra were asking for the permission of the king to fight the duel. The king, unwilling to give permission for fear that they would die, was assured by his minister that he and the other king whose servant Ēkāṅgavīra was, would act as seconds and see that no one was mortally wounded. Then the king gave his assent after asking each of the fighters to pronounce his bet. People were then asked to sit quiet, and *talavarlu* were posted here and there to see that no disturbance arose. Weapons to be used in the duel were then measured, so as to be of the same length, and placed on the ground in the midst of four servants, with instructions to the fighters to pick them up, while even the word was in the course of being uttered. Lime fruits were offered to the duellists and the duel then began. [65]

In this connection, the poet exhibits his knowledge of the duel by describing the bets and mentioning the technical terms relating

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65. Sm. Dv., II, vii. vv. 27-71, pp. 23-28.

to different glances,[66] and expedients which the duellist employed to seize and overcome his opponent. In this connection he also describes the dress and other equipment[67] of Kalahakaṇṭha who came prepared for the duel.

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66. The different glances mentioned are *kāka dṛṣṭi*, *sūkara-dṛṣṭi*, *marjala-dṛṣṭi* *bhallūka-dṛṣṭi*, *kapi-dṛṣṭi*, *gṛdhra-dṛṣṭi*, *phaṇi-dṛṣṭi*, *cōra-dṛṣṭi*, and *sārdūla-dṛṣṭi*, altogether nine.

"మఱిఁగాక దృష్టి నేమఱక రక్షించుచు
సూకరదృష్టిపై ఢాక గొలిపి
గర్జనసేయక మార్జాలదృష్టిపైఁ
దరలక పరుఁజించి, తోఁకఁబూని
భల్లూకదృష్టి నవాంగ సంగతిఁ గని
కపిదృష్టి వంచించి కాపు నూపి
చేష్టఁ దప్పక గృధ్రదృష్టి గనుంగొని
యొయ్యన ఫణిదృష్టి నొడియఁజూచి
మనసు దేఱఁజూచియును జూడ కున్నట్లు
దృఢముగాఁగఁ జోరదృష్టి నడఁగి
జంకె మీఁద నొడిసి, శార్దూలదృష్టిఁ బై
బడుట సురియ కాంద్ర పంతమిదియ." — Sm. Dv., II, Vii, v. 62.

The bets of the duellists are given below.

"పుల్లతి పెట్టిన భూమికిఁ గొసరిన
నెదిరిపోటునకుఁ జే యొదుగుచున్న
దండ కైదప్పినఁ దప్పుక్రే ళ్ళుతికినఁ
బంతంబుఁగొన్నఁ జౌబళముఁ గొన్న
దాణికిఁ జొచ్చిన దాఁటిన మానిన
నరువనొడ్డిన బయలాసపడినఁ
జాఁగఁ బొడవకున్న లాఁగంబునకుఁ గొన్న
మడమ గెంటిన వ్రేళ్లు మగుడఁబడిన
దాబుమాఱులైనఁ దలవంచి పొడిచిన
బారుగాఁ దలంచు పంత మిదియె
కదిసి యొక్కపోటు పదిముఖంబులుగాఁగఁ
బొడుచువాఁడ దేవ రడుగులాన." — Ibid, V. 60.

67. "కఱకంచు వలిపెంబు గట్టిగాఁ గానించి
చెలితాఁడు కాసెపై బలియఁబట్టి
దేహంబు కప్పుగా లోహకంచుకలీల
జగి బిగిగల నల్లజిగు రమర్చి

Animal fights were also popular pastimes in the early mediaeval period. The Western Cālukya king, Sōmēśvara, devotes a full chapter to these *vinōdas* in his *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmani*. In that chapter, he describes elephant fights, buffalo fights, bull fights, cock fights, ram fights and horse fights and the like, besides duels between men. In this connection he gives the different dimensions of the arena for each of the contests, and the method of preparing it. There are allusions to these fights in the contemporary literature. Elephant and horse fights however, appear to have become obsolete in the Reḍḍi period; for, they are not alluded to in any of the contemporary Telugu works. Accounts of foreign travellers also attest to the existence of duel fights. Marco Polo writes about the duels he witnessed in South India. "If any one desires," writes he, "to offer a gross insult to another, when he meets him, he spits this tambul leaf or its juice in his face. The other immediately runs before the king, relates the insult that has been offered him and demands leave to fight the offender. The king supplies the arms, which are sword and target, and all people flock to see, and there the two fight till one of them is killed. They must not use the point of the sword, for, this the king forbids[68]"

The account of the duel given by Koravi Gōparāju is almost corroborated to the letter by that given by Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese official, who was in the service of the Portuguese government in India from about 1500 A. D., to about 1516 17 A. D., that is, exactly a century after the close of Kumāragiri Reḍḍ's reign. His account is as follows:

వక్షస్థలంబున రక్షపూసలపేరు
దండతాయెతులును దగఁ ధరించి
తిలకంబు దళముగాఁ దీర్చి చెంగులపాగ
తలముడితోఁ జొళ్లె మలవరించి
కేలఁ బుల్లతియును నీలినూలనఁ బూని
కేలిగతిఁ గటారికోల వట్టి
సంగడీలు గొల్వఁ జనుదెంచె నొకమత్త
గజముభంగి కలహకంటకుండు."— Ibid, V. 45.

"నగుమొగ మలరఁగఁ గస్తురి
తిగురు మెయి న్నలఁది పూసి దిటమై పోఁడియున్
మగతనముఁ గటారియుఁ దో
డుగ నయ్యెకాంగవీరుఁడుం జనుదెంచెన్."— Ibid, V. 47.

68. Yule's *Marco Polo.*, Vol. II, p. 371.

"They (people) are accustomed to challenge one another to duels, and when a challenge has been accepted and the king gives his permission, the day for the duel is fixed by the person challenged, and the weapons to be used must be according to measure, that of the one of the same length as the other. The king appoints seconds, and field for the fight[69], and when this has been done, they go together naked, covered only with some cloth wrapped round their middles with very cheerful faces. Then, after saying their prayers, they begin to fight, and as they are bare, it is over in a few strokes in the presence of the king and his court. No man may speak to them while they are fighting, except the seconds, each of whom stands by his own man, and this is such a common practice among them, that some are slain daily." [70]

The above account refers to the duel fight as practised in Canara; yet, it is not a whit different from what Gōparāju describes, even though the time and locality differ. This account supports the truth that South Indian culture in all its phases, has been essentially the same, whatever locality might be taken into consideration. The lapse of even hundred years did not bring any noticeable change in the procedure adopted in duelling.

There were gymnasiums which were called *garidis* or *garidi-śālas* where wrestling, duel, and sword-play were regularly practised, both in the mornings and evenings.

Bull Fights Etc:

Besides duels, there were bull and ram fights, and cock and buffalo fights[71]. Vallabhāmātya gives a spirited description of the ram and cock fights[71a] in his drama *Krīḍābhirāmam*. The Telugu poet

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69. Cf. The following passage in the *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśika*. pr. 64.

"భట్టియు నంగాధీశ్వరుండును నిలువంబడి విస్తారంబు గలుగ నైహాళి దీర్చి యెల్ల జనులం గూర్చుండనిడి గలబ పుట్టకుండ నెడనెడం దలవరుల నిలిపి పట్టెడువారల మాటలు మాటలలోనఁ బట్టుండని నియమించి నలువురు బంట్ల నడుమ నిడి కఠారంబు లొక్క కొలదిగాఁ గొలిచి నిమ్నపంక్తి ద్రొక్కిసి యెడ గలుగ బంట్లచేతి కిచ్చినం బుచ్చుకొని యుభయులు చూచువారి చూపుగములకెల్లఁ దార లక్ష్యంబు లగుచు ధీర ధీరంబుగఁ జొచ్చి—

70. Barbosa, Vol. I, pp. 190–191.

71. Sv. Mh., IV, Pr. 48.

71-a. "మేష కుక్కుట కరేటు లావుక కపింజల యుద్ధంబులు వీక్షించువారును"

vv. 228–337.

Anantāmātya compares the fight between the prince Pāvakalōma and an asura in his work *Bhōjarājīyam* to the fight of bulls, rams, cocks and male-buffaloes.[72] The ballad of the Palnāṭi heroes, *Palnāṭivīracaritra*, gives a lively description of cock-fighting[73] as practised in the mediaeval period. Cock-fighting was one of the main reasons for the annihilation of the ēkāṅga heroes of Palnāḍu.[74] In fact, these animal fights were not new to the period under review. They were in vogue in the country, centuries before the Reḍḍi rule. They had been a regular feature of the social life of the people.

Sports and Games:

The Telugu literature of this period alludes to some of the childrens' sports and games which were in vogue in those times, like kite-flying and plying with tops. The latter game is fully described in the *Palnāṭivīracaritra*.[75] Besides these there were others like *rāguñjupōguñjulāṭa*, *kundena*, *guḍiguḍiguñjambulāṭa*, *appplavindulayāṭa*, *sariguñjulāṭa*, *ciṭlapōṭlāṭa*, *gōranṭalāṭa*, *cērabontalayāṭa*, *cappaṭlu-peṭṭuṭa*, *digudigudikkonunṭāa*, and *dāguḍumūtalāṭa*.[76] Of these, some are completely forgotten, and others, like *guḍiguḍiguñjamu*, *ciṭlapōṭlāṭa*, *kundena*, and *dāguḍumūtalu* (hide and seek), are popular in the countryside even today.

There were some indoor games and recreations which were generally played by young men and women. These were more commonly played in the aristocratic families. These were *anjisogaṭālu*,

72. Vide, V. Pr. 118.

73. The institution of cock-fighting was common both to India and the island of Java. Nicolo de Conti described cock-fighting, which he had witnessed in Java thus in his account of travels: "The amusement most in vogue amongst them (the Javanese) is cock-fighting. Several persons will produce their birds for fighting each maintaining that he will be the conqueror. Those who are present to witness the sports make bets amongst themselves upon these combatants, and the cock that remains conqueror decides the winning bet".—Major, Conti, p. 16.

74. v. 119.

75. Pv. Cr., pp. 42–47.

76. "పొందంగ రాగుంజుపోగుంజులాట,
గుందెన గుడిగుడిగుంజంబులాట,
యప్పలవిందులయాట, వల్మ్రెలుఁ
జప్పట్లు వెట్టుట, సరిగుంజులాట,
సేరబొంతలయాట, సిట్లపోట్లాట,
గోరంటలాట, దాగుడుమూతలాట
డీకొని దిగుడిగుడిక్కొనునాట
లా గాంక్ష నాతోడ నాడెదనుండు..." — Pn. Cr, II, p. 160.

accanagaṇḍlu, *ōmanaguṇṭalu*, and *jūdamu*[77]. Of these *sogaṭālu* and *jūdamu* are nothing but dice and gambling, which were the favourite pastimes of princes and princesses, kings and queens, and paramours and their favourite concubines. It may be because the number of dice used in the game was five that the game is called *anjisogaṭālu* (*anji* means five). *Nettamu* means gambling and also a bet. It appears that there are ten kinds of bets.[78] *Nettamāṭa* (gambling) is referred to in the Telugu works of this age.[79] The game of *accanagaṇḍlu* is a favourite game even at the present day with young girls, in all castes in the Telugu country. As the name itself implies, it was played with small pebbles (*kaṇḍlu* - plural form of *kallu*, a stone). They are tossed up and caught on the back of the hand. This game, also called *accanagāyalu*, may be played by either two or more persons. *Ōmanaguṇṭalu* is another popular indoor game. It is played in many of the families in the Telugu country even at the present day. This game in common parlance is called *Vāmanaguṇṭalu*. It consists of two foldable planks either of wood or of metal, in the shape of fish etc., with a row of seven depressions in each plank. It is generally played by two persons, each being in charge of one side consisting of seven depressions. Each of the seven hollows in each plank, is filled with thirteen small round pebbles or tamarind seeds, as it is now done. Each of the players who succeeds in depleting the hollows of the pieces in the other side, is considered the

77. "సరిలేని యంజిసొగటా
లరుదగు జూదంబు నెత్త మచ్చన గండ్లున్
దిరమగు నోమనగుంటలు
సరసత మెయి నాడుచున్న సతులం గనియెన్."—Bj. Rj., V. v. 86.

87. "దశవిధముల నెత్తంబుల
శశిముఖి యే నెత్త మడిగెఁ జయ్యన నది త
ద్వశ మగు ద్యూతవిధిజ్ఞులు
ప్రశంస యొనరింప నానృపతి లజ్జింపన్."—Ibid, VII, v. 129.

79. Sm. Dv., II, VI, v. 90.

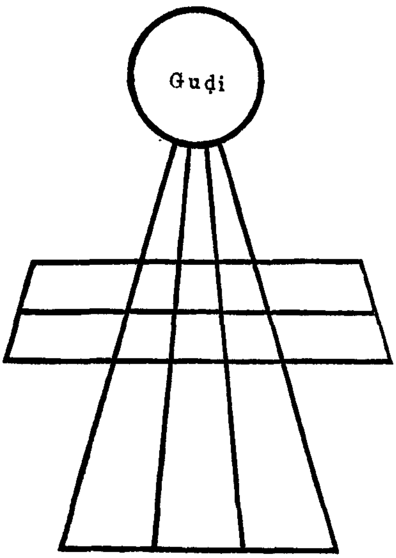
The terminology connected with gambling is known from the Telugu works *Bhōjarājīyam* and *Siṁhasanadvatrimsika*; for instance, we come across terms, like *nettapu-sarelu* (pawns or pieces used in the game of gambling), *palaka* (a dice board), '*pacikalu*' (dice in gambling) etc. The following passages from the latter work mentioned above, may be noted with interest.

"నందియు జాగరంబును దిగయును
గాళ నాఁ దేటపడిన యచ్చులలో నేయచ్చైన..."— II, X. v. 87.

"తలఁపు గతి వచ్చుఁగోరిన దాయ మనఁగ"—Ibid.

winner. This game is called *pallāṅguḍi* in Tamil meaning fourteen pits. Sometimes, a person also plays it singly, when it forms a kind of *solitaire*.

There was another interesting game, not necessarily an indoor one, a gambling using three tigers as pawns in the game [80], called *puli-jūdamu*, or *pululu mēkalu* [81] in Telugu, that is, tigers and goats. It is played even now in the interior villages in Andhra by the common folk both youngsters and elders. Till very recently it was popular among the higher classes also. In Tamil it is called *padinaindānpuli*. This game is now slowly dying out.



Pulī-jūdamu

The game is played, with stones on any ground surface marked out with a diagram, as shown in the margin, by only two persons, one representing the three tigers, and the other, representing the goats, altogether fifteen in number. One takes three large stones which are called *pululu*, and the other has about fifteen small stones called *mēkalu*. The stones are moved from point to point on the figure, the objects of the game being for the tigers to eat up the goats, and for the goats to hem in the tigers and arrest their movement. The apex of the triangle is called either *koṇḍa* or *guḍi*, and the tiger that is stationed there never leaves his post. It can be occupied by a goat, only if the tiger is absent there and not otherwise.

80. "తగులు విరివిస్రైనఁ గడు వె
చ్చుగ నాడుదుఁ బులుల మూఁట జూదంబులో
మిగులఁగ నేర్పరి బాగిడి
తిగుటఁ సాగటాల నే సతిపార్థన్."—Sm. Dv., II, X, v. 91.

81. From Mr. Charu Chandra Das Gupta's paper published in J.R.A.S.B., Vol. VIII (Letters), pp. 151–155 (1942), we come to know that this game is also played in the

Such were the games and amusements which were in vogue in the Reḍḍi period. There might have been many more means of recreation; but here are described only those which are referred to in the literature of the period.

Khasa and Jaintia Hills District in Assam, and is called *Bam blang beh khla,* which term literally means " to eat goat, to drive tiger "– a name almost akin to the Telugu one, *'pululu, mēkalu'*, tigers and goats. The rule of the game, as well as the diagram used also, is almost the same as that in practice in the Telugu country. We are further told that a similar game " as far as the rule of the game is *concerned but with altogether a new diagram,* is prevalent in the United Provinces, Bengal, and in the Central Provinces. "

CHAPTER VIII.

ARCHITECTURE AND PAINTING

The age of the Reḍḍi kings was particulary marked by a revival of Hindu arts in general; yet, any school of Architecture, patronised and specially developed by them, does not seem to have flourished. Their name is not associated with any of the great temples in the coastal Andhra country. Though it was a period of Hindu religious revival and of an intensely religious atmosphere, it is interesting to note the absence of any great temples ascribed to the Reḍḍi monarchs, the custodians of art-culture, handed over to them by their predecessors, the Kākatīyas of Warangal. This absence may possibly be accounted for in either of two ways, namely, the temples built by the Reḍḍi kings must have been mostly destroyed during the period of Muslim invasions, and in the subsequent periods of Hindu-Muslim rivalry; or it may be that the Reḍḍi kings, having been busy in setting right things, that were undone by the Muslim kings during their occupation of the country, did not newly build any great temples, but got the partly-destroyed temples re-constructed, the dilapidated ones repaired, and the defiled ones re-consecrated. It cannot be argued that the Reḍḍi kings who were religious to the core, did not evince much interest in the construction and preservation of the temple, that exercised great influence on the culture of the Hindu nation in olden days.

Gṛharāja-saudha :

It is, however, interesting to note that, as far as architecture is concerned, the name of the Reḍḍi kings is associated, in tradition, with the construction of what is called *gṛharāja-saudha* or *gṛharāju-meḍa*. The *Koṇḍaviṭi-daṇḍakavile* and the *Local records* give currency to an old traditional story relating to poet Śrīnātha. The story runs thus: Once Śrīnātha visited the court of king Harihara II of Vijayanagar. While he was there Harihara II expressed his desire to build a single-pillared palace, impossible for others to build. Out of vanity to proclaim the greatness of his patron-lord, Śrīnātha told Harihara II a lie that such a palace was already constructed by his patron at Koṇḍavīḍu. Astonished at this statement, Harihara II sent his spies to Koṇḍavīḍu to find out the truth. Fearing that it would bring dishonour on him as well as on his master if the lie was discovered, Śrīnātha prayed to his tutelary god, and got such a palace erected at Koṇḍavīḍu instantaneously. It is said that a crab tree, commonly called baubal

(*Mymiosa Arabica*), which was as tall as seven palmyra trees, and as *broad as to be circumscribed by seven cables* (*ēḍu mōkulu* of fixed length,) was brought from the village of Navulūru, and employed in the construction of the one-pillared mansion of *gṛharāju-mēḍa*. Having come to know the truth of Śrīnātha's statement, king Harihara II was pleased much, and bestowed upon him many honours and presents.

Though this story has no historical basis whatsoever, it seems however true, that there was a great mansion called *gṛharāju mēḍa* at Koṇḍavīḍu. Its existence is attested to by the inscriptions of the Reḍḍi kings. It has, however, to be pointed out here that neither Śrīnātha, nor his patron king, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Reḍḍi, had anything to do with this special type of building. It was due to king Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, an artist (*kalāvān*) in every sense, who raised many types of buildings, including this famous *gṛharāja-saudha*. The Gōpavaram[1] and the Komaragirivaram[2] grants of Kāṭaya Vēmā Reḍḍi, dated in Śaka 1317 and Śaka 1330, describe the activities of king Kumāragiri Reḍḍi as follows: Vasantarāya (another name of Kumāragiri) constructed many pleasure houses (*līlāgṛhān*) with gold and precious stones, a lofty palatial mansion, termed *gṛharāja-prāsāda* with pinnacles (*prāsādam-unnata śikhā gṛharāja-saṁjñam*), pleasure-ponds (*krīḍāsarāṁsi*) and pleasure-chariots (*kēḷī-radhān*), and sported with his beloved women[3] (*priyābhiḥ*). This earliest reference to *gṛharaja prāsāda*, in the records mentioned above, clearly proves that it was constructed by Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, and not by *Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmā Reḍḍi or any other. References to this gṛharjau-mēḍa* are found in a *caṭu* verse[4] current in the Telugu country, which furnishes the periods of rule of individual Reḍḍi kings, and the duration of their aggregate rule, and also in the Phirangipuram *inscription*[5] of

1. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 218 v. 20.
2. Ibid, pp. 205 ff.
3. "लीलागृहान् कनकरत्नचयैरनेकान्
   प्रासादमुन्नतशिखागृहराजसंज्ञम्
   क्रीडासरांसि च विधाय वसन्तरायः
   केलीरथानसि सहारमतप्रियाभिः॥ — v. 18.
4. "పెదకోమటి వేమన యురువదేండ్లు
   రాచవేమన్న నాల్గువర్షముల నేల
   మించి కట్టెరి గృహరాజు మేడ కొండ
   వీటి నూరేండ్లు రెడ్లు భూవిదిత యశులు." — p. 81.
5. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 318, A, Phirangipuram ... 312.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma! From the verse in the Phiraṅgipuram record referring to this *sauādha*, we come to know that goddess Lakṣmī[6] was enthroned and worshipped there with all civilities. This fact is further corroborated by the *kaifiyat* of Koṇḍavīḍu that it was the abode of the goddess Ādilakṣmī Kāmēśvarī[7].

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6 "अश्रान्तम् गृहराजसौधनिवसल्लक्ष्मीकराभ्यन्तर
क्रीडाम्भोरुहताळवृन्तनटन प्रस्तावविस्तारितः
वायुः केसरवासनासुरभितो यस्यार्थिचिन्तामणेः
द्रागाचामति दानकेळिजनितं स्वेदाम्भसां जालकम्॥" —Ibid, v. 12.

The following passage referring to *Gṛharāju-mēḍa* is taken from the *Kaifiyat* of Koṇḍavīḍu.

"ఈ గుండాలకు దక్షిణం పూర్వం రెడ్లవారు కట్టించిన బహుప్రబలమైన కోనేరు వున్నది. ఈ ప్రదేశమందు రెడ్లవారియొక్క రాజగృహములు అని చెప్పినారు. ఈ కోనేటికి పశ్చిమం హద్దు అనుకొని గృహరాజుమేడదిబ్బ అని వున్నది. రెడ్లవారు ప్రభుత్వంచేసే కాలమందు కోమటి వేమారెడ్డిగారు శ్రీనాథునివారియొక్క ప్రభావంచేత నవులూరి పోతురాజు దేవాలయం దగ్గిరవున్న యేదుతాళ్ళ పొడుగున్నూ, యేదు మోకులు తిరిగే లావున్నూ కల తుమ్మచెట్టు తెప్పించి స్తంభంగా చెక్కించి వంటిస్తంభం మేడ కట్టించి తమకు యిష్టమైన ఆదిలక్ష్మి కామేశ్వరి అమ్మవారికి సింహాసనస్థానముగా ఏర్పరిచి వైభవములు జరిగించి యీ మేడశిఖరానకు బొల్లిమోరు వెంకటేశ్వరస్వామి దేవాలయానకు మకరతోరణం కట్టించినారట. ఇక్కడ వేంకటేశ్వరస్వామివారు వున్న కొండ సహజా తూర్పుగా వుంటుంది. ఈ మేడకు అనుకునే జడ్డిగాలభావి అనే కోనేరు వున్నది."

—Sr. Sr., p. 109.

"......అనేకులైన కామాటీలను శిల్పులను స్తంభం చెక్కించి (పెదకోమటి వేమారెడ్డిగారు) పట్నానకు దక్షిణపార్శ్వము తమరాజగృహముల దగ్గిర వంటిస్తంభం గృహరాజుమేడ కట్టించి బహుమనోహరముగా పంచరంగులు యేర్పరిచి స్వర్ణవికారములయిన స్తంభములు గవాక్షములద్వారా తోరణములు కలశములు రత్నఖచితములుగా యేర్పరిచి జగన్మోహనంబైన గృహరాజసౌధాగ్ర సింహాసనంబునందు తమ యిష్టదేవతయైన ఆదిలక్ష్మి కామేశ్వరీ మహాదేవిని వేంచేపుచేసి యీ మేడ శిఖరానకున్ను బొల్లిమోరు వేంకటేశ్వరస్వామివారి దేవాలయశిఖరానకున్ను బంగారపు ఘంటలు ము[illegible]తెములుగల మకరతోరణము కట్టించి భేరీభాంకార మృదంగ వాద్యవాద[illegible] బలంబుగా మ్రోయ సాష్టాంగించి ఆదిలక్ష్మి కామేశ్వరీ మహాదేవ్యర్చన [illegible] సమయమందు..."

—Kf. Kd., p. 9.

This special type of buildings called *Gṛharāju-meḍa* finds mention in the contemporary Telugu work *Śrīraṅgamāhātmyam*, while describing the mansions in a town newly built by a king [8].

The type of building called *Gṛharāju-meḍa* is described in the *Bhaviṣya*, *Agni*, and the *Garuḍa* Purāṇas. It is a form of divine edifice. According to these Purāṇas divine edifices or temples are mainly grouped, in accordance with the shape or plan in their construction, under five heads, namely, *Vairāja*, *Puṣpāka*, *Kailāsa*, *Malika* [9] and *Triviṣṭapa*. "The first of the above classes of the divine edifice is characterised by a rectangular shape, the second resembling the first in structure; while the third and the fifth classes are respectively built circular and octagonal, the fourth class being constructed in a way so as to resemble the segments of a circle. Each of the above classes of temples is divided into nine sub-divisions, thus giving rise to forty-five different structures of temples.......... The nine temples that owe their origin to the genus Puṣpaka, are named *Valabhī*, *Gṛharāja*, *Śālāgṛha*, *Mandira*, *Viśāla*, *Brahmamandira*, *Bhuvana*, *Prabhava* (and) *Śibikāveśma*." [10] From this it is obvious that *gṛharāja-saudha* is a rectangular-shaped temple belonging to the genus of *Puṣpaka*. The Purāṇas state that these five

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8. "...సవడి గృహరాజు మేడల సవరణలను..." —IV, v. 998

9. The *Agni Purāṇa* names this group *Maṇika*.

10. M. N Dutt – The *Agni Purāṇa* (Translation), Vol. I, Chap. IV, p. 421, vv. 7 to 30. The names of some of these nine temples, as given in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, differ from those given above. They are as follows: (1) *Baḍavī*, (2) the *Gṛharaja*, (3) the *Salagṛha*, (4) the *Mandira*, (5) the *Vimana*, (6) the *Brahmamandira*, (7) the *Vavana*, (8) *Uttamva*, and (9) the *Sibikavesma* – Vide, M. N. Dutt- The *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, (Translation), Ch. XLVII, pp. 115-116. There is, however, no variation in the name of the second of the nine temples belonging to the genus, *Puṣpaka*, according to both the lists. It is *Gṛharaja*. According to the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* the second of the five groups of divine edifices, "is marked in quadrilateral shape," "The general characteristic features of a divine edifice are detailed in the *Garuḍa*, the *Agni* and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇs*. Of these, the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* furnishes interesting details."–vide Ch. XLVII.

वैराजः पुष्पकश्चान्यः कैलासो मणिकस्तथा ॥
त्रिविष्टपश्च पञ्चैव मेरुमूर्धनि संस्थिताः
चतुरस्रस्तु तत्राद्यो द्वितीयोपि तदायतः ॥ 12.

वृत्तो वृत्तायतश्चान्यो ह्यष्टास्रश्चापि पञ्चमः
एकैको नवधा भेदैश्चत्वारिंशच्च पञ्च च ॥ 13.

groups of divine edifices are "eminently fit to be the abodes of all deities", and "in which their images may be safely installed." From the Phirangipuram stone inscription we may safely conclude that the temple of *gṛharāja-saudha* at Koṇḍavīḍu was dedicated to the goddess Lakṣmī (Ādi Lakṣmī Kāmēśvarī, according to the *Kaifiyat* of Koṇḍavīḍu). The cruel hand of Time levelled to the ground this *gṛharāja-saudha* which was specially built and richly decorated by the royal-artist Kumāragiri Reḍḍi.

In spite of the absence of great temples ascribed to the Reḍḍi kings, there is inscriptional evidence to show that building activity was not altogether absent during their rule. The first of the kings of Koṇḍavīḍu to take interest in this kind of activity was Prōlaya Vēma, the founder of the Reḍḍi kingdom. He built steps to the holy places of Śrīśailam and Ahōbalam and to the holy *tīrtha* Pātāla Gaṅgā (at the former place), to make them easy of reach to thousands of pilgrims that visited them and earned their gratitude. This was considered an achievement in those days and was much praised by one and all. Its volume of popularity can be easily gauged by the great number of references to this act of king Vēma Reḍḍi, both in contemporary literature and in the records of the Reḍḍi kings. Vēma Reḍḍi's son Anavēma built in the Bhīmanāthanagaru at Dākshāram many maṇḍapas (*naṭya*, *kalyāna*, *hōma*, *sanivāra* and others), temples for *divyaliṅgas*, (high pyramidal *gōpuras* towers over the gates), *pātāḷa-gēhas* (under-ground chambers, compound

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प्रसादः प्रथमो मेरुर्द्वितीयो मन्दरस्तथा
विमानं च तथा भद्रः सर्वतोभद्र एव च ॥ 14.

चरुको नन्दको नन्दिवर्धमानस्तथाऽपरः
श्रीवत्सश्चेति वैराजान्वयाये च समुत्थिताः ॥ 15.

वलभी गृहराजश्च शालागृहं च मन्दिरम्
विशालश्चमसो ब्रह्ममन्दिरं भुवनं तथा ॥ 16.

प्रभवः शिबिका वेश्म नवैते पुष्पकोद्भवाः
वलयो दुन्दुभिः पद्मो महापद्मक एव च ॥ 17.

वर्धनी वान्य उष्णीषः शङ्खश्च कलशस्तथा
खवृक्षश्च तथाऽप्येते वृत्तः कैलाससम्भवाः ॥ 18.

—Ag. Pr., Ch. 104, p. 144.

walls and other structures.[11] It was under his orders that the *vīraśirōmaṇḍapa*, at Śrīśailam was constructed.[11a] Pōtāsāni, wife of Kaḍiyam Mācinēḍu, an officer of Kāṭaya Vēmā Reḍḍi, built a stone compound wall (*tirucuṭṭuāliku*) for god Bhīmēśvara of Dākshāram, for the merit of Kāṭaya Vēma, his queens, and their son Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, and his queens.[12] Herhusband Kaḍiyam Māci Nēḍu constructed an *āsthānamaṇḍapa* for god Bhīmēśvara at Dāksharam for the merit of his lord Kāṭaya Vēma, his queens, and their son, Komara giri and his queens.[13] Nāraya Peddi, an officer of Allāḍa Reḍḍi constructed at Palivela (East Godavari district) a *śilā-maṇḍapa* with a *kalyāṇavedi*[14] (marriage altar) for god Koppēśvara for the merit of his lord. Mañcelḷa Narahari Nēḍu, another officer of Allāḍa Reḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram, constructed a twenty pillared *kalyṇāā-maṇḍapa* (marriage pavilion) sixteen hastas long and eight hastas broad, to god Rāmēśvara[15] at Pālakollu (Kṣīrārāmapurī) (West Godavari district). Beṇḍapūḍi Annamantri, minister of Allaya Vēmā Reḍḍi, constructed, in front of Bhīmēśvara at Dāksharam, a twelve pillared *gōpura-maṇḍapa*[16] in stone on the banks of the Sapta-Gōdāvarī.

11. S.I.I., Vol, IV, No. 1379. This inscription is in verse which was composed by Prakāśa Bhāratīyōgī. The date of this record is Śaka 1308. King Anavēma seems to have built a house called *Anavēmanagaru* after his name at Siṁhāchalam for god Siṁhādrinātha in his temple. *Anavēmanagaru* is mentioned in an inscription at Siṁhāchalam (S.I.I., VI. No. 806).

11a. Ep. Coll. No. 20 of 1915. See above, chapter, IV. (Pt. II) p. 842.

12. Ep. Ind., IV, pp. 328 ff.

13. Ibid.

14. S. I. I., Vol, V. No. 113, (date, Śaka 1338).

15. Ibid. No. 138 (date, Śaka 1338).

16. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1381 (date, Śaka 1350). The different meritorious acts (structural) of Beṇḍapūḍi Annamantri are enumerated in the following verse in the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, a work dedicated to him. This verse also refers to the *gōpura-maṇḍapa* on the banks of the Sapta-Gōdāvarī.

రాజమహేంద్రిదుర్గమునఁ గావించె శ్రీ
వీరభద్రునకుఁ బ్రాకారశేఖ
నిలిపె మార్కండేయనీలకంఠుని మ్రోల
రామేశుఁ దమతల్లి నామకముగ
సంగమేశ్వరదివ్యశంభులింగమునకుఁ
గల్పించెఁ గల్యాణగర్భగృహము
దక్షవాటికయందుఁ దరుణేందుమౌళికి
మొగలివాకిట ధామమును రచించెఁ
ప్రాగ్గిశాలప్ర గోపుర ప్రాంగణమున
సప్తముని సింధుసోపాన సరణి కలనఁ
దీర్చె భవనంబు భీమయదేవునగర
మంత్రి దేవయ యన్నయామాత్యవరుఁడు." — I. v. 74.

PAINTING:

We often come across passages in contemporary Telugu works which refer to mural paintings.[17] These references no doubt bear testimony to the popularity of the art of painting in these times. The courtesans got the walls in their bed-rooms painted with Smara-bandha citras[18] (*Smara-bandha-citramulu*). Judged by these references in the contemporary literature, the art of painting may be said to have been in a flourishing condition in the times under review. The arts of Painting and Architecture were closely associated with one another, and went together. Temple, the art gallery of the olden days, was generally decorated with fresco paintings. Besides the temple, the houses of nobles, and kings, were richly beautified with mural paintings. There were also pictures painted on canvas; but mural paintings seem to have been the fashion of the day. In fact, Nanne Cōḍa's *Kumāra sambhavam*, a Telugu work of the pre-Reḍḍi period, contains a beautiful passage[19] which describes the process of painting a picture on canvas. Pōtana's work, *Bhāgavatam*, also contains a similar passage.[20]

17. "చిత్తరువులు వ్రాసిన గోడలు ..." — Rk. Cr., V. Pr., 190.
"ప్రతిభవన భిత్తిభాగంబులం జిత్రించిన చిత్తరువులయందు... "
—Hr. Vl, V. Pr. 40
"నర్తనాగారంబున కరిగి తదీయమణి కుడ్యభాగంబునందు
నరవరముఖ్య నీదయిన మనోహరమైనరూపు చి
త్తరువుగ వ్రాసియున్న ... " —Sk. Cr., VII. Pr. 4, v. 5.
"యం దొక్క రుచిర కుడ్యభాగంబున భవదీయమనోహరాకారం
బచ్చుపడ వ్రాసి......"—Ibid, VI. Pr. 56.
"నొనర [illegible] సినట్టి రూపంబుల
కరణి సుందరదివిజకాంతలెల్ల..."—Vr Vj., II. v. 34.
"కుడ్యచిత్రము భంగిన్"—Bj Rj., III. v, 206
"మణిగాసనములఁ జేర్చి నొనర్చి గోడలఁ
జెలువారఁ గృష్ణలీలలు లిఖించి..."—Rk. Cr., I. v. 118.

18. Sk. Cr., II, v. 115.

19. Vol. I, p. 77. 597. Based on this passage Mr. C. Sivaramamurty, M. A., contributed an article to the *Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, entitled "*A passage of painting-process from Nanne Cōḍa's Kumārasambhavam*", pp. 157 ff.

20. "అని [illegible] ... [illegible]
[illegible] పటంబు [illegible] చేసి [illegible]
[illegible] ..."

It is found in the story of Uṣāpariṇaya. In this story Citralēkha promises to Uṣā, daughter of Bāṇāsura, to paint the most beautiful youths belonging to various classes, and requests her to recognise the youth whom she had seen in her dream. Taking this opportunity Pōtana, the author, displays his knowledge of the process of painting a picture, probably as was done by his contemporary artists. This passage shows that the *paṭa* or the canvas, *vajra* (Vajralēpa), the five colours placed in different (golden and silver) saucers were the essential things required for painting a picture. The passages in the afore-said works, the *Kumārasaṁbhavam* and the *Andhra Bhāgavatam*, may be in a way, taken to indicate the continuity, in practice, of the art of Painting in the Andhra country.

The number of colours used in painting was five (*panca-vanniyalu*) according to the passage from Pōtana's *Bhāgavatam* ; but according to Srīnātha they were only four. Pōtana did not name the five colours; but Srīnātha, while describing the dawn in a beautiful verse in *Sīsa* metre, gives out their names as white, black, yellow and red. The poet compares the early sunshine to a painter's brush (*tūlikā*), employed to paint the universe with the above-named colours, which were mentioned in a poetic way. Some of the whiteness in the ripe moonlight (*taṟapi-vennela*) served to form the newly-prepared miry shell liquid (representing the white colour), the hue of the tender darkness the black liquid, the ripe flower-dust of the lotus buds which woke up from sleep the yellow colour, and the scarlet-coloured early tender twilight the beautiful red colour.[21] *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* also mentions only

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స్థలంబునకుం జని మర్త్యలోకంబులం బేరు గలిగిన వయోరూపసంపన్నులైన పురుష ముఖ్యుల నన్వయ గోత్ర నామధేయంబులతోడ వ్రాసి యాయితంబైన యప్పటంబుఁ దన ముందటికిం దెచ్చియుంచి యిప్పటంబునం దగులని వారు లేరు, సావధానంబున నాకర్ణింపుమని యిట్లనియె'' — An. Bg. II, Pr. 846, p. 881.

The different stages in painting a picture on canvas, according to Pōtana, are well explained with quotations from ancient texts, like *Silparatna* and *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi*, by Mr. C. Sivaramamurty in his article, "*A passage on painting in Pōtana's Bhāgavata*", contributed to the J. O. R., VI, pp. 184 ff.

21. ''తఱిపి వెన్నెలలోని ధావళ్య మొకకొంత
నవసుధాకర్దమ ద్రవము గాఁగ
జిన్నారి పొన్నారి చిఱుత చీకటిచాయ
యసలు కొల్పిన మషీరసము గాఁగ
నిద్ర మేల్కాంచిన నెత్తమ్మి మొగడల
పరువంపు పుప్పొళ్లు హరిదళము గాఁగ

these four *varṇas*, namely, *śvita* (white) *śōṇa* (red), *pīta* (yellow), and *kṛṣṇa* (black.)"

దొగరు వన్నియ శేత తొలుసంజ కెంజాయ
కమనీయ ధాతురాగంబు గాఁగ
వర్ణములు గూడి యామినీ వ్యపగమమున
జగము చిత్రింపఁ దూలిక చందమైన
కొమరుఁ బ్రాయంపు నూనూగు కొదమరొండ
ప్రోఁచి కభినవమాణిక్యపదక మయ్యె." —Ks. Kh., I; v. 123.

There seems to be some mistake in the last four lines. The comparison made in the above lines is not aptly concluded in the last lines. This verse is taken from the printed copies of the work. The idea underlying the verse is however apparent. The last line of the above verse has to be probably emended as "ప్రోఁచికభినవ మాణిక్య ఫలక మయ్యె", as suggested by Pandit S'ri D. Venkata Ramana Sastri Garu of the Andhra University.

22. श्वेतेषु पूरयेच्छङ्खं शोणेषुदरदं तथा
रक्तेष्वलक्तशकलं लोहितं गैरिकं तथा
पीतेषु हरितालं स्यात् कृष्णोकज्जलमिष्यते
शुध्दा वर्णा इमे प्रोक्ता श्चत्वारश्चित्रसंश्रयः ॥—(J.O.R., Vol. VI, p. 1[illegible]).

CHAPTER IX.

LITERATURE

The post-Kākatīya period may rightly be called the spring-time of both the Sanskrit and Telugu literatures. Kings of this period set the fashion to patronise poets and scholars, and accept dedication of books from them. The king's lead was taken up by their ministers, commanders, and other lesser lights who extended their patronage to the men of letters. During the mediæval period, it was held that, of the seven meritorious acts (*Saptasantānas*), that make one's name eternal, getting dedication of a *kṛti* or a book was perhaps the most important. Those who could afford, perpetuated their memory on earth by performing these seven acts of merit, which were said to endure long and keep the doer's name green in the minds of people, for many generations to come. These ideas and ideals were not a little responsible for giving a strong impetus to the literary renaissance in the Telugu country during the period under review.

The early post-Kākatīya period which witnessed the growth of new Hindu kingdoms, mainly of the Panṭa Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu, of th. Yādava kṣatriyas of Vijayanagar, and of the Padma Velamas Nāyakas of Rajukoṇḍa, can properly be marked as the age of commentary, the principal literary form in vogue then, in the dominion of Sanskrit literature. This statement should not be interpreted to mean that no *kāvyas*, *nāṭakas* or other literary compositions, were produced during this period. There were no doubt poets, who had written *gadya, padya, campū*, and *dṛśya* kāvyas ; yet, commentary or *vyākhyāna* was the chief literary form that characterised this age of the revival of Hindu *dharma*.

People had no patience or leisure to spend the whole period of *brahmacarya* in *gurukulas*, sitting at the feet of the *guru* as in days of yore and acquire proficiency in several *vidyas*, because of the disturbed social circumstances in the country. Moreover, the political conditions were such that they compelled many a youth of the intellectual class to equip themselves, like their brethren of the fourth caste, to protect not only their family and king but also their religious heritage. The number of brāhmans, who took to civil and military duties in the State during the Reḍḍi period, was, as stated previously, far greater than in any of the previous periods, and these were obliged primarily to attend to the administrative duties rather than to the study of literature, and religion. There was not enough time for the study of Vedic

literature, and consequently the ablity to understand the Vēdas, Śāstras and Kāvyas was gradually on the wane. The intellectuals painfully realised that they could not afford to neglect this study, as their sole ambition was to revive *dharma* as envisaged by the Śāstras, and refashion Vedism to suit the requirements of the age, in order to rejuvenate the Hindu society that it might hold its own against the new peril of Islām. Therefore, a thorough knowledge of the past literature, traditional usages and customs was a great necessity. And in consequence, commentaries on ancient religious texts were prepared and made available to the needy.

During this period, while the Reḍḍi kings toiled hard to set right all that was undone by the Mussalmans, by re-establishing brāhmaṇs, the custodians of Vēdic learning and spiritual culture, in their own *agrahāras*, and by reviving Vedic sacrifices and other religious ceremonies, the kings of Vijayanagar, under the guidance of the sage, Vidyāraṇya, had the proud privilege of getting the Vēdas commented upon by a band of able scholars, who flourished under their patronage. It became the sacred duty, voluntarily taken up, by the rulers of this age, to maintain and patronise as many Vēdic scholars and men of letters as they could, and hence, the court of each king was adorned with poets and scholars learned in the *Vēdas*, and Sciences.

Writing Material:

Kings of this age were not mere figure-heads. They were educated with care from their child-hood, and properly trained. The works they had to study were written mostly on palm leaves, with an iron style.[1] Travellers who visited India in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries noted this fact. John of Montecervino writes, "They have indeed an alphabet which they use to keep their accounts, and to write prayers or charms for their idols, albeit they have no paper, but write upon leaves of trees like unto palm leaves"[2]. Nicolo de Conti states that all Indians, with the exception of the inhabitants of Cambay, write on the leaves of trees, of which they make very beautiful books[3]. Conti refers to the *tāḍi* tree when he writes, "There is also a tree called *tāl*, the leaves of which are extremely large, and upon which they write, for throughout all India they do not use paper excepting in the city of Cambay[4]. The above statements of

1. "చిత్రమాకులు గంటమున నిరసించి..."—Rk. Cr., II, p. 46.
2. *Foreign Notices*. p. 188.
3. Major, Conti, p. 81.
4. Ibid, Conti, p. 18.

the foreign travellers are only partially true; for, paper, though rarely used, was not quite unknown. A stray *cāṭu* verse, ascribed to Śrīnātha, states that brāhman accountants of the Vyāpāri sect used to write their accounts on paper with pen and ink[5]. That paper was in use in the Reḍḍi period is further confirmed by another important literary work of this age, the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, produced in the court of the Reḍḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram. From the introductory verses in this work we come to know that Ariyēṭi Annamantri, minister of Allaya Vēma Reḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram, used to send to Sultān Ahmad Shāh[6] his despatches in Persian language written on paper. These evidences are enough to prove the existence of paper, of course hand-made, and its use as writing material in the Reḍḍi period. Its limited supply, and its abnormal price probably induced people of those times to write their books, accounts and letters on palm leaves, which were available in plenty and cost nothing. Paper available in small quantities at great price, was in all probability requisitioned by the State, and used only for State documents and accounts. All books, like the Purāṇas, Śāstras, Ithihāsas, and Prabandhas were palm-leaf manuscripts. Copying of classical and religious works on *tāla-patras* or *bhūrja-patras* developed into a regular profession. Expert scribes with a beautiful hand were requisitioned by kings, nobles and those who could afford to remunerate them, to copy works of their choice. Calligraphy became an art and was rewarded properly. In olden days this was one of the methods to propagate knowledge. Besides the palm-leaf manuscripts, there were works written on a different material also, cloth. Arahts, viz., the Jains and the Buddhists, used, though rarely, to write their religious works on cloth[7] with pen and ink in Nagari characters.

Education :

Education imparted to the princes differed much from that given to the general public. There is not much evidence to ascertain the

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5. "దస్త్రాలున్ మసిబుడ్లులున్ గలములున్.....బడమటన్ వ్యాపారులన్ గూర్చిరులన్".
—Ct. Mm., I. p. 128.

6. "అన్నయమంత్రిశేఖరుఁ డహమ్మదుషా.....భూమిభృ
త్సన్నిధికిన్ సముచితంబుగ వేమమహీసురేంద్రు రా
జ్యోన్నతి సంతతాభ్యుదయమొందఁగ బారసిభాష వ్రాసినన్
గన్నులపండువై యమరు కాకితమందలి వర్ణపద్ధతుల్."—Bh. Pr., I, v. 78.

7. "పటములందు నాగరలిపి ప్రస్ఫుటముగ
బరమషీ తూలికారేఖ వ్రాసినట్టి
యర్హతాగమ గ్రంథ మత్యాదరమున..."—Ks. Kh., VI, v. 74.

nature of education imparted to students in general and the institutions in which it was taught. From time immemorial the brāhman *agrahāras*, *maṭhas*, and temples, the Jain *basadis* and the Buddhist monasteries, had been the acknowledged national educational institutions for imparting knowledge to the pupils of the respective religious persuasions. Temple, *agrahāra* and *maṭha*. all played a very prominent part in the mediaeval times as media to diffuse knowledge and culture. Royal patronage and private munificence supported education in ancient times, although there was no separate educational department in the administrative machinery, as at present. Reading of Purāṇas became a regular institution for educating people in general, in *agrahāras*,[8] *maṭhas* and temples, which was maintained by land grants. Even those who never learnt to read and write, were thus educated in the Hindu lore and were able to discuss subtle questions relating to daily life and *dharma*.

There must have been also *piāl* schools, set up by private individuals, to teach boys to read and write, and as much arithmetic as was necessary for daily life. It is likely that boys of the first three castes and rarely those of the fourth, sought admission these schools. Princes of the second caste and particularly a few children of the nobles of the fourth caste received special higher education under eminent scholars. Brāhman boys in general appear to have resorted to the *gurukulas* in *agrahāras*. Technical or vocational education was imparted to boys by *ācāris* or techinical and industrial experts, in their own houses, and the student was, from the beginning of his educational career, an apprentice, and got himself trained under his master directly, in the particular trade he had chosen. It was generally considered, in days of yore, to be a gross delinquency for one to discard his family-trade and heritage, and to take up a new one.

Subjects of Study for Princes :

The education of princes was intended to make them able warriors as well as good scholars. The Telugu kāvya, *Sōḍaśakumāra-caritra*, by Vennelakaṇṭi Annaya furnishes, in a conventional way, a list of arts and sciences that a prince had to study, namely, Vēdas Vēdāṅgas, Purāṇas, Itihāsas, Dharma Śāstras, *Āyurvēda*, *Dhanurvēda*, *Bharata Śāstra*, *Kāma Śāstra*, works on Rājanīti, like *Kāmandaka*, *Cāṇakya*, *Bhārgavya* and *Kauṇapadanta*, kāvyas, *lakṣana-granthas*, nāṭakas[9] etc.

8. "........వీనుల కెల్లఁ దేనియల్
చినుకఁ బురాణవాక్యములు చెప్పెడి విప్రునిఁ జూచి యమ్మహా
జనసభఁ జేరి మ్రొక్కి...."—Sm. Dv., II, iii, v. 18.

9. Sk. Cr., I, v. 34.

None of the traditional arts and sciences of the Hindus was left out of this list. Rājanīti seems to have been one of the important subjects of study for a prince. It may be because of its importance that a great number of Sanskrit works on this subject were rendered into Telugu, as is clear from a perusal of *Sakalanītisammatam*, an anthology of verse, on Rājanīti in Telugu, compiled by Maḍiki Singana, a poet of this period. This anthology contains verses taken, as stated previously, from many works on nīti (polity), like *Nītisāra, Dhṛtarāṣṭranīti, Viduranīti*, and from the Purāṇas, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* etc. All these works on Polity must have been extant till the time of the author. The existence of most of these works now is known only from the verses quoted in the *Sakalanītisammatam*. *Rukmāṅgadacaritra* by Prauḍhakavi Mallana, another Telugu Kāvya of the same period, states that princes of the ruling family learnt the art of riding elephants, horses and chariots, and of wielding different kinds of weapons,[10] besides studying kāvya, nāṭaka, alaṁkāra, Śāstra, Purāṇa and Ithihāsa. Another list provided by another contemporary Telugu work, *Bhōjarājīyam*, consists of Vēdas, Dharmasaṁhitas, *Aśva Śāstra* (the science relating to horses), *Sāmaja-sikṣā*, the science dealing with the training of elephants), the art of wielding weapons, Rājanīti (Political), music and other arts.[11] All these lists are more or less conventional. It is unnecessary to take note of all the lists funished by the contemporary Telugu works. It seems however, certain that, considering the high level of scholarship in general, of the kings of this age, a prince was required to study Rājanīti, kāvya, nāṭaga, alaṁkāra and music, and Dharma Śāstras to some extent, and to have a good knowledge in the Purāṇa and the Itihāsa, and to acquire skill in *Aśva Śāstra*, *Sāmaja-sikṣā*, and in the art of wielding weapons. This meant a good study of Sanskrit literature for a number of years at the feet of the *guru*, and thorough training in the arts of warfare. This equipment in education qualified the prince for the royal court and for the field of battle as well. With such equipment the kings of those times were able to follow the literary and philosophical discussions held in their courts and to appreciate and adequately reward scholarship. How effective, in its own way, that education was, can be gauged by the results it had produced. Some of the kings of this age were brilliant scholars and poets, besides being great warriors. The literature produced by them and under their patronage in their courts and kingdoms, was of no mean order.

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10. Rk. Cr., I, pr. 147.

11. Bh. Rj., IV, v. 220.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

The literature of this period consisted of many new works of merit on Rhetoric, Music and Dance, besides commentaries on old Scientific works, Kāvyas and Nāṭakas. Among king-poets and patrons of literature, mention should be made first of king Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, alias Vasantarāja, son of Anavōtā Reḍḍi. He was a well-read Sanskrit scholar and an adept in music and dance. He was the author of a work on Nātya which he named *Vasantarājīya* after himself. This work is now lost. Its existence is known only from the commentaries on Kāḷidāsa's dramas, written by his brother-in-law and prime minister, Kāṭaya Vēma. From the commentary on *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, we come to know that Kumāragiri wrote his *Vasantarājīyam*, after going through the old Scientific works on this subject of sages, like Bharata, and kings like Bhōja, all experts in *Nāṭyaveda* ("*Nāṭyavēdārthavēdinām*")[12]. He spent his time in the study of literature, in the company of beautiful courtesans who were skilled in music and dance, in the celebration of *Vasantōtsavas* or spring festivals and in perpetuating *Sapta santānas*[13]. Many learned scholars who were proficient in music and dance must have thronged to his court in search of patronage.

King Kumāragiri was fortunate to have an eminent Sanskrit scholar, Kāṭaya Vēma, as his minister and brother-in-law. Kāṭaya Vēma was also a great patron of men of letters (*kavīnām-āśrayaḥ*.) Commanded by his master Kumāragiri, and in accordance with the method defined by him in his *Vasantarājīyam*, Kāṭaya Vēma commented upon the dramas of Kālidāsa, and named his commentary *Kumāragiri-rājīyam*[14], after his lord.

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12. मुनीनां भरतादीनां भोजादीनांच भूभुजाम्
शास्त्राणि सम्यगालोच्य नाट्यवेदार्थवेदिनाम्
प्रोक्तं वसन्तराजेन कुमारगिरिभूभुजा
नाम्नावसन्तराजीयं नाट्यशास्त्रं यदुत्तमम् ॥—*Sakuntala-vyakhya.*

13. भाग्यं नाम समग्रमीदृशमतिस्नेहैकपात्रं यतो
वीरं काटयवेम मुद्धतरिपुध्वंसी नियुज्य स्वयम्
नित्यं नन्दति नर्तनैरभिनवैः कान्तैर्वसन्तोत्सवैः
सन्तानाभ्युदयैः कुमारगिरिभूपालो नृपालोत्तमः॥—*Malavika-vyakhya*

13. तत्प्रोक्तेनैव मार्गेण दर्शिताशेषलक्षणः
कवीनामाश्रयो मन्त्री काटभूपतनूभवः

The next illustrious king famed for his scholarship and patronage among the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu is Peda Kōmaṭi's son, king Vēmā Reḍḍi, the successor of Kumāragirī. S'rīnātha was a *Vidyādhikārī* in his court. S'rīnātha styles his patron *Sarvajñacakravarti*,[15] a title which finds mention for the first time in Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's earliest Kurunūtala stone record dated in Śaka 1326. This fact enables us to conclude that Peda Kōmṭi Vēma acquired it even as a prince, before his accession to the throne, by virtue of his scholarship, both in the Arts and Sciences.

Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was the greatest of the king-poets of the Reḍḍi dynasty. If his predecessor Kumāragiri was an expert in Music and its allied subject Dance, Vēma was proficient both in *Sangīta* and *Sāhitya*. He is the author of *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* in Sanskrit, a treatise on Rhetoric, on the lines of Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*. This work condemns the *anumāna* of Mahimabhaṭṭa. Here and there in this work we find many verses in praise of the author. They do not seem to have been writen to illustrate the *alaṁkāras*. It therefore appears that Vēma was fond of incorporating in his work, verses sung in his praise by different poets visiting his court. Of the old author's cited in this *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* special mention should be made of one Kusumā-yudha.[16] None of his works has come to light. He appears to have been a prince of the Mudigoṇḍa Cāḷukya line that flourished in Teliṅgānā (Hyderabad State). From the Mogaliceruvula grant[17] of

सोयं वेमविभुः कुमारगिरिणा राज्ञा नियुक्तः कृती
नाख्यानां त्रितयं कृतं कृतधिया श्रीकाळिदासेनय
त्तस्योदीर्णरसार्णवस्य रसिकश्शाकुन्तलाद्येस्स्वयम्
व्याख्यानं कुरुते कुमारगिरिराजीयाख्यमस्मैहितम् ॥

—Ibid, v. 19.

"The commentary indicates that the author was a sound scholar and able expositor. He penetrates into the suggested sense of the word and seems naturally able to appreciate beauty in poetry. The commentary is undoubtedly of a high order; but does not explain minor points, and is not, therefore, fully serviceable to young students."—Patankar's *Abhijñāna Sakuntalam.*

15. चूडामणिर्नृपाणां दुर्मदपरिपन्थिशिखरिदम्भोळिः
सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्ती पेद्दकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति ॥

—Alapāḍu grant, Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 325.

16. "Among the poets Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmabhūpāla quotes, is one Kusumāyudha. — M. Krishnamacharya's *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 779.

17. "This grant was published by C. Beṇḍall, M. A., M. R. A. S., in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. XXXII (1903), pp. 281 ff) under the title "Grant of Kusumā-yudha IV". The text of this inscription is full of mistakes. It is a very important

Kusumāyudha IV, we come to know that, besides the donor of the grant, three more princes of the same name preceded him. Hence it is difficult to establish the identity of Kusumāyudha referred to in the above mentioned work. Kumārasvāmi Sōmapīthi, the well known commentator on Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrīyam* often quotes this work in his commentary.

Among the works quoted in the *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* it is interesting to note that a *bhāṇa*, and a *kāvya*, both having the name *Vīranārāyaṇacaritam*, are said to have been written by Vēma himself. The existance of these works is only known from the *Sāhityacintāmaṇi*. The author refers to them as *yathā mamaiva bhāṇē* and *yathā mamaiva kāvyē Vīranārāyaṇacaritē*. Vīranārāyana is one of the titles of Vēma.

Another noteworthy work of Vēma, recently reclaimed from oblivion, is his *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi*, a treatise on Music. Only two incomplete manuscript copies of this work are found in the Travancore Palace Library. They begin with the description of *vīṇa* in the *vādya* portion and go up to the *nṛtta* portion (chapter XV) describing the *dēśi nṛttas*.[19] The subject of the *Saṅgītacintāmaṇi*, according to the catalogue of the Trivendram Palace Library, is 'a description of the science of music dealing with the variations of *rāgas* due to changes in the *svaras*, the harmony of *rasa* and *rāga*, the deviations in *rasas* caused by *nṛttas* and *rāgas*' etc.

Besides the works described above, Vēma was the author of two commentaries, *Śṛṅgāradīpikā* and *Saptaśatīsāraṭīkā*. The former is commentary on *Amarukaśataka*, a *Śṛṅgāra-kvāya* "essentially a collection of pictures of love" by Amaruka, and the latter on the *Saptaśatī*, an anthology of verse, compiled by the Sātavāhana king, Hāla. Of the many commentaries on the *Amarukaśataka* *Śṛṅgāradīpikā* written by Vēma, and *Rasikasañjīvinī* written by Arjunadēva, a descendant of Bhōja, king of Māḷava, are considered to be the greatest.[20]

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document to the history of the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī. The date of the grant is not given. We may, however, assign Kusumāyudha IV tentatively to the tenth century.

18. D. C. S. M., (Trivendram), vol. VII, Nos. 1417 and 1418, pp. 2407–2410. The colophon of this work runs thus:

"इति सकलकलाप्रवीण श्रीवीरनारायण वेमभूपालविरचिते संगीतचिन्तामणौ"

It is interesting to note the absence of the title *Sarvajñacakravarti*.

19. See chapter VIII, on "Games and Amusements", p. 433.

20. Arjunadēva's *Rasikasañjīvini* appears to have been written nearly two hundred years earlier than *Sṛngāradīpika*. Vide, introduction, p. 2 to the *Amaruśataka* of Amaruka with the commentary of Arjunadēva—Kāvyamāla Series. No, 18.

In the introductory verses Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma describes his descent from a brother of king Prōlaya Vēma I, the builder of steps to Srīśailam and Pātāḷagaṅga,[21] and states that, once, after hearing the hundred ślōkas of Amaruka from poets who visited his court, he thought of commenting on them to reveal their meaning. This is how the commentary, *Śṛiṅgāradīpikā*, came into existence.

Saptaśatīsāraṭīkā, Vēma's commentary on Hāla's *Saptaśati*, is also called *Bhāvadīpikā*. From among the seven hundred *prākṛit gāthās* in the Hāla's anthology Vēma selected only one hundred of the choicest *gāthas* and commented upon them.

Śivaliṅga, a Reḍḍi prince of the Kandukūru branch, was another reputed Sanskrit scholar. He wrote a commentary, by name *Tattva-prakāśikā*,[22] on Haradatta's *Girīśaśrutisūktimālā*, a poetical work in one hundred and fifty ślōkas describing god Śiva as the supreme lord. The author, Haradattācarya,[23] "tries to prove that God Śiva is the highest person described in Vēdic passages as the prime origin of the world", and "the work is therefore also called *Śrutisūktimālā*" or "*Caturvēda-tātparyasaṅgraha*[24]"

In the introductory verses of his *Tattvaprakāśikā*, the author, Śivaliṅga traces his descent from a brother of Prōlaya Vēma. He was the brother of Sōmēya, and the son of Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi, the great grandson of Mallā Reḍḍi, younger brother of Prōlaya Vēma. His capital was Skandapuri (Kandūkuru) in the Nellore district. The Pedapūḍi grant, dated in Saka 1326, refers to him as *Bharatamata-Pataṅga*"[25], a sun to *Bharatamata*.

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21. Two verses, one describing the achievements of Prōlaya Vēma, the seventh *cakravarti*, and the other describing the descent of his brother Māca, found in the Phiraṅgipuram record of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma (Ep. Ind., Vol. XI. *Three inscriptions of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu*, pp. 313 ff, A), composed by his *Vidyādhikāri*, Śrīnātha, find mention in the *Sṛṅgāradīpika*. This lends support to the view that king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was in the habit of incorporating in his works, ślōkas relating to himself or to his family composed by other poets. The various facts relating to Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's works were ably and critically discussed in his "*Sṛṅgāra Srīnātham*" by Śri Pandit V. Prabhākara Sastri Garu.

22. D. C. S. M., (Madras), Vol, XXVII, Nos. 15082 and 15083.

23. Haradatta is generally believed to have flourished in the 9th century (Vide C. S. M. R., No. 4307).

24. D. C. S. M., (Madras), Vol. XXVII, Introduction, pp. i – ii.

25. Mack. Mss., No. 15—4—42,

भरतमतपतङ्गस्समत्परित्राणचङ्गः

कृतरिपुमदभङ्गस्सद्गुणव्यूहतुङ्गः

In this connection it has to be pointed out that there is another manuscript copy of the same commentary found in the Government Manuscripts Library, Madras.[26] It is interesting to note that its authorship is, however, attributed to one Īsvara haṭṭa, son of Kavivādi-bhēruṇḍa Nṛsiṁhayajva. This raises doubts about its authorship. It seems, however, quite possible to conclude in either of the two ways, namely, that S'ivaliṅgā Reḍḍi wrote the commentary himself with the help of his protege Īs'varabhaṭṭa, or that the latter wrote it under the patronage and at the command of the former who might have also commented on some of the stanzas.[27]

King Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram is known to have been an expert in both *Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya*. Poet Śrīnātha praises him as "*Sāhityakalā saṅgīta - lakṣya - lakṣaṇa - bhaṅgī-sarvajña*."[28] It is, however, not known if he had written any work.

Reḍḍi kings, like Prōlaya Vēma, his sons Anavōta and Anavēma were also great scholars, though they are not known to have been authors. They lavished their patronage on many men of letters who visited their courts. Prōlaya Vēma, like his descendants on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu, extended his liberality to Sanskrit and Telugu poets and scholars. His court was adorned by the learned Sanskrit scholar, Mahādēva of the Sēṣam family. He was an ancestor of Lolla Lakṣhmīdhara, a great Sanskrit scholar and poet who flourished in the sixteenth century. S'ēṣam, the family name of Mahādēva, got changed into Lolla, it is said, by virtue of his having been the pupil of Lollaṭabhaṭṭa, the reputed commentator on Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*. Mahādēva was at first the court-poet of the kings of Vijayanagar.

कलितसुकृतसङ्गस्त्यक्तपापान्तरङ्ग

स्स जयति शिवलिङ्गः क्ष्मापवेश्याभुजङ्गः॥

The verses in the Pedapūḍi record are faulty here and there. They can be corrected with the help of the *Tattvaprakas'ika*: for, the verses in the above record describing the donor's family, are almost the same and in the same order as those in the *Tatvaprakas'ika*. The first line in the *Tattvaprakas'ika* runs thus भरतमतपतङ्गस्सत्परित्राणचङ्गः This seems to be the correct reading.

26. C. S. .M, (Madras), R. No. 4307.

27. Some scholars hold that Īs'varabhaṭṭa was the real author of the *S'rutisūktimala*. Vide, introd., D. C. S. M., (Madras) Vol. XXVII.

28, Ks. Kh., V, v. 838

Later on he went to Koṇḍavīḍu, where he seems to have been the *Vidyādhikārī* of king Vēmā Reḍḍi.[29]

Learned men of the time of Anavōta and his brother Anavēma are not known to us with the exception of two poets, Bālasarasvati and Trilōcanācārya, the writers of their copper-plate records. Bālasarasvati was the composer of all the grants of the king Anavōta. He simply stated that he was the *vidvān* of king Anavōta and the writer of his *dharma-śāsanas*. He does not give any details about himself in the *Śāsana-kāvyas* he had written. He survived his patron Anavōta. He was also the writer of Anavēma's Dṛujjavaram, Īppugallu and Paccani Tāṇḍipaṟṟu grants and the Śrīśailam stone record. From these records we come to know that he lived till S'aka 1300 (1378 A. D.). It is not known if he produced any work.

After Bālasarasvati's death, his place was taken by Trilōcanācārya,[30] another poet of eminence. He was the composer of Anavēma's records, other than those mentioned above. He describes himself as one "who is learned in the doctrine of S'iva (*Śivāgamaviśāradaḥ*), who was born of a race of poets, (*kavikulōdbhavaḥ*), the stringing of whose words is like the sweet-sounding spray drops of the impetuous Mandākinī, which dances on the coil of the matted hair of the great Dancer (*Māhānaṭajaṭācchaṭānaṭalamanda - Mandākinīkalakvaṇitakaṅkaṇavṛajavijrumbhivāggumphanaḥ*), and who is the favourite of Śāradā (*Śāradāvallabhaḥ*)."[31] We do not know any more details about him. Another Sanskrit scholar who was honoured by Anavōta was Kōlacala Peddi Bhaṭṭa, an elder brother, according to tradition, of the famous commentator, Kolaca Malli-nātha. He was the recipient of a *vṛtti* in the village of Kollūru from Anavōta.

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29. यः कर्णाटवसुन्धराधिपमहास्थानेसुवर्णायितो
यो नित्यं निकषायितो नृपगृहे वेमाख्यपृथ्वीशितुः
श्रीमल्लोल्लटभट्टशिष्य इति यो लोल्लाख्यया श्रूयते
श्रीशेषान्वयशेखरस्सहिमहादेवो विपश्चिन्महान् ॥

The terms, *suvarṇāyitaḥ* and *nikaṣayitaḥ* in the above verse, indirectly help to suggest that Mahadēva was a simple *suvarṇa* in the *Karṇaṭavasundharadhipamahāsthāna*: and a *nikaṣa*, (a touchstone in testing probably the proficiency of scholars in different sciences) in the court of king, Vēmā Reḍḍi.

30. The writer of the Vānapalli plates of Anavēma dated in S'aka 1300 is Trilōcanācārya. This grant was made in the cyclic year, Siddhārthin, on the fourteenth tithi of the dark half of the month of Māgha. The S'rīs'ailam record of Anavēma written by Bālasarasvati, is dated in S'aka 1299, Piṅgala, in the month of Māgha. So Bālasarasvati must have died within the interval of these two records.

31. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, V. 20 (Translation, p. 65).

King Anavēma was a great patron of Letters. There is reason to believe that he extended his patronage not only to the poets mentioned above, but to many more. In fact, a verse in his Vānapalli plates states that "the wealth of Lord Anavēma existed only for the enrichment of learned men and their eloquence for his glorification.[32]" He had the title *bahusahasra-suvarṇadāna santōṣita-mahākavīśvara*,[33] one who pleased great poets with the gift of many thousands of *suvarṇas* or gold coins He was extolled for his munificence and liberality in a number of *cāṭus* both in Sanskrit and Telugu. Tradition preserves even to this day some of the stories relating to his liberality.[34] The Telugu poet, Vennelakaṇṭi Sūranna, the author of the Telugu *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* informs us that the early Reḍḍi kings, like Anavēma and Allaya Vīrabhadra, acquired great fame by means of *kṛtis*, literary works,

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32. Ep Ind., Vol. III, V. 20 (Translation, p. 65).

अन्नवेमप्रभोर्लक्ष्मीर्विबुधानां विभूतये
तस्यैव कीर्तयेजाता तेषामपि सरस्वती ॥ — V. 20, p. 62.

33. Ep. coll., No. 23 of 1915.

34. One of such popular stories is this. It is said that a poet of the Āruvēla (Six thousand) sect of brāhmans, reputed for his ready wit and humour, once visited the court of king Anavēma, and praised him in the following verse:

अनवेममहीपाल स्वस्त्यस्तु तव बाहवे
आहवे रिपुदोर्दण्डचन्द्रमण्डलराहवे ॥

The king was much pleased with the poetic beauty and paid him three thousand *suvarṇas*. The poet thereupon told the king that he himself had given *nālgu-vēlu* four thousand (*vēlu* is the plural of *vēyi*, a thousand and *nālgu* means four in Telugu). Since the letter *ve* in the above verse occurs four times, he humorously represented to the king that he had given four *vēlu*, and that it would not be befitting the king's prestige to offer less than what he had given. The king then ordered four thousand to be given to the poet. Thereupon the poet remarked that it would not be honourable to the king to return to him the same four *vēlu* (four thousand). The king then gave him five thousand (*aidu-vēlu*). The poet then respectfully pointed out to the king that he was a member of the Āruvēla (Six thousand) sect, and that it was beneath his dignity to accept less than that amount. Much pleased with his ready wit, the king ordered that he be paid six thousand *suvarṇas*. The poet then represented to the king that it is not a great thing to give what is his by birth-right, as he was one of the six thousand community. The king then paid him seven thousand, whereupon the poet protested that it was an inauspicious number both to himself and to the king. At last it is said that king Anavema was pleased to pay the poet eight thousand *suvarṇas*. This story current in the Telugu country, well illustrates the character of king Anavema and depicts the cultured man in him. It further testifies to his love of poetry, wit and humour.

dedicated to them.[35] Yet it is strange to note that not even a single work, either in Sanskrit or Telugu, dedicated to king Anavēma is extant today.

As stated already, Anavēma's successor, king Kumāragiri was a patron of letters; but the only poet of his reign known to us is Annaya, the composer of his Anaparti grant, dated in Śaka 1312. Annaya was the son of Pinnaya and grandson of Manuma Durgasudhi. None of his works, if any, is known to us.

Kumāragiri, successor of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, was, as we already know, a great supporter of learning, besides being himself a brilliant scholar and poet. Many poets and scholars resorted to his court. The great Telugu poet, Śrīnātha, was the *Vidyādhikāri* (Superintendent of learning) in his court, and examined the scholarship and talent of those who visited his lord's court in search of patronage[36]. However, the names of such poets are not preserved to us either in literature or in inscriptions.

The two jewels that adorned king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's court were Śrīnātha and Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa. The former was a great Vēdic scholar, proficient in the *Kṛṣṇa Yajus*, the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśēṣika Darśanas*, the *Sānkhya Siddhānta yōga*, the *Śaiva Āgamas*, the Smṛitis and the Purāṇas, and in many languages, like Sanskrit, Prākrit and Saurasēnī. His knowledge in the science of Dance and Music also was profound. He used to read the Purāṇas for his patron Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma[37]. His works in Sanskrit have not yet come to light. He was the composer of all the copper-plate grants of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, including the Phirangipuram stone record. These records bear testimony to his great poetical talent in Sanskrit also. It is generally believed that he was the author of the Sanskrit work, *Gōdāvarīkhaṇḍam*, said to be one of the fifty *khaṇḍas* of the Ādi Purāṇa, *Mahāskāndam*. His translation of the Prākrit work, Hāla's *Sattasai* (*Saptaśati*) into

35. అనవేమ మండలేశ్వరుఁ
డును నల్లయ వీరభద్రుఁడును మొదలుగఁ గ
ల్గిన తొంటి రెడ్డిరాజులు
ఘన కీర్తులు గనిరి కృతిముఖంబున ననుచున్.

36. "భాషించినాఁడవు బహుదేశ బుధులతో
విద్యాపరీక్షణ వేళలందు..."—Bh. Pr., I, v. 28.

37. Hr. Vl., I, vv. 8, and 12; Bh. Pr., I, v. 28; Sr. Nd., I, v. 18; and Ct. Mm., II, p. 28.

Telugu, speaks of his erudition in Prākrit. He was, however, a greater poet in Telugu than in Sanskrit, and will be adverted to again, while reviewing the contemporary Telugu literature.

The second brilliant jewel of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's court, Vāmanabhatta Bāna, was the son of Kōmaṭiyajva and grandson of Varadāgnicit of the Vatsa *gōtra.* Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa seems to have spent his early life at Vijayanagar in educating himself. From his work *Śabdacandrikā* we come to know that he was a disciple of the celebrated sage Vidyāraṇya, the spiritual guru and the political guide of Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II. Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa's attachment to the flourishing capital of Vijayanagar and his acquaintance with it may be inferred from his drama *Śṛngārabhūṣaṇabhāṇa,* which is said to have been enacted on the festive occasion (*caitrayātrāmahōtsava*) of god Virūpākṣa of the Pampātīrtha. In this work the poet exhibits his vanity by saying that he was good both in poetry and prose unlike the ancient poets, Kāḷidāsa and Bāna, who were only experts in one of them. *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi,* one of his many titles, finds mention in this *bhāṇa.* [38]

Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa was a versatile writer. He wrote three dramas, namely, *Kanakalēkhākalyāṇam, Uṣāpariṇayam* and *Pārvatīpariṇayam,* besides the *Śṛṅgārabhūṣaṇabhāṇa,* referred to above. Of these, *Kanakalēkhākalyāṇam* in four acts and *Uṣāpariṇayam* in five acts have not yet been printed. The former appears to have been written at the instance of Lakṣmīs'a Daṇḍādhipa [39] of the Viṣṇuvardhanakula,

38. "पद्येपटीयान् किल कालिदासो
गद्येपटीयान् किल भट्टबाणः
पद्ये च गद्ये च परं पटीयान्
वत्सान्वयो वामनभट्टबाणः॥ "

" ......निस्सामान्यविकासया कवितया जागर्तिवत्सान्वयः
श्रीमान्वामनभट्टबाणसुकविस्साहित्यचूडामणिः ॥ —Sr. Bh.

This drama was printed at the Arsha Press, Vizagapatam in Telugu, and in the Grantha Pradars'ini Series, Adyar, and in the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay (*Kavyamala series*) in Sanskrit.

39. जातोविश्रुतविष्णुवर्धनकुले जागर्ति........र्यो
गीतस्फीतयशस्सुधाधवलितब्रह्माण्डभित्त्यन्तरः

who is identical with Laksmaṇa Daṇḍanātha, one of the ministers of Dēvarāya I.[39a] From the introductory s'lōkas in the drama, *Pārvatīpariṇayam* (in five acts), and from the colophon at the end of the fourth *aṅka* of the *Kanakalekhākalyāṇam*, we come to know that the poet had also the titles, *kavisārvabhauma* and *gadyakavisārvabhauma*, in addition to *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* and *Sāhitya sāmrājyadhurandhara*.

Besides the dramas referred to above, Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa wrote two padya-kāvyas, *Nalābhyudayam* and *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, and one *gadya*-kāvya by name *Vēmabhūpālacaritam*, otherwise known as *Vīranārāyaṇacaritam*, a minor kāvya called *Haṁsasandēśam*, and two lexicons, namely, *Śabadaratnākaram* and *Śabdacandrikā*. Of these works *Vēmabhūpālacaritam* is a biography of his patron, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēmabhūpāla. The author herein describes the expeditions of Vēmabhūpāla, the hero of his romantic prose kāvya, in all quarters, in a grandiloquent style, emulating the example of Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, the author of the *Kādambarī*. This work, though historically unimportant, contains charming descriptions, like those in the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacaritam* in full blown ornate language. *Gadyakavisārvabhauma*, the author's title, finds mention in the colophons of this *gadya* kāvya.[40]

श्रोंमायीवरशुक्तिमौक्तिकमणिर्लोकैकरक्षामणिः
श्रीमा···पसिन्धुकौस्तुभमणिर्लक्ष्मीशदण्डाधिपः ॥

तेन च कुलक्रमागत
कवितासौरभ्यपरिगतोन्मेषः
उपलालनीयमहिमा
वा···जागर्ति वामनोबाणः ॥

The above s'lōkas are found in the Adyar copy of this drama. We do not find the first of the above s'lōkas in the copy in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The next s'lōka beginning with *tēna* is much damaged in the copy in the Manuscripts Library. At the end of the fourth *aṅka* of this drama the colophon runs thus:

इति श्रीमद्वत्सकुलतिलक गद्यकविसार्वभौम षड्भाषावल्लभ
साहित्यसाम्राज्यधुरन्धर श्रीवामनभट्टबाणविरचितं
कनकलेखाकल्याणंनामनाटकं समाप्तम् ॥

39-a. S. I. I. IV. Vol. No. 267.

40. It may be interesting to note here that many beautiful passages from the *Vēmabhūpālacaritam* are found incorporated verbatim with Telugu inflections in the Telugu work, *Bhīmakhaṇḍam*, or *Bhīmēsvara Purāṇam*, written by the Telugu

Of the two padya-kāvyas, the *Nalābhyudayam* in eight cantos deals with the story of Nala; and the other kāvya *Raghunāthacaritam* describes the story of Rama in thirty cantos. Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa does not seem to have produced any other work.[41]

poet, S'rīnātha. The passages describing Trilingadēśa in Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa's *Vēmabhūpalacaritam* are almost the same as those employed in describing Dākṣārāmapura in the *Bhīmakhaṇḍam*. Many such parallel and identical passages can be picked up from both the works (Vide, S'ri Kuruganti Sitaramayya's article entitled *Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa and S'rīnātha* in the Telugu monthly *Bharati*, Vol. 18, No. 5, May number, 1936. In his article he quoted many identical passages from both the works). This identity raises the question about the original authorship of these passages, whether it was S'rīnātha's or Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa's? Both of them were great Sanskrit poets and scholars, both were patronised by king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, and hence both were contemporaries and probably intimate friends. It might be that S'rīnātha lent a helping hand to his friend, Vēmanabatta Bāṇa in the composition of *Vīranārāyaṇacaritam*. This fact, however has to be noted. Of the two works, *Vīranārāyaṇacaritam* and *Bhīmakhaṇḍam* the, former is earlier in date than latter. It was written in the reign of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma (A.D. 1402-1420); and the *Bhīmakhaṇḍam* was written some time after 1428 A. D. Whether he had a hand or not S'rīnātha would not have hesitated to incorporate, in his work *Bhīmakhaṇḍam*, some of the beautiful passages from the *Vīranārāyaṇacaritam*. It was a habit with S'rīnātha to take from Sanskrit, ideas beautifully expressed, and *samāsas* nicely composed, wherever they are found, and to incoporate them in his works; not that he was incapable of coining such *samāsas* or expressing such ideas, but simply because he was naturally fond of such beautiful passages. This may be well illustrated by the following example. The Sanskrit s'lōka given below is found in the Dṛujjavaram grant of king, Anavēma dated in 1371 A. D.

वसन्तरायश्च वसन्तकेलौ
कस्तूरिकारेणुचयाम्बुवाहः
क्षिप्रं हिमाम्बुघनवर्षधारा
कर्पूरखण्डाः करकाविकीर्णाः ॥—C. P., No. 15 of 1922-23.

S'rīnātha rendered this s'lōka into Telugu and appropriately utilised it in his *Bhimakhaṇḍam*, while describing the *Vasantamahōtsava* in god Bhīmanātha's town, Dākshārām, celebrated by the dēvas. The Telugu verse in the *Bhīmakhaṇḍam* runs thus;

"బహుళకస్తూరికా మేఘపటలమునకు
శీకరాసారమయ్యె గొజ్జంగి నీరు
వలుదవడగండ్లునయ్యె నవ్వర్షమునకుఁ
గామినులు చల్లు కర్పూరఖండవితతి."—Bh. Pr., V, v. 123.

41. The late S'ri M. Krishnamachariar, author of "*The History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature*, mentions *Bṛhatkathamañjari*, as one of the works of Vamanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa. He writes. "Of his *Bṛhatkathamañjarī* only the portion of it, dealing with the story of Kādambari, is now available. " (page - 216). He quotes for his authority a manuscript in the Adyar Library, Madras, (Cat II, 4), I examined

Another poet Nṛsiṁha, brother of Vis'vanāthakavi, and son of Gangādhara, appears to have flourished during the rule of the Reḍḍis. He was the author of *Kādambarī*, a drama in five acts. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma refers to this work in his *Sāhityacintāmaṇi*. It is thus evident that *Kādambari* was earlier in date than the *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Nṛsiṁha's *Kādambarī* attained great fame by Vēma's time. Nṛsimha's brother Vis'vanātha may be identical with Vis'vanātha, the author of the Sanskrit drama *Saugandhikāharaṇa*[42]. Nṛsimhabhaṭṭa must have, therefore, been a contemporary of Prōlaya Vēma, the grand uncle of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma

The kings of Rājamahēndravaram were equally famous for their patronage of learning. The *vṛitti* holders in the *agrahāras* which they granted, were all great scholars, learned in the Vēdas and the S'āstras. However, we come to know of only two poets of their court, namely, S'rīvallabha of the Kaṇva *gōtra*, son of Lakṣmī and S'rīvallabha, and Sarasvatibhaṭṭa of the S'rīvatsa *gōtra*. The former was the composer of the grants of Kāṭaya Vēma and of Anavōtā Reḍḍi, nephew of Allāḍa Reḍḍi,[43] and the latter was the writer of the

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the manuscript concerned. It contains two incomplete works, one the *Kadambarī*, written by Bāṇa, and the other, an unnamed work on five leaves. The first leaf in this work is lost. From the closing passage written on page four, we come to know that it is the end of the *Vētalacaturvims'atika*. The last leaf containing the colophon states that it was written by Bāṇa. There is nothing in it to prove that the author of that work is the same Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa who adorned the court of king Peda-Kōmaṭi Vēma.

S'ri M. Krishnamachariar writes that Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa migrated to the court of king, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma when about thirty years old (Vide, his "*History of Classical Sanskit Literature*, p. 25). No evidence is cited for this statement.

42. The late S'ri M. Krishnamachariar identfies Vis'vanātha, the brother of Nṛsimha with the author of *Saugandhikaharaṇa*, and his father with Gangādharamahākavi, praised by Gaṅgādevī, consort of the Vijayanagar prince, Kumārakampaṇṇoḍeyar, in her *Madhuravijayam*, alias *Vīrakamparāyacaritam*, and states that he was the son of Agastya's sister (see his "*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 652). Agastya, as it is now acknowledged, was Vidyānātha, the author of *Pratāparudrayas'ōbhūṣaṇam*, and the court poet of Kākati Pratāparudradēva. Krishnamachariar's identifications seem probable. On their strength Nṛsimha may be said to have flourished in the early post Kākatīya period.

43. S'ri. M. Ramakrishnakavi, M.A., reveals to us another Sanskrit poet who was a contemporary of Allāḍa Reḍḍi and his son Vēmā Reḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram. In his valuable articles on the commentaries on the *Saṅgītaratnākaram* published in the *Bharati* (1936, November issue, Vol. XVIII, pp. 625 ff), he informs us that Siṅgaribhaṭṭa or Siṅganabhaṭṭa, son of Māyibhaṭṭa, was honoured by Allāḍa Reḍḍi and caused delight to the mind of his son, Vēmā Reḍḍi, and that he, later on, wrote a commentary on the *Saṅgītaratnākaram* in the Andhra language at the request

60

Vēmavaram grant of Allaya Vēma. Sarasvatībhaṭṭa had the titles *kavibrahama* and *padavākyapramāṇavit.*[44]

The copper plate records discovered in the coastal region acquaint us with some more poets, namely,

1. Nṛsiṁhabaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* (*kavir = Vēdantapāragaḥ*)
2. Vaikunṭhabhaṭṭa of the Ātrēya *gōtra* (*kaviḥ*)
3. Kandaya Peddibhaṭṭa of the Śaunka *gōtra*
4. Viśvēśvarabhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra.*

Both the poets, Nṛsiṁhabhaṭṭa and Vaikunṭhabhaṭṭa, held *vṛttis* in the *agrahāra* of Vilasa, granted by the Musunūri chief, Prōlaya Nāyaka. Of these Nṛsiṁbabhaṭṭa may be probably identical with his namesake, the author of the *Kādambarīnāṭaka*, who was also a Bhāradvāja *gōtrin*. This identification gains support from the fact that he was nearer in time to Viśvanātha kavi, the author of the *Saugandhikāharaṇa*, and to the *mahākavi* Gaṅgādhara. Kandaya Peddibhaṭṭa was the recipient of the *agrahāra* of Prōlavaram by Prōlaya Nāyaka's cousin, Kāpaya Nāyaka. He performed a *satrayāga* in the Śriśailam country, and is said to have written a commentary on the *Girīśasahasra* or *Śivasahasranāma*. This work has not yet come to light. Viśvēśvarabhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, the last of the above list, was the recipient of the village of Ālapāḍu as an *agrahāra* from king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma in Saka 1334, and belonged to a famous family of poets and

of the Vijayanagar ruler, Prauḍha Dēvarāya. From this it may be concluded that Siṅgaribhaṭṭa, after living for sometime in the court of Allāḍa Reḍḍi, and his son, Vēmā Reḍḍi, migrated to Vijayanagar, and adorned the court of Prauḍha Dēvarāya (Dēvarāya II)

"आस्ते सिङ्गरिभट्टसूरिरिति ऋग्वेद....

ऋक्शाखास्मृतिमायिभट्टतनयो य(श?)लाळराट्पूजितः

तस्मादल्लयवेमभूपसुमनस्सन्तोषमापूरयन्

. . . .

. . . .

. . . . .संमतीरत्नाकर

स्येयं प्रौढनरेन्द्रपालन....तेजसा ॥

प्रौढदेवनरनायकाङ्कित...." Etc.

44. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 26a.

scholars. His father Mādhavārya was a poet of great renown, and had the title *Sakalakavisārvabhauma.* It is for future research to unearth the works, if there were any, of Vaikunṭhabaṭṭa and of Viśvēśvarabhaṭṭa.

Similarly, we come to know of many scholars learned in sciences, but not their works, from the records of this period. The Musunūri chief, Prōlaya Nāyaka, the liberator of the land, gathered around him a number of learned brahmans, proficient in different sciences, and supported them. His Vilasa grant mentions seventy eight donees, of whom there were mathematicians, grammarians, philologists, logicians, philosophers, jurists and experts in the Āgamas, and sacrificial lore. The names of some such scholars proficient in various sciences, known from the records of the period, are given below in a tabular form, along with the phrases and passages therein used, indicating their proficiency in the special subjects of their study. This list is not exhaustive.

Name	*Gōtra*	Subjects mastered.
Ananta	Śrīvatsa	*Jyotirjñaḥ*
Anantabhaṭṭa	Harita	*Vēdānta-Śabda śāstra-kṛtaśramaḥ*
Bollibhaṭṭa	Kāśyapa	*Āgamēṣu prauḍhaḥ Ganitamarmavit.*
Carakūri Keśavārya		*Vyākhyātā-sakala-vidyānam*
Ciṭṭaya	Gautama	*Kḷptadvividha Mīmāmsaḥ, tīrṇa Vyākaraṇāmbudhiḥ*
Dēcibhaṭṭa	Kapi	*Padavākyapramāṇavit*
Eṟṟayāvadhāni	Kauṇḍinya	*Yajurjaṭādēśacarcādyavadhānapracaṇḍadhīḥ.*
Gaḍḍapalli Peddibhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	*Śabdaśāstra-Patañjaliḥ*
Haribhaṭṭa	Lōhita	*Śatōgra-Vēda ŚāstrānāmVyākartā*
Inguvu Mallubhaṭṭa	Śaunaka	*Ṣaḍdarśanīnartakīva jihvāgrē yasya nṛtyati*
Īśvara } Īśvara }	Parāśara	*Gurutantraviśāradaḥ*
Kaṟṟā Bharatasudhi	Ātrēya	*Mīmāmsāmāmsalaḥ, Śabdapaṭuḥ Tarkōpi karkaśaḥ*
Kēśava	Kauṇḍinya	*Smṛtijñaḥ*
Mallubhaṭṭa	Śaunaka	*Citrāvadhānā-Yajuṣi*
Malarava Mādhavasudhi	Kauṇḍinya	*Ṣaḍdarśanyādividyānāmyasya jihvā vihārabhūḥ*
Maṇḍapaka Rāma candrasudhi.	Parāśara	*Vyākartā-kavitā-sāṅga- Yajuḥ Śrauteṣu citrakṛt.*

Name	*Gōtra*	Subjects mastered.
Muḍiya Siṅganārya	Kauṇḍinya	*Vidvān Sangīta-Sāhitya-Śāstramārga-vicakṣaṇaḥ*
Panuāla Kommaya	Kauṇḍinya	*Ṣaḍdrśanī-vyākriyābhir-jihvāyasya-vijṛmbhatā*
Peda Bhāvanabhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	*Pāṇinis-Śabdaśāsane,culukit-āpāragambīra-Gaṇit-ārṇavaḥ*
Pedapūṇi Tallayārya	Harita	*Padavākyapramāṇānām-vyākhyātā*
Peda Siddhyabhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	*Jyōtirdṛṣṭajagadvidhaḥ*
Peñcōṭi Dēvarebhaṭṭa		*Śivāgamaviśāradaḥ Vēda Śāstra Purāṇajñaḥ*
Perumaḍimakhi	Gautama	*Vyākartāsarvaśāstrānām*
Pina Bhāvanabhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	*Jyōtiśśāstram-mahad-yasya tṛtīyam-iva-lōcanam*
Pōtappaya	Kauṇḍinya	*Dharmaśāstra-kṛtaśramah*
Pōtibhaṭṭa	Srīvatsa	*Śabdaśāsanavit*
Poṭnūri Vallabhasudhi	Sāṇḍilya	*Brahmā-Yajuṣi-Śāstrānām vyākhyātā*
Prēkēṭi Nārāyaṇamakhi	Ātrēya	*Tārkikas-Tāntrikas-Sāma śābdikō-yājñikaḥ-kaviḥ*
Rāmaya	Kāśyapa	*Gaṇita-Brahmabirudaḥ*
Saṅkara	"	*Ṣaḍdarśanapaṭuḥ kavitākṛtī*
Siṅgayajva Perumādimakhi	Gautama	*Śāstrānām vyākhyātā*
Singayārya	Harita	*Mīmāṁsā Śabda-Tarkabhūḥ*
Sōmayārya	Bhāradvāja	*Jyōtirvit*
Vennyārya	Kauśika	*Śāstravyākhyādhurandharaḥ*
Vidyā Viśvēśvara	Śāṇḍilya	*Kaviḥ*
Vissayārya	Saunaka	*Citrāvadhānī Yajuṣi*
Viśvēśvara	Srīvatsa	*Vaiyāsikamataprauḍhaḥ*
Guḍimeṭṭa Sarvadēvamakhi	Harita	*Vyākhyātākhila-Śāstrānām*
Nādhubaṭṭōpadhyāya	Kapi	*Vyākhyātā*

A perusal of the above list shows that *Vyākaraṇa*, *Jyautiṣa*, *Gaṇita*, and *Mīmāṁsā*, were extensively studied in the coastal Andhra, in the times under review. None of the works of the many commentators on Ṣaḍdarśanas and Śāstras has come to light. This list is given with a view to help future research to discover any of the works written by them. It is well worth noting that the study of *Gurutantra* (*Pūrva Mīmāṁsā*) was still continued in Andhra in the middle ages. There were even scholars who mastered the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Śukla Yajur Vēda*. Kāmayārya, son of Vallabhārya of the Maṇḍavelli family,

is described as *Śatapathī* (*Vidvān Śatapathī Kamayāryaḥ Śukla Yajuḥ paṭuḥ*-v 76) in the Koṅkuduru plates of Allaya Doḍḍā Reḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram. The same grant informs us that Mallayārya of the Narlūri family studied completely *ṚigVēda* along with the Brāhmaṇas (*Brāhmaṇavṛtti Rig Veda-pāragaḥ*).

In this period many great astronomers flourished in the coastal country, and specially developed the science under the patronage of the Reḍḍi kings and other chiefs. This fact is borne out by the copper-plate records of the period. Gaṇapati of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* was "an ocean of knowledge of the Vēdas and the Sciences" (*Vēda-Śāstravijñānasindhvaḥ*) and was well versed in *Praśnāṣṭaka*, a branch of Astronomy. He was the recipient of the village of Prōlavaram as an *agrahāra* from Nāmaya Nāyaka of the Vīrasāmanta family of Piṭhāpuram. We come to know of a very renowned family of astronomers belonging to the Haritasa *gōtra*, who were patronised by the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu. The genealogy of these *daivajñas* is given below.

Narasiṁha
(*Paravādikuñjaraghaṭāsiṁhaḥ*)
|
Bhīmēśvarayajva
Yāgavidhānaśālī
|
Pōtibhaṭṭa
(*Ṣaṭtarkakarkaśālāpaprakriyāparamēśvaraḥ*)
|
Guṇḍayārya
(*Puṇḍarīkadṛśēvidyākhaṇḍacandrahṛtōbhidhā*)
performer of the Pauṇḍarikayāga
|
Peddiyajva (*Brahma-Sūryādisiddhāntasindhu-manthānak-ādriḥ*; *Daivajñacūḍāmaṇēh Yajurāmnāyavēdī*; *Nityānndānavratī*)
|
Rāmacandra (*Brahma-Sūryādisiddhānta-rahasyārthaikavēdī*) — Gaṅgādhara

The titles and phrases noted against each name in the above table, testify to the greatness of this learned family of astronomers. Peddiyajva, also called Peddibhaṭṭa, adorned the court of king Anavēma, and received from his patron the village of Paccani Taṇḍipaṟṟu (Tenali taluk, Guntur District) in Śaka 1296. He was also an elder contemporary of kings, Kumāragiri and his cousin Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Peddibhaṭṭa and his sons visited the court of Peda Kōmaṭi

Vēma after his accession to the throne, and found ready support from that learned king *Sarvajñacakravarti*. His minister, Māmiḍi Siṅganāmātya, a descendant of Chiṭṭaya[45] of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, was a profound scholar in Astronomy, and wrote *Gūḍhārthadīpīkā*, a commentary on the *Sōmasiḍdhānta*. He might have helped Peddibhaṭṭa and his sons to some extent, in getting the royal patronage, for, he was himself an astronomer of no mean ability. In the work *Sṛṅgāra Naiṣadham* which he accepted dedication from poet Śrīnātha, he was referred to as *kavitāsiddhānta sarvajña* and *pañcāṅgasthiramantrarakṣaṇakalāprauḍha*[46]. He must have well appreciated the merit of Peddibhaṭṭa and his sons, and lent a helping hand to them. Peddibhaṭṭa received from Kōmaṭi Vēma two villages Kaluvāmula and Nandamūru as *agrahāras* in Śaka 1326 (1404 A.D.), and Śaka 1333 (1411 A. D.) respectively. Peddibhaṭṭa's son Rāmacandra also was a great astronomer. He was the recipient of the village of Rudravaram from the same king in Śaka 1341 (1419 A. D.). Peddibhaṭṭa and his sons became the ornaments of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma's court.

The science of Astronomy seems to have been patronised by the kings of Koṇḍavīḍu from long before the time of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. The Kōḍūru grant of Anavōtā Reḍḍi brings o light two more astronomers, Narasimhajyautiṣika of the Vasiṣṭha *gōtra*, and Tallaya of Kōḍūru. Though there were such great astronomers, it is strange that no astronomical work written by any one of them, with the exception of *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* which is extant, has come to light.

"There is a class of philosophers", writes Conti, "found throughout all India called Brāhmans who devote themselves much to

45. अस्ति श्रीमद्भरद्वाजगोत्रे श्रोत्रियभूषणम्
पेद्दुक्कयसन्मन्त्रिवंशांभोधिसुधाकरः ॥
नप्ता श्रीचिट्टयाख्यस्य पौत्रो मामिडिमन्त्रिणः
तनुजः पेद्दनार्यस्य श्रीनृसिंहो महायशाः ॥
पेदकोमटिवेमेन्द्रमन्त्रिणा तेन धीमता
ज्योतिर्विद्यानिराघाटसरस्वत्पारदृश्वना ॥
सिङ्गयामात्यरत्नेन भुवि लोकहितैषिणा
क्रियते सोमसिद्धान्तव्याख्यागूढार्थदीपिका ॥ (C. S. M. Madras, R. No. 1715).

46. "నారీచిత్తసరోమరాళ, నయచాణక్య వివేకాన్వయ
క్షీరాంభోధిసుధామయూఖ కవితాసిద్ధాంతసర్వజ్ఞ..." —Sr. Nd., VI, v. 144.
"పంచాంగస్థిరమంత్రరక్షణకళాప్రౌఢుండు..." —Ibid, I, v. 10.

Astronomy and the prediction of future events. They are men of superior cultivation, and are distinguished by a greater sanctity of life and manners.[47]" The kings of Rājamhēndravaram also patronised scholars well-versed in Astronomy. Pinnaya, son of Siṅgaya of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who adorned the court of Anavōtā Reḍḍi, son of Anavrōla of Rājamahēndravaram, was proficient in the sciences of Jyautiṣa and Śakuna, and had the titles *Jyōtirmārganirargaḷa*, and *Śakuna - Brahmā.* He received from Anavōta the village of Chikkāla, re-named Prōlaya-Komaragiripuram, as an *agrahāra* in Śaka 1344. This village is identical with Kommuchikkāla in the West Godavari district (Bhimavaram taluk).

There were some more astronomers, like Nārāyaṇa, son of Kācibhaṭṭa of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, and Annaya, son of Gōpalabhaṭṭa of the Haritasa *gōtra*, who were patronised by Annadēva Cōḍa and other cheifs, and received shares in the *agrahāras* donated by them.

Another science which found ready patronage from the kings of this period was *Āyurvēda*. Grants of this period bring to light a great family of Āyurvēdic physicians, namely, the Parahitas of the Ātrēya *gōtra*. The family traces its descent from one Parahita, a *sarpavyādhicikitsaka*, who is said to have obtained that honorific title by saving a serpent suffering agony, by extracting a bone sticking up between its jaws, and healing the wound.[48] Members of this *paṇḍita* family of Parahita were experts in medicine, especially in *sarpacikitsa* and *visavaidya*. Those who practised medicine in days of yore were called *paṇḍitas*. Any number of examples may be cited in support of this statement.[49] That is why Parahita's family is termed *Paṇḍitānām-kulam* in inscriptions..

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47. Major. Conti. p. 25.

48. . . . . परहितस्सर्पव्याधिचिकित्सकः। v. 54.

दार्घास्थिस्यूतवक्त्रोभयपुटमसकृद्दर्शयन्तं स्वमास्यं
दृष्टवाावल्मीकपार्श्वे भुजगवरमुपेत्या भयो यः कृपालुः
कृत्वा सम्यक्चिकित्सामचिर मपरुजा तेन दत्ताभयश्री
रन्यार्थोपक्रम त्वात्परहितभिषजो नामतस्यार्थयुक्तम्॥ v, 55.

—Kaluvacēṟu grant.

49. The Koṇḍaviḍu record (S.I.I. IV. No. 699) of king Sadāśiva Rāya of Vijayanagar dated in Ś. 1468, registers grants of land to many *paṇḍitas*, evidently physicians

The chiefs of Koṛukoṇḍa, and the Reḍḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram extended their patronage to the members of the Parahita family. Siṅgaya Nāyaka of Koṛukoṇḍa made a grant of the village of Akkalapūṇḍi [50] to the Āyurvēdic physician, Parahita of the Ātrēya family in Saka 1290. Anitalli, queen of Allaya Vīrabhadrā-Reḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram, made a gift of the village of Kaluvacēṛu [51] (Tanuku Taluk, West Godavari district) to Parahita, son of Kālanāthabhaṭṭa [52] of the same family in S'aka 1345. With the help of the two grants mentioned above, the genealogy of the Parahita family may be traced as shown in the table below.

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both veterinary and Āyurvēdic, of whom "As'vavaidyulu Lakṣmaṇa paṇḍitulu", was one. Among the donees, it is interesting to note that there was one Parahita Paṇḍita also, a member of the Parahita family. This inscription shows that the members of the Parahita family maintained their reputation even during the Vijayanagar period, and can be traced in inscriptions until almost the end of the sixteenth century. A record (S.I.I., IV, No. 1374) at Dāksharam registers the gift made by one Annaya Paṇḍita of the Gautama *gōtra*, who is referred to therein as *Vaidyēndra*.

The As'vāyurvēdavaidya Vāsudēva is referred to in a record (S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 180) as Vāsudēva Paṇḍita, son of Ananta Paṇḍita of the Ātrēya *gōtra*. Some of these Paṇḍitas were also Sthānādhipatis of temples (S.I.I., Vol., V, No. 189). Mallikārjuna, Mañcena, and S'rīpati, the three reputed S'ivācāryas, that go by the name of *Āradhyatrayam* in the Andhra country, were also called Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita, Mañcena Paṇḍita, and Śrīpati Paṇḍita. Here also the term Paṇḍita, I believe, connotes that they were experts in Medicine. Names of S'ivācāryas with the suffix paṇḍita, like S'rīkaṇṭha Paṇḍita, and Sōmēs'vara Paṇḍita, are met with in ancient inscriptions (vide, Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Sk. 94 and 98). These S'ivācāryas, whether of the Kālāmukha, Pās'upata, or of any other school, are known to have been experts in medicine. They established hospitals for the public. The *Kōḍiya maṭha* or Kēdārēs'vara temple, at Belagamve of the Kālāmukha S'aivas contained a hospital in it (*nānānathayrōgijanarōgabhiaṣajyasthānam*, the place for the treatment of diseases, given to the destitute and the sick (Ep. Carn, Vol. VII, SK. 102. The Pās'upata S'aiva teacher, Vis'vēśvara S'ivaof the Gōḷakī *maṭha* established a maternity hospital at Mandaḍam in the Guntur district, during the reign of Rudramadēvi, daughter of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 147 ff).

50. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII pp. 59 ff.

51. A. S. P. P., Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.

52. Members of the Kālanāthabhaṭṭa family, who are now living in the West Godavari district, claim to be the descendants of Parahita IV's father, Kālanāthabhaṭṭa, after whom, they say, their family got its name.

Parahita (I) of the Atreya *gōtra*
(*Sarpavyādhicikitsakaḥ*)
|
Mallinātha
|
Parahita (II) = Umā
|
Rāmanātha
alias Rāmaya = Aitāṁbikā

- Parahita (III) Ś. 1290
- Dēvarāya (I)
- Kālanātha
  - Parahita (IV) Ś. 1345
  - Dēvarāya (II)
  - Varada

Parahita II was one who knew the secrets of all the Āgamas (*sarvāgamārthatatvajñaḥ*). He is said to have got the name Parahita by practising *sarpacikitsa.*[53] His son Rāmanātha also was an expert in the treatment of diseases. Parahita III was a great Vēdic scholar and physician. He is said to have taught the *Yajur Vēda*, and the *Āyurvēda* to his students, and accomplished the object of his life. He was the recipient of Akkalapūṇḍi. Parahita IV received the village of Kaluvecēru as an *agrahāra* from king Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi and his queen Anitalli, in Śaka 1345. He was eulogised as *vaidikakarmakarmaṭhamatiḥ, Śivārcanātatparaḥ, dīnajanāvanaḥ*, and *Āyur-Yajur-Vēdavit.*

Kings of Koṇḍaviḍu also, especially Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, supported the science of *Ayurvēda.* His Ponnupalli records register grants of villages to eminent Āyurvēdic physicians. The donee of one[54] of these grants, dated in Śaka 1326, was one Bhāskarārya, a Yajurvēdin, son of Parahita of the Kaśyapa *gōtra* and of the Āpastamba Sūtra. Bhāskara was a *Paṇḍitēndra* and a member of the Parahita family that received its name by saving a serpent.[55] He hed the title

53. "...सर्पचिकित्सामकरोत्तदुपज्ञा परहिताभिधानश्री:"

—v. 56. Kaluvacēru grant.

54. The text of this record is given in Sr. Sr., (Vide, Appendix pages 14 and 15.)

55. "....द्विजन्मानाम्।
मराड्कशल्यव्याधिसर्पप्राणाभिरक्षणात्

Bhūlōka Dhanvantari. The grant referred to above shows clearly that there were two branches of the same Parahita family, with two different *gōtras*, one of the Ātrēya *gōtra* and the other of the Kās'yapa *gōtra*. It is really enigmatic how the descendants of the same Parahita belonged to two different *gōtras*. The other Ponnupalli grant [56], issued in S'aka 1330, records the gift of that village to Siṅganārya of the Kās'yapa *gōtra*, another very great scholar and Āyurvēdic physician well versed in the Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, in the *Patañjali Mahābhāṣya*, in the *Vaiśēṣika*, *Nyāya*, and *Mīmāsā Draśanas* [57]. He was the son of Villayārya, grandson of Bhāskarārya, and great-grandson of Periyavilla.

His genealogy, as given in this grant, is as follows :—

Periyavilla of the Kās'yapa *gōtra*
|
Bhāskarārya
|
Villayārya
|
Siṅganārya (Donee)

The donees of the two Ponnupalli grants under discussion appear to belong to the same family, and to the same Kās'yapa *gōtra*. Siṅganārya's grandfather Bhāskara is, in all probability, identical

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आसेदुषां पण्डितानांकुले परहिताभिधाम्
जाताश्चापस्तम्बसूत्रे सूत्रमार्गानुसारिणि
काश्यपाय यजुश्शाखाध्यायिने सुकृतात्मने
भूलोकधन्वन्तरये सतः परहितस्य च
पुत्राय भास्करार्याय पण्डितेन्द्राय धीमते..."

—Ponnupalli grant, 15.

The text of this grant was published by S'ri Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu, in his *Sṛngara Srinatham* as an appendix, in pages 14 to 16. The donee's *gōtra* was Kasyapa and not Bhāradvaja, as stated in the text of the book (Vide, Sr. Sr., p. 112).

56. Sr. Sr., Vide, Appendix, p.

57. तत्रे श्रीपेर्यविल्लस्य कल्याणगुणशालिनः
अकर्तृकाणां साङ्गानामाद्यानां वचसां निधेः
श्रीभट्टभास्करार्यस्य पौत्राय ब्रह्मवादिनः
अष्टादशानां विद्यानामभ्यन्यस्य महद्गुरु

with the donee of the first set dated in Saka 1326. The name of his father Parahita seems to be the common title of the members of this family, his real name being Periyavilla. Periyavilla and Villayārya are strange names and are not common among the Andhras. Judged by their names they appear to have been Drāvida brāhmans.[58] If this surmise is correct, it is no wonder if the *gōtras* of the donees of the Ponnupalli records and those of the Akkalapūndi and the Kaluvacēru grants are different. Then, how could the Drāvida brāhmans claim to be members of the same Parahita family? Parahitas of the Ātrēya *gōtra* were an old family. It was flourishing in the Andhra from almost the beginning of the Reddi period. No such antiquity can be postulated, with the evidence available to us, to the Ponnupalli family. Members of the latter family were probably the pupils of the Parahitas, and learnt from them *Parahita-vaidya*, a special school of medicine, probably relating to *sarpacikitsā* or *visa vaidya*, to be more comprehensive. Hence, they may be taken as Parahita's cultural descendants, who maintained and nurtured this medical art. In ancient times, there were such descendants in the sphere of religion (a pupil or disciple considered himself to be the son of his *guru*), and in the sphere of politics (a king's subordinate considered himself to be his son). In the same way, members of the Ponnupalli family belonging to the Kās'yapa *gōtra* appears to have styled themselves as the descendants of Parahita *Pandita* in the sphere of culture – medical art).

There is a treatise on Medicine in Sanskrit called "*Parahita-samhitā*"[59], in the Government Oriental manuscripts Library, Madras,

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पुत्राय विळ्ळयार्यस्य वेदवेदाङ्गवेदिनः
आयुर्वेदञ्च साष्टाङ्गं निर्निरोधमधीतिने
फणिराजमहाभाष्यफक्किकापरमेष्ठिने
कर्मब्रह्मपरामर्शमीमांसामांसलात्मने
कणभुग्ग्रथितग्रन्थिसिन्धुमन्थानभूभृते
अक्षपादमतप्रेक्षपक्ष्मलीकृतचेतसे
तस्मै काश्यपगोत्राय सिङ्गनार्यायधीमते
शान्ताय शिवभक्ताय यजुराम्नायवेदिने..."

—Ponnupalli grant, No. II, p. 16.

58. We find even to-day Drāvida brāhmans of the Kās'yapa *gōtra* at Ponnupalli.

59. The colophon at the end of this work (D.C.S.M. (Madras), Vol. XXIII, No. 13846) runs thus:

इति श्रीनाथपण्डितस्यकृतौ परहितसहिताया मष्टमखण्डे अष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥

ascribed to one Śrīnātha *Paṇḍita* of the Parahita family. The work contains the *Aṣṭāṅgakāṇḍa* in eight *adhikāras*, of which the beginning is wanting in the first *adhikāra*. The names of the sections with the exception of the first which is unknown, are given below:

1 ... ...
2 *Kaumāratantrādhikāraḥ*
3 *Bhūtavidyādhikāraḥ*
4 *Dahacikitsādhikāraḥ*
5 *Śalyādhikāraḥ*
6 *Sarvaśalyādhikāraḥ*
7 *Rasāyanādhikāraḥ*
8 *Vājīkaraṇādhikāraḥ*

Why this work was called Parahita Siaṁhita, and what the extent and speciality of this work was, have yet to be ascertained. *Parahitaviṣṇusiddhānta*, probably another work on Medicine, is alluded to in the colophon to the first chapter of *Nṛsiṁhanidānam*[60], a medical treatise written by a certain Nṛsiṁha *Paṇḍita* of unknown date.

We do not know if *Parahitasamhita* and *Prarahitaviṣṇusiddhānta* are allied works on the same subject, and if the latter is extant.

Rasa-vaidya, or treatment of diseases with mercurial preparations, was greatly developed during this period, because of the impetus given by the Siddha cult of the Navanāthas. The Navanāthas and their disciples were experts in *Vādas* (metallurgical sciences), specially in *Rasavāda*. They used *Rasa* or mercury for curing diseases. In the *Rasakacchapuṭam*,[61] a treatise dealing with the purification of mercury, and the preparation of different kinds of mercurial powders and medicines, the author Nāgēśa or Nāgārjuna gives, in the beginning of the work, a list of names of medical works *Rasa Śāstras* which he consulted in writing that work. We find, among the authors of these

60. Ibid, No. 13167.
The colophon runs thus :
इति श्रीप[ति]रहितविष्णुसिद्धान्तसागरादिसूर्यविरचित पण्डित श्रीनृसिंहकृतौ
नित्यानन्दनानाशास्त्रसंमताद्यशीति वातनिदा[ने]नं(नाम) प्रथमोध्याय: ॥

61. Ibid, No. 13192.
ताक्ष्यं धन्वन्तरिंव्यासं पीयूषं पारदं शुभम्
व्यालिनागार्जुनं चैव गोविन्दं लोकनायकम् ॥

works, Vyāḷi and Nāgārjuna, two of the nine Nātha Siddhas (Navanāthas) mentioned. The latter is described as *Rasa-Śāstra-nirmāta* in the Telugu work *Navanāthacaritra.*

An interesting feature of the times under review was the appointment of a special royal physician in each court, called the *prāṇācārya* (the guardian of king's life), to look after the health of the king. Parahita III was the *prāṇācārya* of Siṅgaya Nāyaka of Koṟukoṇḍa. Lakṣmaṇācārya [62] was the *prāṇācārya* of prince Bukka II, son of Harihararāya II of Vijayanagar. The kings of those days, being constantly under fear of Viṣa-prayōga, did not readily take food (sweets and other edibles), cloths, jewels and ornaments, sent to them by their subordinates or equals as tributes or presents, without getting them examined by an expert medical officer. This seems to be the reason for the appointment of a *prāṇacārya,* a special medical officer attached to the king. We find, in the ordinary Telugu kāvyas of the period, like *Rukmāṅgadacaritra,* [63] works which have nothing to do with Political science, verses relating to *viṣaparīkṣa,* in a discourse on *rāja-nīti,* a prince ought to know.

Any account of literature of either Telugu or Sanskrit during the Reḍḍi period cannot be complete without referring to the literary activity, in the kingdom of the Rēceṟla chiefs of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa. The Reḍḍi and the Rēceṟla kings vied with one another in extending their patronage to poets and scholars, and in producing literary works. Both were equals in maintaining political grandeur, in extending patronage to men of letters, in scholarship and military skill. If Siṅgabhūpāla of Rājukoṇḍa was a *sarvajña,* king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍavīḍu also had the same title. Poet Śrīnātha, the court poet of the Reḍḍi kings, visited the Rājukoṇḍa court also, and was honoured by the Receṟla chiefs. He was the cultural link, as it were, that connected Koṇḍavīḍu and Rājukoḍṇa, the two rival houses.

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62. Further Sources, I, No. 34-a.

63. "వివిధాన్నము లొరు లంపిన
నవనిని నొరుఁ గుడువఁ బెట్టి యతనికి జీర్ణం
బవు టెఱిఁగి భుక్తిఁ గొనఁదగుఁ
బ్రవిమలమతి భక్ష్యభోజ్య పానీయాదుల్.

జనపతి యన్యనృపాలుఁడు
పనిచిన భూషణసుగంధ పరిధానంబుల్
మునుమున్న పూసఁగాఁదగ
దెనయఁగ విషయంత్రిఫంగు లెఱిఁగినదాకన్." —Rk. Cr., III, vv. 18-19.

Siṅgabhūpāla II, also called Kumārasiṅga, was a great Sanskrit poet and scholar, and the author of the *Rasārṇavasudhākaram*, a treatise on Rhetoric in Sanskrit. He was the son of Anavōta I, and grandson of Siṅga I. The term kumāra seems to have been particularly applied to grandsons named after their grandfathers. Anavōta I's grandson who was named after his grandfather, had also the name of Kumārannavōta or Anavōta II. Himself a great scholar and poet, Siṅga II gathered round him noted scholars and poets, like Viśvēśvara and Appayārya. He quotes profusely in his work, prose passages and ślōkas in illustration of different *lakṣaṇas* from different dramas. Of these some dramas appear to have been written by himself and some by others. A majority of these works are not now extant.

Recently *Ratnapañcālikā*, otherwise called *Kuvalayāvaḷī*, a drama written in Sanskrit by Siṅgabhūpāla II, was discovered in the Travancore Palace Library, and published. This drama in four acts describes the marriage of lord Śrī Kṛṣṇā with Kuvalayāvaḷī. *Pratigaṇḍabhairava* and *khaḍganārāyaṇa*, the well known titles of Kumāra Siṅga, find mention in this work. This drama is stated to have been enacted on the occasion of the *vasantayātrāmahōtsava* of god Prasanna Gōpāladēva residing at Rājaśaila (Rajukoṇḍa). In this drama, the author describes himself as *lalitakavitāvilāsa - caturānana*. His protege Bommakaṇṭi Appayārya pays a high compliment to Siṅga II by extolling him as *sarvajña* in his *Amarakōśavyākhyā*.[64] He says that, if a work was examined by the *Lakṣya - lakṣaṇavēdī* Kumāra Siṅga, it

64. "विद्यादैवतजाततावकगुरो सर्वज्ञचूडामणे ...."

—C. S. M. (Madras), R. 2672, p. 59.

"कुमारसिङ्गभूपेन लक्ष्यलक्षणवेदिना
शोधितश्चेदयं ग्रन्थः किं शोध्यं शोधकान्तरैः
कुमारसिङ्गभूपेन यः कदापि न शोधितः
स ग्रन्थः शोधितोऽप्यन्यैः किं व्यवह्रियते बुधैः॥
काव्यालङ्कारनानार्थतत्वभावितमानसः
कुमारसिङ्गभूपाल एक एवास्ति नापरः॥ — Ibid, R. No. 1401; R. N. 1170.

जैवातृकं बुधगुरुं निलयं कलानाम्
सर्वज्ञमूर्धमणिमाश्रितशुद्धपक्षम् ।
श्रीबोम्मकण्ट्युपपदाङ्कितमप्पयार्य
सर्वेष्टितोषितसुरं द्विजराजमाहुः ॥ — Ibid

was unnecessary to go through it again, and that, if it did not merit the appreciation of Singa, it was of no avail even if it was corrected by others. Besides the two works *Rasārṇavasudhākaram* and *Ratnapāñcālikā*, Singa II also wrote *Sangītasudhākaram*,[65] a commentary on S'ārngadhara's *Saṅgītaratnākaram*.[66] This work also was recently discovered in the Mahārāṣṭra country and is now in the course of publication.

Now, let us see if we can fix the date of Siṅgabhūpāla's works. It seems that only the date of *Rasārṇavasudhākram* may be fixed roughly, and not the dates of other works. *Rasārṇavasudhākaram* was earlier in date than *Camatkāracandrikā* written by Vis'vēs'vara, the court-poet of Singa II. This is clear from the fact that Vis'vēs'vara frequently quotes the former in his work. Bhōganātha, the *narmasaciva* of the Vijayanagar Prince, Saṅgama II, and the composer of his Bitraguṇṭa grant[67], dated in S'aka 1278 (1356 A.,D.) quotes in his *Alankārasudhānidhi*,

65. Of this work the first chapter on *Svaralakṣaṇa* was printed at Calcutta in 1880. In this printed copy the colophon runs thus: '*Simhabhūpālaviracitayam......Saṅgītasudhākarākhayām...*" [illegible] colophon to the first chapter in the manuscript copy recently discovered, [illegible]ads differently. According to this, the author of the first, third, and the fifth chapters is a certain Gaṅgādhara, son of Bhaṭṭa S'ṛiṅganātha, the dharmādhikāri of Mahārājādhirāja S'ri Gōpīnātha, the ruler of the Na[illegible]adātaṭa country. But again the authorship of the second, fourth, and sixth ch[illegible]ters is attributed to the Andhramaṇḍaladhīs'vara, Siṅgabhūpāla, son of Anavōta, who is no doubt Kumārasiṅga. It is difficult to account for this discrepancy in the colophons of this work, and to establish the identity of Gaṅgādhara. The usual practice of describing the genealogy of the author in the introductory verses is not followed in this work. In its stead we find the following verse.

अतिगम्भीरे विषये कतिपयवेद्येत्विहग्रन्थे
सम्यग्व्याख्याकुशलः सर्वज्ञः सिङ्गभूपएकैकः ॥

66. S'ārṅgadhara, the author of the *Saṅgītaratnakara*, was the son of Sōḍhala, a contemporary and the S'rikaraṇādhipa of the Yādava king, Siṅghaṇadēva who flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century. R. G. Bhandarkar writes thus in his *Early History of the Dekkan* in connection with the above commentary: "There is a commentary on this work attributed to a king of the name of Siṅga who is represented as a paramount sovereign of the Andhra circle. This Siṅga appears, in all likelihood, to be Siṅghaṇa; and the commentary was either written by him or dedicated to him by a dependant, as is often the case"-(Vide. the *Early History of the Dekkan* III edition (1928), pages 194–195). The commentary in the above passage is, no doubt, the same as the one described above. Singa, "the paramount sovereign of the Andhra circle" was not Siṅghaṇa, the Yadva king of the Mahārāṣṭra country, but the Rēcerla chief, Kumāra Siṅga.

67. "सक्ष्माचक्रदिशाविलासि विभुना तिग्मांशुहारश्रिया
विश्रामक्षणविश्वरङ्गमयताकल्पं यशोज्योतिषाम्

another treatise on Rhetoric, verses from *Māgha* and *Camatkāracandrikā* illustrating *cakrabandha*[68] *Alaṅkārasuhdānidhi* must have been written about Śaka 1280, or Śaka 1300 at the latest. Before this date, Viśvēśvara completed his *Camatkāracandrikā*. *Rasārṇavasudhākaram*, a still earlier work than *Camatkāracandrikā*, must have been written long before the latter one. Hence, it may be concluded that Singa II wrote his work, while he was a prince during his father's reign, some time about Śaka 1290, that is, 1368 A.D.

Next to Siṅgabhūpāla, his son Ravu Mādhava Nāyaka (Māda Nāyaka) has to be mentioned among the king-poets and scholars of the Rēcerla family. The stone record of his wife Nāgāmbikā at Nāgāram, a village to the north of Rājukoṇḍa, reveals the fact that Mādhava wrote in Śaka 1349, *Rāghavīyam*,[69] a commentary on *Śrīmad Rāmāyaṇa*, and offered it at the lotus feet of god Śrī Rāma. This work is now lost.

As already stated, Viśvēśvara, the author of the *Camatkāra-candrikā* was patronised by Siṅga II. He was a pupil of Kāśīśvaramiśra, the author of *Rasamīmaṁsā*, now extinct. Viśvēśvara's *Camatkāra-candrikā* is purely a *lakṣaṇagrantha* in eight *vilāsas*. The verses in this work illustrative of the several *lakṣaṇas*, are all in praise of the author's patron. While giving an estimate of the work, Dr. V. Raghavan writes,

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विद्वत्कान्ति मुरापहप्रविशदाविर्भूतकृत्स्नागमा
मांधाता न च तद्विशेषविदुषा याति द्विषां नोपमाम्(?) ॥

"This round (of the *Cakrabandha*) reads *Camatkārajyōtsna*, seventh round reads *Viśvapatikavi*, and the ninth round reads *Siṅgaprabhuyaśah*" quoted from Śrī M. Doraswamaiya's article on "*Siṅgabhūpala: His date*", in T.S.V. Vol. I pp. 51. 56. Śrī Doraswamaiya writes thus: "Bhōganātha is the elder brother of Vidyāraṇya, the great minister of the Vijayanagar empire. *Alaṁkārasudhānidhi* was written during the reign of Harihara II (1380) of Vijayanagar. Viśvēśvara appears to be a scion of the Vidyāraṇya family from the author's genealogy given in *Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi*, and of the same Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, and this with his great learning has commanded an honorific mention in Bhōganātha's works." Ibid, p. 54.

68. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 21 ff.

69. Vv. Cr., Appendix, No. 12 p.:45, v. 17.

शाकाख्येनिधिवाधिरामशशिगेप्यब्दे प्लवङ्गे शुभे
मासेप्याश्वयुजे रघूद्वहपदे यो राघवीयाह्वयाम्
टीकामर्घपटुप्रबोधघटनामाणिक्यपुष्पाञ्जलिम्
कृत्वा राजति रावु माधवनृपो रामायणस्यश्रिय ॥

'The most noteworthy part of this work is its treatment of *rīti*....... He (Viśvēśvara) combines Rudraṭa and Daṇḍin, adds something himself and christens *Vaidarbhī*, *Gauḍīya* and *Pāñcālī* as *Kōmala*, *Kaṭhina* and *Miśra*............: Another approach is that of *camatkārā*, which is poetic delight which comprehends all poetic elements from *Guṇa*, and *Śabdālaṅkāra* to *Rasa* and *Dhvani*. It is on the basis of this *camatkāra* which is *lōkōttarāhlāda* that Jagannātha gives his most comprehensive definition of poetry......Almost the first regular treatise on Poetics to make approach through this *camatkāra* is *Camatkāracandrikā* of Viśvēśvara".[70]

There were some more poets of the Rēcerla court to be taken into account. One of them, Nāganātha, son of Pas'upati Paṇḍita, and a pupil of Vis'vēs'vara, was the author of the drama, *Madanavilāsa Bhāṇa*. He was the court poet of Anavōta I and the composer of his Ainavolu stone record[71] dated in S'aka 1291, i. e., 1369 A. D. It is likely that Pas'upati Nāganātha, the court poet of Anavōta I was the author of the drama, *Anavōtanāyakīyam*, now extant, referred to in Kumāra Siṅga's *Rasārṇava-sudhākaram*.

Peddana Pōtarāja, the minister of Mādā Nāyaka I, was the author of the Umāmahēs'varam stone record[72] of his master, dated in S'aka 1298. The verses in this record bear eloquent testimony to his scholarship and poetical talent.

Bommagaṇṭi Appayārya was another great scholar-poet who adorned the court of Siṅga II. He wrote a commentary[73] (*Amarakōśavyākhyā*) on the *Amarakōśa* of Amarasiṁha. From this *vyākhyā* we come to know that he had another name, Māra Pōta. It is likely that his full name was Pōtappaya which, in ordinary parlance, became Appaya.

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70. Vide Dr. V. Raghavan's excellent article on "*The Camatkaracandrika of Vis'vēśvara*", in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVI, Pages, 131–139. Could this Vis'vēs'vara be Vis'vanātha, the brother of Nṛsiṁha, the author of the drama *Kādambarī*? Vis'vēs'vara also belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* (Vide, T. S. V., Vol. I. p. 54). The nearness in time between Vis'vēs'vara and Nṛsiṁha, and their common *gōtra* may lend some weight to the suggestion of the identity of the former with Vis'vanātha, brother of the latter poet.

71. Vide Vv. Cr., Appendix No. 4 pp. 20 ff.

72. Ibid, No 10, pp. 35–36, v. 32.

73. व्याचष्टामरसिंहनाथरचितं ग्रन्थं निघण्टूत्तमम्

ख्यातं शिष्यहितार्थमप्पयसुधीः श्रीमारपोताभिधः ॥

—O. S. M., (Madras), R. 1401 (End.)

Another poet of the Rēcerla court was Sākalya Mallubhaṭṭa. *Pratāpacaritra*, a late quasi-historical Telugu prose work, purporting to describe the history of the Kākatīyas of Warangal, states that he was one of the poets of Pratāparudra's court. Though much reliance cannot be placed on this work, yet, there is reason to believe that he flourished in the post - Kākatīya period also. (Vide, chapter on Religion above and Telugu literature below). He must have been a contemporary of the Rēcerla chief Singa I. This conjecture finds confirmation from another piece of evidence. A slōka [74] in praise of Harihara I in the *Prasaṅgaratnāvaḷī*, a Sanskrit work of the latter half of the fourteenth century, suggests that Sākalya Malla was for some time in the Vijayanagar court. From the *Guruparamparāprabhāva*[75], a Vaiṣṇava sectarian work, we come to know that he was in the Rēcerla court also, though it is not definitely known if he was there either in his early or later life, either after, or before his stay at Vijayanagar.

Śākalya Malla was the son of Śakalya Mādhavasudhi. He wrote a grammar on the Sanskrit language, two kāvyas, *Nirṣōṭhya Rāmāyaṇam*, and *Udāra-Rāghavam*, and a lexicon by name *Avyaya-saṅgrha-nighaṇṭu*, of which the grammar and the *Rāmāyana*[76] are now lost; *Udāra-Rāghavam* and *Avayayasaṅgrana-nighanṭu* are now extant.

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74. "अंहो नारद शक्र किंकनुगतो भूलोकमालोकतुम्
को राजा भुवि विक्रमी हरिहरोधत्तो कियन्मण्डलम
आपूर्वार्णवमापरार्णवमसावण.......
पूर्णस्तत्कृपया गजेन्द्रविजयी॰शाकल्ल(ल्य)मल्लः कविः॥

—Mss. No. 5—4—10; and 7-6-17.

75. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 222.

76. He is known to have written a Sanskrit grammar and *Nirōṣṭhya Ramayaṇam* from the Telugu works of Appakavi and Mariṅgaṇṭi Siṅgarācārya, very late Telugu poets.

"సంస్కృతమునకు నాంధ్రభాషకును దొల్లి
లక్షణములు శాకల్యమల్లన సుధీంద్రు
విన్నకోట పెద్దన సుకవి ప్రముఖులు
కృతి నొనర్చిరి లోకోపకృతికిఁ బెక్కు." —Ap. Kv.

"మును రామాయణమున్ నిరోష్ఠ్యముగ నింపుల్ మీఱ శాకల్య మ
ల్లన తా సంస్కృతభాషఁ జేసె నన నాలాగున్ జెవుల్ నిండఁగా
వినుటే కాని ధరిత్రిపై నిజముగా వీక్షింప లే దట్టి దేఁ
దెనుఁగుంజేసెద నెల్లెడం గవులకున్ దృష్టాంతమై యేర్పడన్." —Dn. Cr.

The kāvya *Udāra-Rāghavam*, as is now available, is incomplete and contains only nine *sargas*. The ninth *sarga* stops with the story of *Śūrpaṇanāsikācchēda*. It is from the colophon of this work that we come to know that he was the son of Mādhavabhaṭṭa.[77] *Avyayasaṅgraha-nighaṇṭu*[78] was a lexicon of *avyayas* or indeclinables. From this lexicon we come to know that Śākalya Mallubhaṭṭa had the title *caturbhā-ṣākavitāvitāmahāṅka*. which suggests that he was a poet in four languages.

These were about the chief Sanskrit poets that flourished, and the works they produced, in the times under review.

Religious works, particularly *stōtras*, *aṣṭakas*, and *gadyas*, written by early poets, find frequent mention in the Telugu works of this period and were very popular. In this category particular mention should be made of works like *Nīlakaṇṭhastava*, *Mahimnastōtra*, *Anāmayastava*, *Halāyudhastōtra*, *Malhaṇastava*, *Saṁsāramāyāstava*, *Malayarājastōtra* *Bāṇagadya*, *Kāḷidāsagadya* and so on. Pālkuṟiki Sōmanātha mentions these works in his *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra*. *Nīlakaṇṭhastōtra* was particularly very popular during this period among the Śaivas. The Telugu poets, Śrīnātha and Pōtarāja, also mention this *stōtra* in their works, along with some others.

Pratāpacaritra also corroborates the fact that he was the author of *Nirōṣṭhya Rāmā-yaṇa* (Vide A. S. P. P. pp. Vol. VII p. 298-99.) S'ākhavelli Mallikārjunabhaṭṭu, mentioned in the manuscript copies of this *Pratāpacaritra* (this was also published in the S'aivapracāriṇī series, anubandham 3, Warangal, p. 60) is no other than S'akalya Mallubhaṭṭa.

77. "इति श्रीमत्सुखस्वप्ना कलितरघुनाथदत्तवरप्रसादसहजसारस्वत
श्रीशाकल्यपदाङ्कितमाधवसुधीतनय कविमल्लाचार्यविरचिते
उदारराघवे महाकाव्ये..."

Vide, M. Seshagiri Sastri's Report on Tamil manuscripts Vol. I pp 3 - 4 (1896-97). Also Bhandarkar's list of Sanskrit manuscripts (1893).

78. The colophon of this work runs thus :

"इति चतुर्भाषाकवितापितामहाङ्क शाकल्यमल्लुभट्टविरचि
ताव्ययसङ्ग्रहनिघण्टुः समाप्तः"

TELUGU LITERATURE

With the re-establishment of independence in the country, Telugu literature entered on a new phase of developmet. Before this period it found favour only with *maṇḍalikas* or feudatory chiefs, while Sanskrit enjoyed royal favour and patronage from the sovereign lords of the land. Kings lavished their patronage on Sanskrit scholars and poets. It was traditional for kings of sovereign status to patronise Sanskrit and Prakṛit. Kings of the Telugu country also adhered to that custom. The reputed Andhra Sātavāhana monarch Hāla, himself a great poet in Prākṛit, patronised Prakṛit poets. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins, the independent rulers of the seaboard of the Andhra country, encouraged Sanskrit learning. Janāśraya Mādhavavarman of this dynasty wrote *Janāśrayī Chandas*, a treatise on Prosody, in Sanskrit. The Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī, the successors of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, granted several *agrahāras* to brāhman scholars who were experts in Vēlas and Sāstras. The Kākatīya monarchs of Waraṅgal also supported Sanskrit scholars and poets, while their subordinates patronised the Telugu poets.

Supporting Sanskrit had been one of the conventional duties of the sovereigns of the land from ancient times. Contrary to this custom, the Eastern Cāḷukya king, Rāja Rāja I, supported Telugu learning and encouraged Nannayabhaṭṭa, his court poet, to translate the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* into Telugu. It was the only welcome deviation from the prevalent custom prior to the Reḍḍi period. In fact, with the birth of the *Andhra Mahābhārata*, Telugu attained the dignity of being the vehicle of poetic thought. It became classical. From the time of Rāja Rāja I Cāḷukya, the Andhra *maṇḍalikas* the men of the soil, who owned their allegiance to the Cāḷukya Cōḷa monarchs (the descendants of Rāja Rāja's son, Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I), took up voluntarily the duty of supporting their native language Telugu as against Sanskrit, and accepted dedication of Telugu works. Ever since that time, the subordinate *maṇḍalikas* of the coastal Andhra country took pride in patronising Telugu poets, and well earned the title of *sukavikīra-sahakāras*. The stone records of the *maṇḍalika* subordinates of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries contain many Telugu poems of great merit, which can well stand comparison in poetic beauty, diction and *alaṁkāra* with any classical Telugu poem produced during that age. Hence, from the beginning of the mediaeval period which witnessed great many changes in religious and social spheres, Telugu, the language of the common man, found ready support in the courts of the

subrodinate *maṇḍalika* families. Political subjection affected the Telugu literature also, and lowered its rank and status from that of Sanskrit and Prākṛit. Sanskrit, the language of the Vēdas and the S'āstrās, the fountain-heads of Hindu culture, having been supported by the sovereign kings of the land, enjoyed a sovereign status, and Telugu was relegated to a secondary rank. Suzerain lords and Sanskrit scholars looked down upon the Telugu poets and Telugu literature, and were loathe to recognise the merit of the Telugu poetry. This attitude of the Sankritists and independent monarchs towards Telugu literature continued till the time of the revival of the Hindu monarchy in the post-Kākatīya period.

In the period under review, along with the rise of the Reḍḍi power wielding the suzerain authority over a great extent of territory, Telugu also emerged from its subservient position, and proudly occupied an equal, if not a superior, status to Sanskrit, and shared the royal patronage equally. The Reḍḍi kings lavished their liberality equally on both the Sanskrit and Telugu poets. The triumph of the people and the nobles of the land in winning their freedom and independence was not a little responsible for this change in outlook. The people of the land were successful in overthrowing the mighty Delhi Sultānate, and in re-establishing their right over their beloved country; and Telugu, the language of land, asserted itself and won its due place in the academic field. With the appointment of the Telugu poet Srīnātha as the *Vidyāḍhikāri* in the court of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, Telugu definitely scored over Sanskrit. Śrīnātha, the greatest Telugu poet of the age, was the examiner of scholarship in both Sanskrit and Telugu languages of those who visited his patron's court.

Another important factor that contributed to the rise in status of the Telugu poet is the crushing defeat of Gauḍa Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa, the greatest Sanskrit scholar-poet of the age, at the hands of Srīnātha, his Telugu contemporary. This one incident was eloquent in declaring the efficiency of scholarship in classical languages also of the Telugu poet. In fact, it was a thorough knowledge and mastery in Sanskrit that helped one to become a great Telugu poet. This thorough study of both the languages also contributed to enhance the prestige of the Telugu poet and raised him in the estimation of the general public, as well as of the scholarly world. For the first time in the literary history of the Telugu country, the Telugu poet shedding his inferiority complex, raised his head high and enjoyed proudly the royal patronage extended to him by the sovereign lords of this period.

This was the most important and welcome change that came over Telugu in the period under review. Because the Telugu poet of this age gained equal status in the royal court and shared royal patronage with the Sanskrit poet, great honour was done to him in later times as being borne in a palanquin by an emperor of no less a standing than Krsnadēvarāya.

Telugu literature produced during this age fully reflected the spirit and conditions of the times. The times necessitated the diffusion of the Hindu religion and religious principles, and the consolidation of the Hindu in a united front against the aggressive Islām, which had already become a menace to the Hindu life and religion. Educating the common people in the *dharma* of the land was a necessity. As a matter of fact, the *Andhra Mahābhārata*, written by the poet-seers, Nannayabhatta and Tikkana Sōmayāji, already prepared the ground. That Telugu work attained popularity in the Andhra country, from Warangal to Nellore, propagated the principles and precepts of the Hindu religion, and became a mighty, though subtle, force in the land, in the unification of the Andhra people. It imparted knowledge, both secular and spiritual, to the common people, and trained them to have a common religious outlook, moral code, and a set of principles that shaped and guided their worldly life. The *Andhra Mahābhārata* laid, in fact, the foundations on which the structure of Andhra culture was built, and prepared the ground for the religious unity in the Andhra land which was essential to resist successfully the aggression of Islām.

The Telugu poets of this age sought to consolidate still further what was achieved before. The temporary Muslim occupation of the country impressed upon the leaders of the Hindu thought the necessity to train the common man to be brave and daring, and yet noble and religious minded. With this end in view, Telugu literature took the lead to popularise and progagate the new turn the religion had taken, and all that the new religious cults stood for and represented. The *Kāilasa* and the *Vaikuntha*, the final ideal abodes after death, for the pious Śaivas and Vaisnvas respectively, and the charming *svarga* for heroes who died in battle and virtuous persons leading a religious life, were the bewitching temptations placed before the people, and hells of different kinds with innumerabie sorts of torture and punishments, were held out as the proper abode of the sinners and the irreligious, who did not live a life in accordance with the accepted principles of religion. A perusal of the works produced during this age will show how well the Telugu literature accomplished the task assigned to it.

Telugu poets tried their best to present to people the *dharma* as envisaged and propounded by the two important cults, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, in as concrete a form as possible, with the help of Purāiṇc themes, and the stories of kings who staked their all to achieve an object or to fulfil a religious vow, and thereby acquired name and eternal fame. In this way, the Telugu literature of the period tried to educate the common man in *dharma* as the sole means and basis to achieve the object in life, placed before him the great ideal of *mōkṣa*, final emancipation, and encouraged him to follow the example of the heroes of the kāvya. It was the privilege of the Telugu poet of this age to instruct the common man to develop a broad religious outlook, to make him strong in head and heart to resist successfully the onslaught of the invading fanatic Muslim, and to sacrifice his life voluntarily, and unflinchingly if necessary. The impermanence of life, and the permanence of fame, and all-potent virtues were placed before people to induce them to rise to the occasion. This aim and object made Telugu literature descend to the level of the ordinary man. Telugu works, like *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra*, *Vikramārkacaritra*, *Siṁhāsanadvāṭriṁśika*, *Bhōjarājīyam*, *Kēyūrabāhucarittra* and *Ṣōḍaśa-kumāracaritra*, all these fired the imagination of people and impressed upon their mind that life was worth sacrificing for a noble end either temporal or spiritual. They induced the readers and hearers to do great dedse and to achieve the objects they sought for. Faith in the vows taken, the *vratas* performed, the deities worshipped, the *mantras* chanted, or the religious practices observed, was inculcated by the religious and biographical works, like *Nṛsiṁha Purāṇam*, *Bhāgavatam*, *Rāmāyaṇam*, *Padma Purāṇam*, *and Harivaṁśam*, *Vīrabhadravijayam*, *Śivalīlāvilāsaṁ*, *Haravilāsam*, *Śivarātrimāhātmyam*, *Rukmāṇgadacaritra*, *or* (*Ēkādaśīvratamāhātmyam*), *Harścandracaritra*, *and Navanāthacaritra*. *Sthalamāhātmyas*, or legendary accounts of holy places, such as *Kāśikhaṇḍam*, the *Śrīraṅgamāhātmyam* and the *Bhīmēśavra Purāṇam* (*Dākṣārāmāyaṇa*), the prominent works of this period, which sang the glory and sanctity of Kāśī, Śrīraṅgam and Dākṣhāram (East Godavari district), drove home the geographical unity of the Hindus under the pretext of religion, and encouraged one and all to go on pilgrimage and travel for acquiring merit. These legends about holy places current in the country, induced people to visit them and get absolved of their sins. In this way, all forms of literature tried to create a religous unity in spite of the difference in cults, and to evolve a common code of religious practice. The Telugu poet generally made admirable use of the old material, traditional stories of ancient kings of the land, and Purāṇic themes and interpreted them in accordance with the tenets of neo Hinduism

The new outlook in literature brought about some innovations, notable among them being a new style, for narrating old themes with power and vigour, and for presenting them as lucidly as possible. The Telugu poet individually evolved a technique of his own, a variation in style, by employing dexterously the Telugu, and the Sanskrit words, and the *śabda* and *artha alaṅkāras*. The next innovation was realistic descriptions in consonance with the theme. To make the kāvya interesting and appealing to the senses, nature for the first time was also brought into play in a romantic fashion. The Telugu kāvya of this age was made appealing with vivid descriptions of nature. We find in the extant Telugu kāvya the Cakōra birds (Greek partridges) merry and feasting on the nectar of the moon; and mild breezes carrying fragrance of flowers which they had looted while passing through flower gardens, blowing gently over a pair of secret lovers, or the new married couples in royal palaces. By the time we come to the Reḍḍi period, Telugu, which drew its inspiration before from the classical Sanskrit, well established its reputation as a language of poetic expression.

Eṟṟā Pregaḍa:

The first poet known to us to have adorned the court of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu was Errā Pregaḍa, also called Śambhudāsa. He was the son of Sūrya or Sūranārya of the Śrīvatsa *gōtra*. His forefathers seem to have been the natives of Vēgināḍu. His grandfather is said to have been one of the *vṛtti*-holders of Karāvarti[1] in Vēgināḍu. Later on, his forefathers migrated to Pākanāḍu, south of the Guṇḍlakamma and settled at Guḍlūru (Kandukur taluk, Nellore district). Eṟṟa Pregaḍa was a great devotee of Siva. He was consequently known as Śambhudāsa. His guru was a famous Śaiva teacher, named Saṅkaraśvāmin. While living at Guḍlūru, EṟṟāPregaḍa became the favourite poet of Prōlaya Vēma's brother, Mallā Reḍḍi, who rewarded him amply. After the foundation of the Reḍḍi kingdom, Mallā Reḍḍi took him to his brother Vēmā, and presented the poet to him. Since then Eṟṟā Pregaḍa became the court-poet of the Reḍḍi kings of Addaṅki.

1. "వేఁగినాటఁ గరావర్తి వృత్తిమంతుఁ
డనఘుఁ డెఱపోతనారి కంసారిచరణ
కమల మధుకరపతి సారవిమలయశుఁడు." Nr. Pr., I, v. 15.

Karāvarti seems to be a mistake. There is no village called Karāvarti in Vēgināḍu There are villages bearing a similar name to it. They are Kākaraparti and Rāpart I believe Karavarti is a mistake of the scribe for Kākaraparti whichi s an *agrahāra* still in existence. Eṟṟā Pregaḍa was fifth in descent from his ancestor Bhīmamantri the recipient of many honours from Cōḍa II (Śaka 1084—Śaka 1093) of the Durjaya family of Velanāḍu.

Eṟṟā Pregaḍa's works are known to be four in number, namely (1) the portion of the *Araṇyaparva* of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* which was left unfinished by Nannaya Bhaṭṭa and Tikkana Sōmayāji; (2) *Lakṣmī Nṛsimhāvatāram* or *Nṛsimha Purāṇam* (3) *Rāmāyaṇam* and (4) the *Harivamśam*.

It is not known when and under whose patronage Eṟṟā Pregaḍa translated *Araṇyaparvaśēṣam* into Telugu. This work brought him great name and fame in the literary circles. In translating this portion Eṟṟā Pregaḍa followed the method adopted by the previous authors of that work, and made it almost indistinguishable in style from what had been written by his predecessors. The style of Eṟṟā Pregaḍa in his *Vanaparvaśēṣam* is on a par with the two great and individual styles of Nannayabhaṭṭa and Tikkana Sōmayāji. The dignity of the style, his skill in translation, and his proficiency in both Sanskrit and Telugu, earned for him the title of *Prabandhaparamēśvara*,[2] and an equal rank with the other two eminent authors. It is interesting to note that Eṟṟā Pregaḍa completed the *Araṇyaparvaśēṣam* of the *Andhra Mahābhāratam*, not in his name but, in the name of Nannayabhaṭṭa who dedicated his work to the Eastern Cāḷukya king, Rāja Raja I. These three authors of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* have the distinguishing common term, *Kavitrayam* and were the guides of the later classical Telugu poets, who strictly followed their example in the matter of language, grammar, prosody and application. The completion of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* was strictly in keeping with the spirit of the age. In the political sphere, the Andhras emerged successfully from the dark period of suffering and foreign domination, and in the literary sphere, with the translation of the portion left out of the *Vanaparva* in Telugu, the composition of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* was completed. With the re-establishment of Hindu independence and the revival of the Hindu *dharma*, the *Mahābhārata*, the story of the successful struggle of the Pāṇḍavās against their opponents the Kauravas, was completed in Telugu, and presented to the Andhras in its entirety.

Eṟṟā Pregaḍa's next work is the *Nṛsimha Purāṇam*. He took the story of Lakṣmī Nṛsimhāvatāram from the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇam* as the theme of this *mahāprabandha*, and expanded it into a beautiful *kāvya* which he dedicated to god Nṛsimha, the presiding deity of the famous holy place

2. "ఉన్నతి సంస్కృతాది చతురోక్తి పదంబులఁ గావ్యకర్తవై
యెన్నికకెక్కెఁ బ్రబంధ పరమేశుఁ డనంగ నరణ్యపర్వశే
షోన్నయ మంధ్రభాష సుజనోత్సవ మొప్పఁగ నిర్వహించి తా
నన్నయభట్ట తిక్కకవినాథుల కెక్కిన భక్తి పెంపునన్." —Nr. Pr., I, v. 17.

of Ahōbalam, in the Kurnool district. Though the precise date of the composition of this work is not known, it was certainly written after the completion of the *Vanaparvaśēṣam* of the *Mahābhāratam*, for the latter work is referred to in the former.

From his later work *Harivaṁśam*, Eṟṟā Pregaḍa is known to have written a work on *Rāmāyaṇa* at the request of Prōlaya Vēma. A stone record[3] of Śaka 1320 at Kandukūru, belonging to Rāca Vēma, grandson of Mallā Reḍḍi, also corroborates this fact. This work exists now only in name. Many verses, however, from this *Rāmāyana* were quoted in works on Prosody, that is, *lakṣaṇagranthas*. Particularly, Kūcimañci Timmakavi, a Telugu poet of the eighteenth century, cited many verses[4] in his *Sarvalakṣaṇasārasaṅgraham*, from this *Rāmāyaṇa*, not mentioned by others. It is probable that he possessed a copy of this work to quote so elaborately. If this surmise is correct, it may be concluded that this *Rāmāyaṇa* was extant till his time.

The *Harivaṁśam* was the last work which Eṟṟā Pregaḍa had written at the request and under the patronage of Prōlaya Vēma. Probably, this was the only work which he dedicated to his patron; for the poet describes herein Vema's family-glory. The *Harivaṁśam* consisting of the *Pūrva* and *Uttara bhāgas* is Eṟṟā Pregaḍa's *magnum opus*. It reveals his austere personality. Essentially, he was a pious devotee. He does not use hyperbole even while describing his patron, which is a rare quality seldom found in the poets of this age. The work leaves the impression on our mind that the poet endeavoured also to instruct in the objective representation of life in addition to delight the age in which he lived. Literature had a purpose and was a means to achieve an end. Eṟṟā Pregaḍa's *Harivaṁśam* breathes out the gentle fragrance of simplicity and subjective devotion.

***Śrīgiri*:**

Another poet patronised by Prōlaya Vēma was Pramathakavi Śrīgiri, popularly known as Śrīgiri Ayyangāru. Ayyagāru or Ayyangāru is a Telugu term of respect suffixed generally to the names of Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava ācāryas. He was a late contemporary of the Kākātīya monarch Pratāparudra and an early contemporary of Prōlaya Vēma. A record[5] at Mōgallu (Bhimavaram taluk, West Godavari district) dated in

3. N. D. I., II, Kn. 35, v. 8.

4. Śrī Pandit V. Prabhakara Sastri Garu collected all these verses in his article entitled *Eṟṟa Pregaḍa Rāmāyaṇamu* in the Telugu journal *Bharati* (June number, 1939)

5. Ep. Coll., No. 758 of 1920.

Saka 1237 corresponding to the cyclic year Rākṣasa, registers gift of lands to this Srīgirikavi, and proves his contemporaneity with the last Kākatīya monarch. Another undated record [6], at the same place, of the time of king Ana Vēma, registers a gift of lands again to the same poet, probably by the king himself. This king is identical with Prōlaya Vēma. This Pramathakavi Srīgiri seems to be the same as Srīgirikavi, the author of the story of the Navanāthas, in *padya-bandhas* (verses) mentioned by Gaurana in his work *Nava Nātha Caritra.* Srīgiri outlived to witness the re-establishment of the Hindu *dharma* by the Musunūri chiefs and Prōlaya Vēma.

Jakkana :

Another poet of the coastal region belonging to this period was Jakkana, the author of *Vikramārkacaritra* describing the valiant deeds of king Vikramārka of Ujjain. Jakkana's patron Siddhaya, son of Jannaya and grandson of Siddhana of the Vennelakanṭi family, is described as having been prosperous by the grace of god Bhairava of Bellamkoṇḍa (in the Sattenapalli taluk, Guntur district). It is likely that Bellamkoṇḍa was the native place of Siddhaya, the patron of Jakkana. He was a great accountant in the service of Vallabha Cāmanāmātya, an officer of Dēvarāya, king of Vijayanagar. Among the rulers of Vijayanagara there were two kings bearing the name of Dēvarāya, of whom Dēvarāya I ruled from 1406. A. D., to 1422 A. D., and his grandson Dēvarāya II, from 1422 A. D., to 1446 A. D. The Telugu work, *Vikramārkacaritra* does not furnish any clue to identify which of the above two kings was the contemporary and overlord of Siddhana, the poet's patron. Consequently, the date of Jakkana has not yet been satisfactorily settled, in spite of some attempts by Telugu scholars. Some synchronistic facts, mentioned in the introductory verses of *Vikramārkacaritra,* in the course of the description of the genealogical descent of Siddhana to whom the work was dedicated, enable us however to know roughly the time of Jakkana and his patron.

Jakkana is said to have been the grandson (*manumaḍu*) of Peddayamātya, [7] a great poet, scholar, and a contemporary of the Telugu Cōḍa king, Tirukaḷadēva of Nellore. There is considerable difficulty in the identification of this Tirukāḷarāja also; for, there were two kings of Nellore bearing this name; the first was Cōḍa Tikka [8] I, father of Manumasiddhi II, the patron of Tikkana Sōmayāji, and the other was

6. Ibid, No. 754 of 1920.

7. The suffixes *amātya, saciva* and *mantrin,* do not generally mean anything. It was a custom among the members of the Āruvēlu sect of brāhmans of this age to add these terms as suffixes to their names.

Tikka II, son of Manumasiddhi II, and grandson of Tikka I. Tikka II ruled in the last quarter of the thirteenth century A. D. As Jakkana states that he was the grandson of Peddayāmātya, it seems reasonable to identify the latters's patron Tirukāḷadēva with Tikka II. The following facts also indicate that he was probably Tikka II, son of Manumasiddhi II, and grandson of Tikka I. Sūrana Sōmayāji's grandson, Siddhana, father of Jannaya and a contemporary of the grandfather of poet Jakkana, is said to have been the *pradhāni* of Nannayagandhavāraṇa (the mast elephant of Nannaya). We have to ascertain who this Nannayagandhavāraṇa was. According to Kētana's *Daśakumāracaritra* Baca or Bhāskara, son of Siddhana, the paternal uncle of Tikkana Sōmayāji, and minister of Cōḍa Tikka I, was a Nannayagandhavāraṇa. Nannaya in the phrase Nannayagandhavāraṇa seems to be the father of Tripurāntaka,[9] the minister of Cōḍa Tikka. This Nannaya does not seem to be identical with Nannaya of Nannayagandhavāraṇa, to whom Siddhana, father of Jannaya, was the *pradhāni*; for, he would be too early to be the latter's contemporary. There was a chief of Nellore, probably of the Telugu Cōḍa family, by name Nāne (Nanne or Nannaya) dēva Mahārāja, whose record[10] is dated in Śaka 1197. This Nanedēva, or Nannayadēva, appears to be identical with Nannaya of Nannayagandhavāraṇa whose *pradhāni* was Siddhana. In the light of the above facts it seems reasonable to think that Jakkana's grandfather Peddayāmātya and Siddhaya's grandfather Siddhaya were contemporaries. Computing from Tikka II at the rate of thirty years on an average for each generation, say from 1285 A. D., we arrive at 1375 A. D., for the approximate date of Jakkana. Jakkana in this way comes to just about the beginning of the reign of Harihara II. Harihara's son, Dēvarāya I, was already a grown up prince ruling the Udayagiri Rājya, with Udayagiri as his capital, in Śaka 1304 (1382 A. D.). It seems therefore certain that Siddhana, the patron of Jakkana was a contemporary of Dēvarāya I. In whatever way we may reckon, Jakkana cannot come to the time of Dēvarāya II. Siddhana's master Vallabha Cāmanāmātya, must have been an officer of Dēvarāya I, while he was ruling the Udayagiri Rajya[10a].

If Siddhana, the patron of Jakkana, was an officer of Dēvarāya I. the ruler of the Udayagiri Rājya, his paternal uncle, Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya, alias Bhāskara, who is said to have received an *agrahāra* from

8. Tikka is only a variation of the term Tirukkālatti (dēva). Tiru means S'ri and Kālatti is Kāḷahasti. Tirukkālattidēva means S'ri Kāḷahastideva, that is, God Kāḷahastīs'vara of Kaḷahasti. The father of Manumasiddhi was named after that God. Tirukkāḷattidēva changed in common parlance in to Tikkadēva.

9. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 847.

10. N. D. I., I. A. 29, p. 289

10-a. *Ibid* II, Kn. 40.

king Reḍḍi Vēma, could be no other than Prōlaya Vēma, or his son Anavēma. This Vennelakanṭi Sūrana was removed from his great-grand father, Sūrana Sōmayāji by four generations. Sūrana Sōmayāji according to the introductory verses in the *Vikramārkacaritra*, was the recipient of the village of Eddanapūḍi as an *agrahāra* from Rājendra Cōḍa, who is identical with the Velanāṭi chief, Rājēndra Cōḍa II (1161 A. D., to 1181 A. D.). If Sūrana Sōmayāji is taken to have been a junior contemporary of Rājēndra Cōḍa II, his great - grandson, Bhāskara, comes almost to the time of the Reḍḍi king, Prōlaya Vēma (1180 A. D plus 120 = 1300 A. D.). So, if Reḍḍi Vēma was a contemporary and patron of Vennelakanṭi Bhāskara, his nephew, Siddhana, must have certainly lived in the time of Dēvarāya I[11].

Of Jakkana's works, only *Vikramārkacaritra* has come to light. Of the three varieties, (1) *prakhyātamulu*, stories that are well - known, (2) *utpādyamulu*, stories originally created, and (3) *miśramamulu*, those written with a blending of the first two varieties[12] of story compositions, Jakkana took up the third variety, in order to satisfy the desire of his patron Siddhana who preferred such a theme; and hence this story of king Vikramārka in *prabandhaśayya*. The quality of his poetry is high and it has an individuality of its own. The descriptions he indulges in are delightful to read. He skilfully weaves into his stanzas the Telugu adages and proverbs very appropriately in suitable contexts.

Jakkana's patron Siddhaya also was an author[13]. However, his works have not yet come to light. Siddhana's father Jannaya is said to have composed a *Śataka* in praise of God, Dēvakītanaya (Kṛṣṇa), and won his favour[14].

An old work called *Dēvakīnandana Śatakam* of unknown authorship, is extant in the Telugu country. Each stanza in it ends with the *makuṭa* "*Kṛṣṇā ! Dēvakīnandanā !*" It is likely that its author was

11. Dēvarāya I ruled the Udayagiri Rājya as its governor in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A. D. As Udayagiri was an important fortress, only princes of the royal blood were appointed as its governors from its inception.

12. Vk. Gr., I, v. 27.

13. "నవరసంబులయందు నవ్య కావ్యంబులు
కవిజనంబులు మెచ్చఁగా నొనర్చి..."—Ibid, I, v. 50.

14. "పరమహృద్యంబైన పద్య శతంబున
దేవకీతనయు విధేయుఁ జేసి"—Ibid, I, v. 44.

Jannaya. There was another poet of note in the family of Vennelakaṇṭi Siddhana, who flourished in the early Reḍḍi period. He was Bhāskara or Sūrya alias Sūrana. Jakkana informs us that this Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya was patronised by the Reḍḍi king, Vēma. Sūrya, is described in the *Vikramārkacaritra* as *Vēda-Śāstra-sampanna* and *Kavīndrakuñjara*[15]. None of his works is extant.

Vennelakaṇṭi people were a learned family of poets and scholars. They rose to fame during the Reḍḍi period. Themselves being poets, they supported great poets like Jakkana. Sūrana, the author of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* of the sixteenth century, states that he was a descendant of the Vennelakaṇṭi people,[16] who dedicated their works to king Vēmaya Anavōtā Reḍḍi, that is, Anavōta, son of Prōlaya Vēma. He does not, however, name the poet patronised by Anavōtā Reḍḍi. Nor does he mention the name of the work dedicated to him.

Annaya:

Another poet, Annaya of the same Vennelakaṇṭi family, wrote a Telugu kāvya called *Sōḍaśakumāracaritra*. Very few copies of this work are extant. They are wanting in the beginning, *kṛtyādi*, of the first *āśvāsa*, which is usually devoted to a description of the author's family, or that of the poet's patron. We are thus deprived of the account of the author's family. The author Annaya dedicates his work to his own father, addressed as Ana Sūrya. Besides very many lacunae in the portion now extant, the third and fourth *āśvāsas* of the book also are lost. This work does not therefore help us to know if there was any relationship between the author's family and the family of Jakkana's patron Siddhaya; both, however, belong to the same Harita-sa-*gōtra* and to the Vennelakaṇṭi family. It seems to be hazardous to propound any theory identifying Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya referred to by Jakkana with Ana Sūrya[17] father of Annaya, the author of *Sōḍaśakumāracaritra*. *Sōḍasakumāracaritra* may, however,

15. Ibid, v. 62.

16. "ఈ నిఖిలంబు మెచ్చ నమరేశ్వరదేవుఁడు చూడఁ గృష్ణవే
ణీనది సాక్షిగా ననికి నిల్చిన రాహుతుఁ గేసభూవిభుఁ
గానకుఁ దోలి వెన్నడచి కాచిన వేమయ యన్నవోతభూ
జానికి సత్ప్రబంధము లొసంగిన వెన్నెలకంటివారలోఁ."—Vn. Pr., I.

17. No doubt it is tempting to do so. It is in a way possible to say that both the Sūryas are identical, but the available evidence does not fully support such an indentification. In some of the stanzas in the *Ṣōḍasakumāracritra* Ana-Sūrya is also mentioned as Annaya Sūrya. It is thus evident that Ana in Ana Sūrya is not a meaningless prefix; but really the contracted form of Annaya. Ana Sūrya

be assigned to the period under review. Judged by its diction, theme, and the tenor of descriptions, this *kāvya* cannot be assigned to a period later than the middle of the fifteenth century. It might even be an earlier work.

Annaya compares his father Sūrya with Kṛṣṇa Kandāra, Bhōja, Jagadēkamnalla and Sarvajña Sōmēśvara, kings who were renowned for their patronage of letters[18], and scholarship. Kṛṣṇā Kandāra might

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generally means Sūrya, son of Annaya. According to this interpretationt Sūrya, the father of the author of *Ṣoḍas'akumāracaritra*, cannot be indentified with Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya, mentioned in the *Vikramārkacaritra* of Jakkana; for, the father of the latter was Siddhana and not Annaya. It is possible to interpret Annaya Sūrya as Sūrya, grandson of Annaya. This usage, though rare, is not altogether uncommon in the Telugu country. Examples may be cited in support of the usage. Rāmarāju Viṭṭhala, that is, Viṭṭhala, grandson of Rāmarāja, is one such example from the history of Vijayanagar. It is unnecessary to multiply examples occurring in epigraphical literature. On this analogy, Sūrya might also be taken to be the grandson of Annaya of the Vennelakaṇṭi family. Jakkana's *Vikramārkacaritra* does not come in our way, if such an interpretation is given, for, Jakkana does not mention the great-grandfather of his patron, Siddhana. In this way, we can tide over the difficulty, and say that both the Sūryas referred to above are indentical. But the works under reference, namely *Ṣōḍas'akumāracaritra* and *Vikramārkacaritra*, do not subscribe to this identity. Annaya, the author of the former work, describes his father Sūrya as a great minister well-versed in *Nīti* (*narapati-nayavidyā-nartakī-nāṭyaraṅga*, II. v. 186; *Srī Bhārgava-Kāmandaka Vaibhavasavōpadharya-Vasavamantri prābhavavidamba-dhīguṇa s'ōbhita ṣaḍguṇya*" – VII, v. 1), as a sun in destroying the darkness namely the enemy forces, and as a *nūtana Bharatācārya*, skilled in cleverly illustrating the secrets of dance (*Nāṭya*), as described by Kōhaḷa and others *Nāṭakamukha Kōhaḷādi - nāṭyarahasyōdghāṭana-nipuṇaprajña-pāṭava-caturya*" – VIII, v. 91). Nowhere does Annaya state that his father was a poet. Nor does Jakkana describe Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrya as a *Bharatācārya*, and a great minister, an adept in the *Nīti S'āstras*. Hence it cannot be said that both the Sūryas, father of the author of *Ṣōḍas'akumāracaritra* and Siddhana's paternal uncle, were one and the same.

18. "సరసానందన సత్కళాగమ పరీక్షా కృష్ణకందార భా
స్వర నానారసభావ నిర్మథనభోజక్ష్మాప విద్యానిరం
తర గోష్ఠీజగదేకమల్ల బహు శాస్త్రగ్రంథ సిద్ధాంతవి
స్తరవిజ్ఞానకవిత్వతత్త్వకలనా సర్వజ్ఞ సోమేశ్వరా."—Sd. Cr., VII, v. 128.

In the above verse, each of these kings is praised for a special trait of his own. Kṛṣṇa Kandāra, i. e, the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king, Kṛṣṇa III, is said to have been an adept in *satkaḷāgamaparīkṣa*. Bhōja was skilled in *bhāsvaranānārasabhāva-nirmathana*. Jagadēkamalla was renowned for his *vidyānirantaragōṣṭhī*, and Sōmēs'vara, son of Vikrmāditya VI, the Western Cāḷukya king of Kalyāṇa, is extolled as *bahus'āstra - grantha - siddhānta-vistara - vijñāna-kavitvatatvakalanā - Sarvajña*. *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* alias *Mānasōllāsa*, the encyclopaedic work of the latter king, appears to have been popular during the period under review.

be identical with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III[19] of Mālkhēḍ. who ruled from 939 A. D., to 966 A. D., Bhōja was the king of Dhārā and the author of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, a work on Rhetoric. Jagadēkamalla was the father of the Western Cāḷukya king, Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara, and Sarvajña Sōmēśvara was his great-grandson Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara. Thus the *kāvya* came into existence after the twelfth century. The reference to the supernatural powers of the Siddhas, adverted to in the stories, the singing of the *Pārvatīkalyāṇa* during the celebration of a marriage, and some other things described therein, clearly indicate, as already stated, that this was a *kāvya* of this period.

The author Annaya wrote this work on the model of the *Daśakumāracaritra* of Kētana and *Kēyūrabāhucaritra* of Mañcana. This work narrates the stories of sixteen youths, sons of the king, ministers, purohits and generals, in a charming style which differs considerably from the other story *kāvyas*. The difference in style between the old Telugu works and works of this period is apparent when one peruses the *kāvyas* of this period, works which were intended to catch popular imagination. These *kathā-kāvyas* represent in a way the several experiments in style to present themes to readers in as popular a manner as possible, without lowering the standard and dignity of the *kāvyas*, and conforming, at the same time, to the general rules of rhetoric, observed in composing a Sanskrit *kāvya*, the model for the Telugu poem.

The ascetic's staff, sandals, and quilt possessing magical powers, that we come across in *Vikramārka caritra* and *Ṣōḍaśakumāra caritra*, are indicative of the beliefs of common people in the supernatural powers of the Siddhas and Yōgis, which are mostly due to the Siddha and Yōgic cults[20] prevailing in the period.

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19. In this connection it should also be stated that the Yādava king, Kṛṣṇa of Dēvagiri, is also called Kṛṣṇa Kandāra. If it is held that the author of the work has not mentioned these kings in chronological order, Kṛṣṇa Kandāra may be identical with the Yādava king, Kṛṣṇa. However, as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king is known as Kṛṣṇa Kandāra, I prefer to identify the first king in *the verse* with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. Kandāra is the Prākṛit form of the word Kṛṣṇa. He was also called Kṛṣṇa Kannara in popular parlance. In the *dvipada kāvya Nava natha Caritra* written by Gaurana of this period there is a story about king Kṛṣṇa Kandāra (Vide, *Nava Natha Caritra*, pp. 262 ff.

20. Vide, Chapters, III and IV, on Religion and Social Customs.

Ananta:

Anantāmātya of Kauṇḍinya *gotra*, son of Tikkana and a native of Perumagūru situated in the doab formed by the Kṛṣṇā, the Bhīmarathī, and the Malāpahā, was a poet of this period. He was the great-grandson of Bayyana, who was a poet of no mean ability, and who received the title of *Bhavya bhārati*, from Tikkana Sōmayāji. His father, Tikkana, a devotee of god Andhra Vallabha of S'rīkākuḷam, spent his time in worship. Ananta's brother, Ciṭṭana, was also a poet. None of his works or those of his grandfather, Bayyana, have come to light. Ananta's native place, Perumagūru,[21] is identical with the present village of Penamakūru in the Bezwada taluk, Kistna district. His guru was the great S'rīvaiṣṇava teacher, Gōvinda Cakravarti, son of Tirumala Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti, popularly called Nallānu Cakravarti. Gōvinda Cakravarti had four elder brothers, named Tiruveṅgaḷa Cakravarti, Aḷaghari Cakravarti, Aubaḷa Cakravarti and S'rīdēva Cakravarti; all of them were the gurus of some local chief or other, and propagated Vaiṣṇavism in the Andhra country.

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21. The late S'ri K. V. Lakṣmaṇarao places this village Perumagūru somewhere in the Nizam's dominions, identifying the Bhīmarathī and the Malāpahā with the rivers of the same name in the Raichur doab (A.V.S., Vol. II, p. 1008). This identification is not tenable. It is expressly stated that Ananta's father, Tikkana, was a worshipper of god Andhra Vallabha of S'rīkākuḷam in the Kistna district. His guru was, as will be shown later, a native of the Guntur district. Hence, Ananta also might have been a native of the coastal region. This supposition gets confirmed if the rivers Bhīmarathī and the Malāpahā are located in this region. The doab formed by the Bhīma, the Malāpahā and the Kṛṣṇā should be sought for either in the present Kistna district, or in the Guntur district. It is interesting to observe that both the rivers, Bhīmarathī and Malāpahā, are mentioned in the grants of the Reḍḍi kings and the Musunūri chiefs. One must admit that the Reḍḍi kingdom did not extend its power far into Teliṅgāṇā so as to include the Raichur doab. The village of Prōlavaram granted by the Musunūri chief, Kāpaya Nāyaka, is situated on the banks of the Malaghnī, that is, Malāpahā. This village is in the Gudivada taluk, Kistna district. The river Bhīmarathī forms the southern boundary of the village Īppugallu (Vide, part I, p. 111, f. n. 3) granted by king Anavēmā Reḍḍi. Īppugullu, which is no other than the present Īḍpugallu, is in the Bezwada taluk of the same district. Again, the river Malāpahāri, the Malaghnī of the Prōlavaram grant of Kāpaya Nāyaka referred to above, is mentioned, in the passage describing the boundaries of the village of Dṛujjavaram (the modern Jujjūru in the Nandigama taluk, Kistna district), granted by king Anavēmā Reḍḍi to brāhmans. So, the Malāpahāri and the Bhīmarathī are found in the Kistna district itself. It seems therefore, reasonable to look for Perumagūru on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇā. I am inclined to identify it with the present Penumakūru in the Bezwada taluk (Kistna district). Penumakūru seems to be the corrupt form of Perumagūru, a developed variant of the old Peruvaṅgūru of the Eastern Caḷukya grants (Vide, Ep. Rep. 1914, para 6. p. 84).

Ananta was the author of three works, namely, *Bhōjarājīyam*, *Chandōdarpaṇam* and *Rasābharaṇam*. Of these the first mentioned work is a *kāvya* containing many interesting stories about Bhōjarāja, king of Dhārānagara. Ananta dedicated this work to god Nṛsimha of Ahōbalam. *Chandōdarpaṇam* is a treatise on Prosody, written after *Bhōjarājīyam*.[22] *Rasābharaṇam*, the last work in four *āśvāsas*, is a *lakṣaṇa-grantha* treating about Sṛṅgāra and other *rasas*. The date of its composition is given as Śaka 1356 or 1434 A. D. The author dedicates this work to the god of Dhruvapaṭṭaṇa, on Tuesday the thirteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha (Tuesday 25th January, 1435 A. D.). This seems to be the second Telugu work on Rhetoric, the first being the *Kāvyālaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi* of Vinnakōṭa Peddana.

Ananta apears to have written *Rasābharaṇa* in his middle age or in his later life, long after *Bhōjarājīyam*. Anantāmātya's guru, Gōvinda Cakravarti, the youngest son of Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti, and the brother of Tirruveṅgaḷa Cakravarti, figures very early in a record[23] dated in Śaka 1318 at Kārempūḍi (Palnad taluk, Guntur district), which is still the abode of his descendants. Gōvinda Cakravarti's father, Nallāṇḍi Cakravarti also, is mentioned in two undated records[24] at Rompicherla (Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur district). An inscription[25] at Chiyyavaram dated in Śaka 1326, corresponding to the cyclic year, Pārthiva, records the gift of that village to the Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher, *Ṣaḍdarśanasthāpanācārya* Tiruvengaḷa Cakravarti by Sambeṭa Yeṟakamparāja, one of the Vijayanagar officers. These records referring to the members of the Nallāṇḍi family clearly show that Anantāmātya lived in the early half of the fifteenth century A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Śrīnātha and his patron, king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍavīḍu. In his *kavi-stuti* which is a conventional feature of the *kāvyas* of this period, Ananta refers to the preceding Telugu poets, of whom Eṟṟayamantri, that is, Eṟṟā Pregaḍa was the latest.

Ananta's was a new expriment in poetry. He was not sure whether it would secure approbation and win recognition at the hands

22. "శ్రీనిధి చక్రవర్తి గురుశేఖర పూర్ణకటాక్షలబ్ధ సు
జ్ఞానుఁ డనంతధీమణి లసన్మణి భోజచరిత్ర చెప్పి ల
క్ష్మీనరసింహుఁ గూర్చిన ప్రసిద్ధుఁడు వేడుకతో నొనర్చె ఛం
దోనుతయోగి హృద్విమలతోయజమూర్తి కనంతమూర్తికిన్."—v. 132.

23. Ep. Coll., No. 556 of 1909. It records the decision of Gōvinda Cakravarti regarding certain sectarian privileges conferred on Baḍagulavāru of Palnāḍu.

24. Ibid., Nos. 300 and 301 of 1915.

of his elder contemporaries in the field of literature. He, however, feels satisfied by assuring himself that the indistinct words of young children would delight parents more than the mature grand speech of their elder sons, and that, though his work cuts a new path, it would gain the appreciation of the public and serve them well, like the old classics, because the theme happens to be the account of the great king, Bhōja, who was an *ādirājasamāna*, equal to early kings, the stories narrated were instructive of *dharma*, and above all, god Nṛsimha, the lord of Ahōbala, was its *kṛtipati*.

Peddana:

The various attempts to mould the Telugu *kāvya* in order to make it attractive to readers, encouraged the growth of another kind of literature, namely, works on Rhetoric. Sanskrit *kāvya* was still the ideal form of literary composition that dominated the field and the Telugu poet had no option except to adopt it and model his *kāvya* in accordance with the rules laid down in the Sanskrit works on Rhetoric to win the approbation of scholars. Already Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, Bhōja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, and Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrīyam* acquired great renown in the Telugu country. They were very popular and were studied by scholars, both Sanskrit and Telugu. Their prototype *Kāvyālaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi*, the first work on Rhetoric in Telugu, was written by Peddana of the Vinnakōṭa family. He belonged to the Kauśika *gōtra* and was the court-poet of the Cāḷukya prince, Viśvēśvara of Elamañci in the Kaḷiṅga country, and dedicated his work to his patron. The date of Peddana, as well as of his patron Viśvēśvara, is definitely settled by the Pañchadhārala pillar inscription of the latter. This inscription[26] written in Sanskrit, records the construction of a maṇḍapa in the Dharmaliṅgēśvara temple at Pañcadhārāpurī (modern Pañchadhārala, in the Sarvasiddhi taluk, Vizagapatam district) in Śaka 1329; that is, 1407 A. D., by king Viśvēśvara. This record contains a verse which covertly alludes to the date of a victorious battle fought by Viśvēśvara against his enemies. The words employed therein yield a double meaning. While outwardly glorifying Viśvēśvara's valour, the verse informs us that the king defeated the Andhra army near Sarvasiddhi in Saka 1324, corresponding to the cyclic year Citrabhānu.[27] An exact Telugu

26. Ep. Ind., XIX, pp. 164 ff.

27. Ibid, XXV, pp. 385 ff.

गतिर्ग्राहुंशक्तिभूमितिमपिगणयत् सर्वसिद्धिपथभग्नम्।
सति चित्रभानुसाक्षिणिधरणीवराहादधावदन्ध्रबलम्॥ v. 24, p. 170.

rendering [28] of this stanza with the same pun on words is found in the *Kāvyālankāracūḍāmaṇi.* Since the same stanza is found both in the inscription and the Telugu work, it is likely that Peddana was the composer of the record as well. *Kāvyālankāracūḍāmaṇi* may, therefore, be said to have been composed after this event, subsequent to Śaka 1324, that is, in the early years of the fifteenth century of the Christian era.

The verses in the *Kāvyālaṅkāracūḍamaṇi,* composed in praise of king Viśvēśvara, to illustrate the *kāvya-guṇas* and *alaṅkāras,* highly testify to the poetical talents of the author. They are very simple and yet beautiful, and even without a theme this work is delightful to read on account of its poetic beauty.

Śivaleṅka Kommana:

Kommana was one of the poets patronised by prince Doḍḍa Reḍḍi, son of Allāḍa Reḍḍi, of Rājamahēndravaram and the donor of the Koṅkuduru plates, dated in Śaka 1352.

Kommana is the author of two Telugu works, namely, *Vīra Māhēśvaram* and *Śivalīlāvilāsam.* Of these two, the former is now lost and its existence is known from some of the verses quoted in *lakṣaṇa-granthas.* Only one dilapidated and incomplete copy of the latter work, *Śivalīlāvilāsam,* containing only the first two *āśvāsas,* is extant, and now preserved in the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The first *āśvāsa* of the work containing a description of the patron's family is full of lacunæ. Many stanzas in the introductory portion are lost and even the remaining ones contain many big gaps. Portions of a great many stanzas even in the second *āśvāsa* are moth-eaten. What little information could be gathered from the introductory verses in the first *āśvāsa,* is very valuable, as it confirms what has already been known from other sources about the conquests of the Reḍḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram. The author of this history was successful in securing another copy of this rare manuscript through the courtesy of his friends. This copy also is incomplete though it contains one more *āśvāsa* than the previous copy. This copy, however, is very valuable as it furnishes some important information regarding its author Kommana, lacking in the previous copy. This advantage, however, is vitiated by the loss of the portion in the new copy describing the family of the author's patron,

28. "చతురుపాయ బాహు శక్తి క్షమాంవరిం
బాలవిడిచి చిత్రభాను సాక్షిం
బాలె సర్వసిద్ధిపద మేది ధరణీవ
రాహముదకు నోడి రాచకదుపు." —VII, v. 41.

Bharati, Vol. V, pp. 469 ff.

Doḍḍā Reḍḍi. The introductory portions in both the extant copies thus supplement each other to some extent and furnish valuable information regarding the patron's, as well as the poet's family. So, these portions in both the extant copies are blended together, arranging the respective stanzas in the two copies in their proper places, and the complete version of the introduction as now available is appended to this chapter. The details given below about the poet are taken exclusively from the new copy secured by the author of this work.

Śivalenka was the surname of Kommaya, the author of the *Śivalīlāvilāsam.* He was the great-grandson of Gangaya Singanārya, that is, Singanārya, son of Gangaya, and grandson of Nis'śankamantri, and son of Abbamantri and Aṁbamāṁbā. He belongs to the Śrīvatsa *gōtra,* and Āpastaṁba sūtra and to the *Vyāvarṇīcaraṇa.* His descent from his great-grandfather is shown in the margin.

Gangaya
|
Singaya
|
Nis'śankaya
|
Abbaya = Aṁbamāṁbā
|
Kommaya (author)

His great-grand father Singaya is said to have accepted dedication of the *Subhadrākalyāṇam* by a certain poet, Ūraya, in the presence of Tūrkaya. The identity of both Ūraya[29] and Tūrkaya has yet to be established. Poet Kommaya furnishes no particulars either about his father Abbaya or his grandfather Nis'śankaya. Nis'śankaya is no doubt identical with Śivalenka Nis'śankanāthayya mentioned in an inscription[30] in the temple of god Mahānandīśvara near Prōlavaram (on the western bank of the Gōdāvarī in the West Godavari district), dated in Śaka 1330, corresponding to the cyclic year Sarvadhāri. This record registers that Nis'śankanāthayya purchased some land from a brāhman of Kroppāka for god Mahānandagirilinga. It is interesting to note that Nis'śankanātha's grandson, Kommaya, also is represented by another inscription[31] of the same date at the same place, wherein he is referred to as Nis'śanka Kommaya. The record furnishes details of the land in Kroppāka purchased by Annadēvarāja, son of Cōḍa Bhaktirāja, and granted to the temple of Mahanandīśvaralinga and its *sthānapati,* Nis'śanka Kommaya. We thus come to know that he was the *sthānapati* of the temple of Mahānandīśvara at Prōlavaram, and a contemporary of Annadēva Cōḍa. These two records are of great importance to the history of Telugu Literature, as they enable us to know precisely the date of Kommana.

29. Could he be the ancestor of Ūrē Dēcaya?

30. Ep. Coll., No. 292 of 1920.

31. Ibid, No. 293 of 1920 The name is wrongly written as Nis'śaṅku Kāmaya for Nis'śanka Kommaya.

Following the convention set up by the previous Telugu poets, Kommana offers his respectful salutations to poets till Erra Pregada.

There appears to have been some cynics in his day. It was usual for them to decry the writer for his lack of knowledge of Sanskrit, if he wrote a poem in Telugu, and of Telugu, if attempted in Sanskrit. They derided the poet that there was nothing new in the poem if written in old classical style, saying that whatever was stated, was all there before. They did not even lend their approval and recognition to a poem attempted on new lines breaking away from the past. Jakkana also corroborates the above statements. These statements indicate the mental attitude of the Sanskritists and orthodox people of the day towards the Telugu poets and the flourishing state of Telugu poetry. In spite of such cynics as these, common to all times, there were many poets of note who composed many works. A great number of Telugu works of this period was lost owing to political revolutions and wars, and to the ravages of time. The works that have actually come down to us are very limited in number, not even a fraction of the output of the age. As was the case with Anantāmātya, Kommaya also felt difficult and small before great poets, both contemporaries and predecessors. In defence of writing his work *Śivalīlāvilāsam* he puts forth the plea, that the ants also go the same path that the elephants tread.

Tripurāntaka :

Tripurāntaka, also called Tippana, was of the Rāvipāṭi family. He is known to have written four works, namely, *Tripurāntakōdāharaṇam*, *Madanavijayam*, *Candratārāvaḷi*, and *Aṁbikāśatakam*. Of these all are lost except the first work, an *udāharaṇa grantha*. His other works are known only from the extant anthologies[82] and *lakṣaṇa-grathas*, wherein some stray verses are cited from his works as examples, to illustrate a rule concerning poetics or a grammatical point. Tripurāntaka is also said to have written a Sanskrit drama by name *Prēmābhirāmam* which is also lost.

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82. Four verses from his *Tāravaḷi* and three from his *Aṁbikaśatakam* are quoted in the anthologies of Pedapāṭi Jagannāthakavi and of an unknown compiler. Two more verses from his *Aṁbikaśatakam* are found in the Telugu work, *Prayōgaratnākaram*. All these are found in the *Prabandharatnamāla*, edited by Śri Pandit Prabhakara Sastri Garu. *Tripurāntakōdaharaṇam* was edited and published at first by Śri Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi Garu and later by Śri Nidadavolu Venkatarao Garu with an excellent informative introduction.

Evidence is lacking to determine the date of Tripurāntaka. A *cāṭu* verse,[33] attributed to Tripurāntaka in praise of a certain Bhāskara, son of Rāyanamantri (Rāyana Bhāskara), is quoted by Appakavi (a late Telugu poet of the eighteenth century) in his *Appakavīyam*, a work on Prosody. This verse suggests that Tippana was a contemporary of Rāyana Bhāskara, governor of Vinukoṇḍa, whose identity and date have not yet been settled. However, another *cāṭu* verse[34] enables us to know that a certain Rāyana Bhāskara was an officer of Kāṭaya Vēma Reḍḍi, the prime minister and generalissimo of king Kumāragiri Reḍḍi of Koṇḍavīḍu. Another Rāyana Bhāskara was the governor of Vinukoṇḍa and Koṇḍapalli, and the recipient of many *agrahāras* and other honours from the Reḍḍi king Anavēma.[35] It is probable that both the Rāyana Bhāskaras, one, the contemporary of king Anavēma Reḍḍi, and the other, of his successor's minister, Kāṭaya Vēma, were identical. Tripurāntaka must have, therefore, been a contemporary of either king Anavēma or Kumāragiri, most probably the former.

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33. "సరి చేసై రిపు డేల భాస్కరులు భాషానాథపుత్రా వసుం
ధరయం దొక్కఁడు మంత్రి యయ్యె వినుకొండ న్రాయనామాత్యభా
స్కరుఁడో యౌ నయినన్ సహస్రకరశాఖల్లే వవే యున్న వే
తిరమై దానము చేయుచో రిపుల హేతిన్ వ్రేయుచో న్రాయుచోన్."

—Ap. Kv., III, v, 59.

34. "కలయఁ బసిండిగంటమునఁ గాటయవేమసమక్షమందు స
త్ఫలముగ రాయని ప్రభుని బాచఁడు వ్రాసిన వ్రాలమ్రోఁతలన్
గలుగలు గల్లుగల్లు రన గంటకమంత్రులగుండె లన్నియున్
జలుజలు జల్లుజల్లు రనె సత్కవివర్యులు మేలుమేలనన్." —Ct. Mn., I.

35. "ఘనతరౌదార్యదీక్షాకల్పితానల్ప
కరనిబద్ధసువర్ణకంకణుండు
ఆసేతు శీతనగాంతరరాట్సభా
మధ్యవిశ్రుతకీర్తిమండలుండు
కొండపల్లివిన్నకొండ దుర్గద్వయీ
దేశప్రజావనధీయుతుండు
సకలావనీపకసంతానయాచిత
వస్తుప్రదానప్రవర్తనుండు
అన్నవేమమహీశదత్తాగ్రహార
మదకలాందోళికాద్యసన్మణివిశేష
భూషణాద్యష్టభూతివిభూషితుండు
భానుతేజుండు రాయనభాస్కరుండు."

—Sn. Pn.—D.C.T.M., III, No. 898, pp. 187-88.

Vallabharāya:

Vallabharāya was a remarkable poet of this age. He was the first dramatist known to us till now in Telugu. His drama *Krīḍābhirāmam* is of the variety of the *vīdhi*, one of the *daśarūpakas*. All that we know of him is only from this single work which furnishes the author's genealogy, and some clues to know his approximate date.

From the introductory verses of this poetical drama, we come to know that the author's family hereditarily served the kings of Vijayanagar. The author's great-grandfather Candrāmātya was the minister of king Peda Bukkarāya, evidently, brother of king Harihara I of Vijayanagar, and Liṅganamantri, brother of the author's grandfather, served under Harihara, who was no other than Harihara II, son of Peda Bukkarāya. The author's father, Tripurāntaka also, was a junior contemporary of Harihara II, and served him as the superintendent of his treasury of precious stones (*ratna-bhāṇḍāra-sādhikāra-pragalbhu*), and the mast elephant of the governor of the fortress of Vinukoṇḍa[36] (*Śrutaparvatadurga-mahāpradhānarāḍ-gandhagajambu*). It is clear from this that Vinukoṇḍa, originally a fort of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, formed, later on, after its conquest by king Bukka I during his eastern campaign[37] undertaken about Śaka 1286, part of the Vijayanagar kingdom about Śaka 1294,[38] and its governor was a subordinate of the Vijayanagar kings. Subsequently, the Reḍḍi king, Anavēma, recovered his lost possessions from his Vijayanagar contemporary, Harihara II, about Śaka 1299, the date of Anavēma's Śrīśailam record.[39] A verse[40] in a Telugu kāvya informs us that Rāyanamantri Bhāskara (Bhāskara, son of Rāyanamantri) was the governor of Vinukoṇḍa and Koṇḍapalli under king, Anavēma Reḍḍi, and was the recipient of several royal honours from his lord, as stated before, in another context. It is probable that, after his re-conquest of this region, Anavēma appointed Bhāskara as governor of Vinukoṇḍa. Bhāskara continued in office during the reign of Anavēma's sucessor also.[41] If Tippana was an officer attached to the fort of Vinukoṇḍa, it must be after its subjugation by the

36. "గంధవతీ ప్రతీర పురఘస్మరపాద బిసప్రసూన ప్ర
ష్పంధయచక్రవర్తి శ్రుతపర్వతదుర్గమహాప్రధానరా
డ్గంధగజంబు తిప్పన......" —Kd. Rm., v. 22.

37. Mack. Mss., No. 15-6-19, *Kaifiyat* of Duvvapāḍu.

38. Ibid, No. 15-3-11; *Kaifiyats* of Chāngalavīḍu in Eruva and Akkapalli.

39. Ep. Coll., No. 20 of 1915.

40. Vide, foot note 35 above.

41. Ct. Mm., I, p. 76. See f. n. 34 above.

Vijayanagar kings and before its re-conquest by king Anavēma Reḍḍi. So, it is certain that Tippana alias Tripurāntaka flourished about Saka 1294, that is, 1372 A. D. His son Vallabharāya, the author of *Krīḍābhirāmam*, must have been a contemporary of king Anavēma and his successor, Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, and lived about Saka 1320, that is, in the last decade of the fourteenth century of the Christian era.

Krīḍābhirāmam is said to be an adaptation of the Sanskrit drama *Prēmābhirāmam* written by Rāvipāṭi Tippana. As *Prēmābhirāmam* is lost, it is not possible for us now to know whether the author closely followed the original text, or showed any originality of his own in any aspect. This drama is in the nature of a dialogue between two friends Gōvinda Mañcana Sarma, a brāhman, and Tiṭṭibha Seṭṭi, a vaisya voluptuary, about the diverse entertainments, amusements, and all that they happened to witness in the course of their ramblings from morn to eve, through the highways and lanes in the exterior and interior parts of the city of Warangal, the capital of the Kakatīya monarchs. It beautifully depicts the social life of the period, their tastes, sports, entertainments and so on. At the end of the work we are told that this drama was enacted by a dramatic troupe belonging to Dōrasamudra (Dwārasamudra, the capital of the Hoysala Baḷḷāḷas) on the occasion of the festival (probably annual) of god Bhairava of Mōpūru (in the Cuddapah district). It may be noted in this connection that Vallabharāya was the lord of Mōpūru including its three hamlets.[42]

Siṅgana:

Siṅgana of the Maḍiki family was another poet of this period who was patronised by the Telugu chiefs whose dominion lay in the Teliṅgānā of the Hyderabad State. He was a native of Maḍiki, a village (Pedda Maḍiki as it is also called, in the Ramachandrapuram taluk, East Gadavarī district) on the eastern bank of the river Gōdāvarī. He was the son of Ayyalāmātya of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and Siṅgāmbikā, and the daughter's son of Kommana, son of the famous Telugu poet, Tikkana Sōmayāji.

Siṅgana's father Ayyalāmātya was the minister of Toyyēṭi Anavōta, king of the Rājamahēndravaram[43], We find one Anavōta,

42. Kd. Rm., v. 23.

43. "......వేఁగిదేశంబులోఁ
నేపారు రాజమహేంద్రపురికి
నధిపతి తొయ్యేటి యనవోతభూపాలు
మంత్రియై ప్రాజ్యసంపదలఁ బొదలి..."—Vs. Rm., I. v. 38.

son of Rāja Nāyaka and a cousin of Kāpaya Nāyaka of the Musunūri family, mentioned in the latter's Prōlavaram grant[44] dated in Śaka 1267, as ruling from his capital Toyyēṟu. Toyyēṭi Anavōta appears to be no other than the chief of the same name, son of Rāja Nāyaka and lord of Toyyēṟu. Anavōta ruled Rājamahēndravaram as the representative of his cousin, Musunūri Kāpaya Nāyaka. In fact, we have an inscription[45] of Anavōta, son of Rāja Nāyaka, at Dakshāram registering his gift to god Bhīmēśvara. The portion referring to the Śaka year in the record is lost, but its equivalent cyclic year Sarvajit is clear. Since Anavōtā Nāyaka was a cousin of Musunūri Prōlaya Nāyaka and of Kāpaya Nāyaka, there is no difficulty in taking the Śaka year equivalent to Sarvajit to be 1269 (that is, 1347 A.D.). This was the date of Ayyalamantri, the minister of Toyyēṭi Anavōtabhūpa. His son must have therefore flourished about the end of the fourteenth and in the beginning of the fifteenth centuries of the Christian era.[46]

Maḍiki Singana was the author of four works namely, *Padma Purāṇam* (Uttarabhagam), *Vāśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇam*, a philosophical work, *Sakalanītisammatam*, an anthology of verse on *Nīti* (Polity) culled from various works then extant, and *Daśamaskandham* (tenth chapter) of the *Bhāgavatam*. All these works are now in existence.

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44. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XX (1934), p. 262; *Forgotten Chapter*, Appendix, II.

45. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1294.

46. The following verse giving the date of composition of the *Padma Puraṇam* is found at the end of a few manuscripts:

"అకరయుగానల మృగాంకశకవత్సరములై పరగు శార్వరిని బుధ్యా
ప్రకటితమార్గశిరపంచమిని బొల్చు నుడుపాలసుతవాసరమునందుఁ
శ్రీకరముగా మడికి సింగన తెనుంగున రచించెఁ ధగఁ బద్మపురాణం
బాకమలమిత్రశీరాంశువుగఁ గందసచివాగ్రణికి మంగళమహశ్రీ)."

According to this, the date is Śaka 1842, corresponding to the cyclic year Śārvari, Wednesday, the 5th tithi of the month of Mārgaśira. The fortnight, whether it was the bright half or the dark half, is not stated. The date is irregular as the fifth tithi in the said month does not fall on Wednesday in any one of the two fortnights. This verse, found only in a very few manuscripts, seems to be an interpolation; for, the age of Maḍiki Singana at the time of the composition of the *Padma Purāṇam* would be seventy three, even if he is taken to have been born to Ayyalamantri in Śaka 1269, the date of Toyyēṭi Anavōta's Dākshāram record. If this date in the *Padma Purāṇam* is accepted, a still later date to his *Vasiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇam* has to be postulated. This does not seem to be the case. If he were such a late poet, he would have certainly mentioned Errā Pregaḍa in his *kavi-stuti*. The date given in the *Padma Purāṇam* does not seem to be correct.

Singana dedicated all his works, except the second one, to Kandayāmātya, son of Abbayāmātya, the great-grandson of Gannaya, an officer of the Kākatīya monarch, Gaṇapatidēva, of Warangal. The poet's patron, Kandayāmātya, was the minister of Muppa or Muppiḍi Nāyaka, son of Telungurāya of the Gurajāla family, who ruled the country of Sabbi Nāḍu on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī in Telangānā with Rāmagiri as his capital. Singana dedicated his *Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇam* to god Ahōbala. It is he who first attempted to write a complete philosophical work in Telugu in simple, yet chaste, style, so that it might be understood by the general literate class of the Andhra public. This work is no doubt a free Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit work, *Yōga Vāsiṣṭha*; yet the poet had so skillfully translated it as to make it appear to be an original work. Of course, Singana was not the only poet to do so. Every Telugu poet beginning from Nannaya Bhaṭṭa was a past-master in this kind of translation of Sanskrit works; so much so, they appear more to be original works rather than translations, because of the discretion they exercised in translating the Sanskrit work, and of the care they had taken to observe the idiom, phrase and the innate beauty of the Telugu language.

Srīnātha:

Srīnātha was the greatest poet of the age. He was a genius who was proficient in the mysteries of the art of Telugu poetics, and had a complete command over the Telugu language. No one, in the age under review, was better aware of the power and charm of the Telugu expression and idiom, and their innate musical sense than he. Consequently, whatever he had written, was full of vigour and literary charm, and the terms he used, echoed the sense and spirit. He even created new terms to convey the full sense and spirit of the ideas which he wanted to express, if the old ones appeared to be found lacking. He did not hesitate to make use of ordinary terms and expressions from the colloquial tongue though not sanctioned by grammarians, if they served his purpose well. He successfully experimented in creating new literary fashions, and in hammering new styles in Telugu poetry with the material extant, and Telugu verse, particularly in *Sīsa* metre, attained such a perfection in his hands that any scope for further improvement seems to be hardly possible. In a variety of ways he made it run in accordance with the spirit and *rasa* which it conveyed. The quality of his poetry is very high. It has its own individualistic features. His style is lofty and chaste, and his *samāsas* (grouping of words) masterly and dexterous, and imagery clear and perfect. His verses in *Sīsa* metre are very charming to read, and are characterised by a grandeur of their own by their

musical rhythm and melody, powerful yet balanced expression, smooth and majestic run, and literary charm; hence, they became models for the succeeding generations of Telugu poets in composing verses in that metre. Śrīnātha's influence on the later poets was really amazing, for, the latter imitated him in a number of ways, in respect of diction, in the manner of beginning and ending a verse, and in the ornate way of happily combining Telugu and Sanskrit words in phrases and *samāsas* so as to produce melodius and yet powerful literary effect. Śrīnātha did not hesitate to transgress some of the old literary conventions observed till then by Telugu poets in general in the composition of a kāvya, particularly in respect of the selection of themes, and of the hero of the poem. He made Telugu poetry extremely popular by his works, and his very interesting *cāṭus* or stray verses composed on diverse subjects, and raised it high in the estimate of both the scholars and nobles of the country. Śrīnātha was thus an epoch-maker, and with him began a new age in the literary history of the Andhras.

Śrīnātha, son of Māraya and Bhīmāmba was a Yajurvēdin and belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and Āpastamba sūtra. As was the case with many of the Telugu poets of this period, he did not mention his surname anywhere in any of his works. His grandfather was Kamalanābha, lord of Kālpattana,[47] on the sea coast, not yet satisfactorily identified, and a contemporary of Kākatīya Sārvabhauma, evidently Pratāparudra, the last Kākatīya monarch of Warangal. He was given the titles *kavitāvidyādhara*, *sarasasāhityacakravarti*, and *Padma Purāṇa-saṅgrahakaḷākāvyaprabandhādhipa*. The last phrase suggests that he had accepted dedication of the work *Padma Purāṇasaṅgrahakaḷākāvya*, now extinct. Nor do we know the author of that work, *Padma Purāṇa-samgraha* and the language in which it was written, whether Sanskrit or Telugu.

Śrīnātha's native place is not definitely known. The statement *Pākanāṭiṇṭivāḍavu bāndhavuḍavu*,[48] a member of the Pakanāṭi house or

47. "కనకక్ష్మాధరధీరు వారిధితటీ కాల్పట్టణాధీశ్వరున్
ఘనునిం బద్మపురాణసంగ్రహకళా కావ్య ప్రబంధాధిపు
వినమత్కాకతిసార్వభౌముఁ గవితావిద్యాధరుం గొల్తు నా
యనుఁగుం దాతఁ బ్రదాత శ్రీకమలనాభామాత్య చూడామణిన్."

—Bh. Pr., I, v. 10.

According to some scholars Kālpaṭṭaṇa is the village Kalapaṭam in the Bandar taluk, Kistna district, and according to some others Kāḷipaṭṭaṇam in the Narsapur taluk, West Godavari district. Others identify it with Kṛishnāpaṭṇam in the Nellore district.

48. పాకనాటింటివాఁడవు బాంధవుఁడవు
గమలనాభుని మనుమఁడ కమలమతివి ..." —Ibid, v. 28.

family and a relative to boot, has given rise to many conjectures by many Telugu scholars. This remark was made by Beṇḍapūḍi Annamantri, minister of Allaya Vēma Reḍḍi of Rājamahēdravaram, while requesting Srīnātha to dedicate to him his *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam.* The phrase, *Pākanāṭiṇṭivāḍavu,* is interpreted by scholars to mean that Srīnātha was a native of Pākanāḍu, the country extending from the foot of the Śrīśailam (Kurnool district) to the Bay of Bengal in the east.

In this connection, we have to take note of Śrīnātha's two statements, one a phrase, namely, *Karnāṭadēśa-kaṭaka-padma-vana-hēḷi* (a sun to the forest of lotuses of cities or towns of the Karnāṭa country) and the other, a passage *nā-kavītvambu nijamu Karnāṭa-bhāṣa* (true, the language of my poetry is Karnāṭa)[49]. These statements show that he was a native of the Karnāṭa country and that his language was Karnāṭa.. These are really paradoxical statements, for, all the works he had written are in Telugu, and he was an Andhra by birth, having had all his relations in and connections with the Andhra country. Hence, his statements referred to above, constitute really a puzzle in the Telugu literary history. Many attempts were made in vain to solve this knotty problem.

Srīnātha's statements lead us to conclude that he was a native of Karṇāḍu or the country of Karnāṭa. This does not mean or represent the Canarese country of the present day. The Andhra country consisted, in ancient times, of many *janapadas,* or *nāḍus.* Of such *nāḍus* of the Andhra country, known from inscriptions and Telugu literature, Karṇināḍu, Karnāṭa or Kaṇṇa viṣaya, was one. It comprised in ancient times the Nandikotkur, Kurnool, and partly, Nandyala taluks of the present Kurnool district[50]. This country seems to have owed its name

49. "ప్రాయమింతకు మిగులఁ గైవ్రాలకుండఁ
గాశికాఖండ మను మహాగ్రంథ మేను
దెనుఁగుఁ జేసెదఁ గర్ణాటదేశ కటక
పద్మవనహేళి శ్రీనాథభట్టసుకవి".— Ks. Kh., I, v. 7.

"ప్రౌఢిఁ బరికింప సంస్కృతభాష యందు
పలుకునుడి కారమున నంధ్రభాషయందు
నెవ్వ రేమన్న నందు నా కేమి కొఱఁత
నా కవిత్వంబు నిజము కర్ణాటభాష." Bh. Pr., I, v. 15.

50. See Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's article on *Karnaṭa* in JAHRS Vol. X, pp. 89-99. A record, dated in S'aka 1235 at S'rīs'ailam in the Nandikotkur taluk, Kurnool district, enumerates some of the villages included in this district (కర్నాటసీమ) (Ep. Coll.,

to the Karṇi kings of the Sātavāhana family. In this Kaṇṇa viṣaya lies a ruined ancient fort called Sātanikōṭa, a corruption of *Sātavāhanikōṭa*. It is, however, certain that the term Karṇāṭa was originally applied to a portion of the Andhra country lying on the southern banks of the rivers, Tuṅgabhadrā and the Kṛṣṇā. Pālkuṟiki Sōmanātha's *Basava Purāṇam*[51] mentions Gobbūru (in the Kurnool taluk), the native place of Saṅganāmātya, the *śrōta* of that work, as the diadem to the Karṇāṭa-dēśa. The Vijayanagar feudatory, Teluṅgurāya, whose dominion, according to the location of the records[52] of his family, lay in the Nellore and Guntur districts, that is, in portions of Pākanāḍu and Kammanāḍu, is said to be a native of Kannaḍa dēśa[53] (*Kannaḍa-dēśa-maṁdula Saṁburāyani koḍuku Teluṅgurāyaṇḍu*). This clearly shows

86 of 1915). This inscription seems to be the same as that given from the Mack. Mss by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in his article. This district Karṇaṭa seems, as he rightly thinks, to be the same as the Kaṇṇe, three hundred of the Western Calukya records. It is likely that the whole of the country ruled by the Sātavāhanas went by the name of Karṇāṭa, as stated by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (Karṇi + Nāḍu = Karṇiṇāḍu or Karṇāḍu, the country of the Sātakarṇis). Even as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the Christian era, the country extending from almost the Kāvērī in the South to the Kṛṣṇa in the north was called Karṇaṭa.

51. "నావుడు భక్తజనావలియాజ్ఞ
వావిరిఁ దలమోచి వర్ణింతుఁ గవిత
పాటింపఁదగిన కర్ణాటభూమికిని
గోటీరమై యొప్పు గొబ్బూరనంగ
....
గురుపరతంత్రుండు గొబ్బూరివిభుఁడు
సంగనామాత్యుండు జగదుపకారి..."—Bs. Pr., 1, pp. 3 and 4.

52. A record of Teluṅguraya, dated in S'aka 1350, is found at Santarāvūru in the Bapatla taluk, Guntur district (V. R. II, no. 128). His father's record dated in S'aka 1348 is found at Kūcipūḍi in the Podili taluk, Nellore district (N. D. I., III, P. 26). There is a village named Teluṅgurayapuram in the Atmakur taluk, Nellore district. Another village Teluṅgurayani Pedda KRānāla, which is indentical with the village of Kānāla in the Nandyal taluk, Kurnool district, finds mention in a Vijayanagar record of S'aka 1481 (Ep. Coll, No. 258 of 1936). Another late record of Teluṅguraya dated in S'aka 1364 (Ep. Coll., No. 758 of 1922) is discovered in the Bapatla taluk, Guntur district. His son Tirumalayya dēva's inscription, dated in S'aka 1405, is also found in the same Bapatla taluk. These records clearly attest to the territory over which they ruled. This family of chiefs had nothing to do with the Canarese country of the present day. So, Kannaḍadēs'a referred to in the Siṁhāchalam record of Teluṅguraya is no other than the Karnāṭadēs'a of Pālkuṟiki Sōmanātha's *Basava Purāṇa-s'rōta*, Gobbūri Saṅganāmātya. A record of the Vijayanagar monarch, Dēvarāya II, dated in S'aka 1363, says that Udayagiri lies in the centre of the cities of the Karnaṭa (N. D. I., III O. 72, p. 1020).

53. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 905.

that Karṇāṭa (Kannāḍu or Kannaḍadēśa) extending towards the east, overlapped portions of Pākanāḍu, and Kammanāḍu in the period under review. Probably Prāṅgnāḍu, a corruption of the compound term Prāk (which means east) and Kannāḍu, is reminiscent of Kaṁnāḍu or Karnāṭa. Prāṅgnāḍu, Tūrpunāḍu as it is otherwise called in Telugu, can be easily located with a reference to Musunḍūru[54] which was situated in it. This village is identical with Musuṇūru in the Kāvali taluk, Nellore district. Similarly, the term *Karṇakamma*, applied to a sect of Andhra brāhmans, is suggestive of Karṇaviṣaya or Karnāṭa, which, as noted already, overlapped Kammanāḍu. The Karṇakamma brāhmans, like the Vēgināṭis, the Vēlanāṭis and the Āruvēla-kammes, seem to have derived the name of their sect from their native country of Kammanāḍu, a sub-division of Karṇa viṣaya or Karnāṭa, extending as far as the coast. A consideration of the foregoing facts leads us to conclude that, at one time, Karṇaviṣaya, Kaṁnāḍu or Karṇāṭa, overlapped portions of Pākanāḍu and Kammanāḍu in the Nellore and Guntur districts respectively. Śrīnātha seems to have been a native of this overlapping region. This was probably the reason for Beṅḍapūḍi Annamantri to address Śrīnātha as *Pakanaṭiṇṭivāḍavu*, and for the poet to address himself as *Karnaṭadēśa-kaṭaka-padma-vana-hēḷi*. If this argument is approved, then, Śrīnātha may be justified in styling Karnāṭa as the language of his poetry.

Though the time of Śrīnātha is definitely known, the dates of his birth and death are still conjectural. However, his *cāṭu* verses current in the Andhra country for the past several centuries, suggest that he was a ripe old man at the time of his death, particularly two of his verses, one,[55] describing the deplorable state in which he then was, undergoing corporal punishments in his old age for inability to pay the stipulated amount of tax to the then government, and the other, which is said to have been composed by him in his last moments. In this latter verse[56] Śrīnātha mentions a number

54. Ibid, No. 179.

55. Vide, Pt. I, p. 284.

56. "కాశి కావిశ్వేశుఁ గలిసె వీరారెడ్డి
రత్నాంబరంబు లేరాయఁ డిచ్చు
రంభఁగూడెఁ దెనుంగురాయరాహుత్తుండు
కస్తూరి కేరాజుఁ బ్రస్తుతింతు
స్వర్గస్థుఁడయ్యె విస్సనమంత్రి మఱి హేమ
పాత్రాన్న మెవ్వనిపంక్తిఁ గలదు

of his patrons, kings, nobles, and ministers, by whom he was honoured and patronised and who were already dead and gone. These are (1) Vīrā Reḍḍi, that is, Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi, king of Rājamahēndravaram, (2) Panṭa Mailāra, (3) Telungurāya, (4) Vissanamantri, and (5) Bhāskara, all reputed for their liberality, and who honoured Śrīnātha by gifts of valuable jewels set with gems, and cloths, and musk for the life of luxury he had led, by bearing his daily expenses, and by giving him sumptuous dinners served in gold plates. The dates of almost all these patrons are fairly known to us. With the help of the two verses referred to above we can fix tolerably approximately the last date of Śrīnātha.

Śrīnātha was first patronised by king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma of Koṇḍavīḍu, in whose court he held the position of *Vidyādhikāri* He drafted all the grants (gift-deeds) issued by his patron, king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the earliest of which, the Ponnupalli grant[57], bears the date, Śaka 1326 Tāraṇa, and the latest, the Rudravaram grant[58], Śaka 1341. After the downfall of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom, Śrīnātha went to Rājamahēndravaram, and became the court-poet of king Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi who ruled till Śaka 1360, or to a little later date. He was thus the poet laureate of the Reḍḍi court for well nigh thirty-four years.

Śrīnātha's last date can be approximately known, as stated already, from a reference to his other patrons and his verse describing his difficulties.

Panṭa Mailāra, son of Mummaḍi Reḍḍi, was the Vijayanagar feudatory of Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagar who came to the throne in Śaka 1344. His inscriptions[59] yield the dates, Saka 1346 and Saka 1351. His last date is not known. It is, however, certain that he died before Śaka 1404; for, an inscription[60] at Chadalavāḍa (Ongole taluk, Guntur

కైలాసగిరిఁబండె మైలారవిభుఁ డేఁగె
దినవెచ్చ మేరాజు తీర్పఁగలఁడు
భాస్కరుఁడు మున్నె దేవునిపాలి కరిగెఁ
గలియుగంబున నిఁక నుండఁ గష్టమనుచు
దివిజకవివరు గుండియల్ దిగ్గురనఁగ
నరుగుచున్నాఁడు శ్రీనాథుఁ డమరపురికి:"—Ct. Mm., I, p. 188

57. Loc, Rec., Vol. 43. pp, 267 ff., and Vol. 48, pp, 26 ff.
58. C. P. No, 7 of 1919–20.
59. N. D. I., III, O. 104, pp. 1090–91; C. P. No. 18, N. D. I., I, pp. 156–164.
60. N. D. I., II, O. 80, pp. 951–52 ff.

district) records that an *agrahāra*, formerly granted, through Prauḍha Dēvarāya, by Paṇṭa Mailāra Reḍḍi to god Raghunātha of Chadalavāḍa, was revived in that year by Timmā Reḍḍi, son of Hindūrāvu Suratrāṇa Sariyapalli Timmā Reḍḍi.

Teluṅgurāya, son of Saṁburāya (Saṁparāyani Teluṅgādhīśa), was another Vijayanagar feudatory, whose inscriptions[61] furnish the dates Śaka 1350, Śaka 1360, Saka 1364, and Saka 1366. Teluṅgurāya also died before Śaka 1405; for, an inscription of his son Tirumalaiyadēva Mahārāya discovered at Nūtalapāḍu (Guntur district) supplies the year Sōbhakṛt, which corresponded to Śaka 1405.

We know nothing about Srīnātha's other contemporary, Vissanamantri. He is mentioned in the *cāṭu Sīsamālikā* enumerating the thirty-two great persons of the *niyōgi* sect, reputed for their great liberality; but no particulars about him are given there.

The other person in the *cāṭu* verse, mentioning Śrīnātha's contemporaries, is Bhāskara who must have been his younger or elder contemporary. The line relating to him in the verse suggests, by the term *munne* used in it, that he died probably before all the others mentioned therein. So, Bhāskara must have been Srīnātha's elder contemporary. He seems to have been no other than Rāyana Bhāskara, the governor of Vinukoṇḍa and Koṇḍapalli under kings, Anavēmā Reḍḍi and Kumāragiri Reḍḍi.[62]

The above facts lead us to conclude that Srīnātha led an active literary life from the early years of the reign of Kumāragiri, till a few years after the death of Teluṅgurāya. His *caṭu* verse referred to above describing his downfall, shows that the rulers of the country treated him cruelly, inflicting on him even corporal punishments and other indignities, without showing him any respect. If we could trust to the authority of the *caṭu* verse in its entirety, and accept as correct and un-exaggerated the description of punishments narrated therein, then the presumption is that it was a foreign government, obviously of the Gajapati monarchs of Orissa, who treated Śrīnātha so inconsiderately, not the Vijayanagar or the Reḍḍi rulers, who earlier had treated this poet-ambassador, with such signal honour.

Soon after ascending the throne, after overthrowing the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaḷiṅga and founding the Gajapati dynasty at Cuttack, Kapilēśvara extended his power towards the east and west along the

61. See foot note 52 above.

62. See foot notes, Nos. 84 and 85 above.

coast. He conquered the coastal region of the Telugu country about Śaka 1370.[63] The date of the earliest record[64] of his subordinate, Gaṇadēva Rauturāya in the region to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, is Śaka 1376. To undergo all the punishments and indignities detailed in the *caṭu* verse, Śrīnātha seems to have lived to about this date, which may be accepted to be the upper limit of his life. On the assumption that he lived to a ripe old age, his date of birth may be placed in the early years of the last quarter of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, say about 1378 A.D. (Śaka 1300). He thus seems to have held the proud position of *Vidyādhikāri* in the Koṇḍavīḍu court early in his life.

Śrīnātha was a versatile and prolific writer. He seems to have been endowed with the gift to compose Telugu poems from very early in his life, even before he entered his teens, for, we come to know from one[65] of his verses recounting his works, five in all, namely (i) *Maruttarāṭcaritra*, (ii) *Śālivāhanasaptaśati*, (iii) *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham*, (iv) *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam*, and (v) *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* in a chronological order, that he had written the first of these at a time when the hair had not grown long enough to unite in a modest tiny knot (*kūkaṭi-muḍikinai kurulu kūḍanināḍu*), that is, in his boyhood. He wrote the second work, *Śālivāhanasaptaśati*, probably a translation of some of the selected verses from Hala's *sattasaī*, when he had a sprouting moustache, at the time of his blossoming youth, that is, about the end of his teens; and the third work *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham*, while he was in the full bloom of his youth (*niṇḍu-javvanambuna*),

63. Vide, Pt. I, p. 198.

64. Ep. Coll., No, 70 of 1917.

65. "చిన్నారి పొన్నారి చిఱుతకూఁకటినాఁడు
రచియించితి మరుత్తరాట్చరిత్ర
నూనూఁగుమీసాల నూత్నయౌవనమున
శాలివాహనసప్తశతి నొడివితి
సంతరించితి నిండుజవ్వనంబునయందు
హర్షనైషధకావ్య మంధ్రభాషఁ
బ్రౌఢనిర్భరవయఃపరిపాకమునఁ గొని
యాడితి భీమనాయకుని మహిమఁ
బ్రాయ మింతకుఁ మిగుల గైవ్రాలకుండఁ
గాశికాఖండమనుమహాగ్రంథ మేను
దెనుఁగుఁజేసెదఁ గర్ణాటదేశకటక
పద్మవనహేళి శ్రీనాథభట్టసుకవి." —Ks. Kh. I, v. 7.

probably when he was thirty-five or forty years old. *Bhīmeśvara-Purāṇam* was written when he was in the prime of life (*prauḍha-nirbhara vayaḥ-paripākamuna*), which may be taken to be fifty years of age or thereabouts. As there is a reference in the *Bimeśvara Purāṇam* to the eastern *gōpura* of the temple of god Bhīmēśvara at Dakshāram, built by Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya (the date of which as mentioned in an inscription[66] is Śaka 1350) it is certain that the above work was composed after that date. He states that he composed the *Kāśikhaṇḍam*, when his age had not yet much advanced (*prāyamintaku-gaivrālak-uṇḍa*) in all likelihood when he was at the age of sixty years.

Besides these works there are also some others so far known, namely, *Haravilāsam*, *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra*,[67] *Dhanañjayavijayam*[68], *Śivarātrimāhātmyam* and *Palnāṭivīracaritra*. There might even be many more which we do not yet know[69]. Even some of the works mentioned

66. S. I. I., Vol. IV. No. 1381 (Śaka 1850).

शाके पुष्करबाणविश्वगणिते संवत्सरे कीलके
कार्तिक्यां शनिवासरे सुकृतधीः श्रीयन्नमन्त्रीश्वरः
दाक्षारामजभीमलिङ्गपुरतः श्रीसप्तगोदातटे
प्राचीगोपुरमण्डपं समकरोद्रम्यं शिलानिर्मितम् ॥

"ప్రౌఢి నావప్రాగ్గోపురప్రాంగణమున
సప్తమునిసింధుసోపానసరణి వెలసఁ
దీర్చి ధననంబు భీమయదేవునగర
మంత్రి బెండయ యన్నయామాత్యవరుఁడు."—Bh. Pr., I, v. 74.

67. Bs. Pr. (p)., I.

"విరచించె జైమిని వేదపాదస్తవం
బాకపాదమున వేదయుక్తి నిలిపి
హరభక్తి జైదరంబని శ్రుతులిడి చెప్పెఁ
బ్రతిభ సోమేశుఁ డారాధ్య చరిత
నరవి శ్రీనాథుఁ డాచరిత పద్యప్రబం
ధము సేసె ద్విపదలు తెఱచు నిలిపి..."—v. 18.

68. Daṇtulūri Bāparāju in his *Mūrtitrayōpākhyānam* writes :

"శ్రీనాథ సుకవీంద్రుచే ధనంజయవిజ
యంబను సత్ప్రబంధమందె వెలసె
......దంతులూరి, గన్నభూపాలమౌళి దోర్గర్వశాలి."—J. A. S. P., Vol. V, p. 319.

The author's ancestor is said to have been Harisima Kṛṣṇa of Dhānyavāṭi, the progenitor of the Kōṭa chiefs of Dhanañjaya *gōtra*. (Vide, Pt. I. p. 271).

69. There is also a *Ramayaṇa* in song (రామాయణము; పాట), which is attributed to Śrīnātha (Vide, J. A. S. P., Vol. IV. p. 395).

above are not now extant; for, his *Maruttarāṭcaritra*, *Śālivāhanasaptaśati* *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra* and *Dhanañjayavijayam* exist only in name.

From a reference to the *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham* in the introductory verses in the *Haravilāsam*, it is certain that the latter was written after the former. Similarly, from the introductory verses in the *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham*, we come to know that Śrīnātha had already written his *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra*. *Śivarātrimāhātmyam* seems to be his last work. The works Śrīnātha had written, and the kings and nobles to whom they were dedicated, are given below in a tabular form:

No.	Name of the work.	To whom it was dedicated.
1.	*Maruttarāṭcaritra*	... ...
2.	*Śālivāhanasaptaśati*	... ...
3.	*Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra*	Pregaḍayya, brother of Māmiḍi Siṅganamantri.
4.	*Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham*	Māmiḍi Siṅganamantri, minister of king, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.
5.	*Haravilāsam*	Avaci Tippaya Seṭṭi.
6.	*Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam*	Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya, minister of Allaya Vēma Reḍḍi.
7.	*Kāśīkhaṇḍam*	King Vīrabhadra Reḍḍi of Rājamahēndravaram.
8.	*Dhanañjayavijayam*	Dantulūri Gannabhūpāla, a descendant of Harisīma Kṛṣṇa of Dhānyavāṭi.
9.	*Śivarātrimāhātmyam*	Mummaḍi Śāntayya, a devotee of Śānta Bhikṣāvṛtti Yatīśvara of Śrīśailam.
10.	*Palnāṭivīracaritra* (Some portion, if not all)	... ...

It is likely that Śrīnātha entered the court of Koṇḍavīḍu and became its poet laureate, only after dedicating his *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra* to Pregaḍayya, and through the good offices of his brother, Māmiḍi Siṅganamantri, minister of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma.

It might be after the downfall of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom, that he wrote his works, *Haravilāsam* and *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇam*,

when he was devoid of any royal patronage and dedicated them to Avaci Tippaya Seṭṭi and Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya respectively. There was no love lost between the two houses of Rājamahēndravaram and Koṇḍaviḍu. It might be that the Reḍḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram were at first unwilling to entertain Śrīnātha, the poet laureate of their enemy, however eminent a poet he might have been. Their minister, Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya, must have somehow helped Śrīnātha in getting him the patronage of his masters.

The date of *Sivaratrimāhātmyam* has not yet been fixed even approximately, although scholars are unanimous in their opinion that it was Śrīnātha's latest and last work. In a way its date can be fixed. Mukti Sānta Bhikṣāvṛttirāya, the guru of Munmaḍi Śāntayya, was the head of the Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha*, one of the Saiva *maṭhas* situated on the holy Śrīśaila mountain. An inscription[70] on the outer wall of the eastern *gōpura* (of the Mallikārjuna temple) on Śrīśailam, dated in Śaka 1371, Vibhava (wrong for Śukla), records the revised rates, more reduced than in ancient days, of tolls levied on oxen, horses, asses, and other animals coming to Śrīśailam, as settled by Mukti Śānta Bhikṣāvṛtti Yatīśvara, mentioned above. Therefore, *Śivarātrimāhātmyam* dedicated to Śāntayya, a disciple of that guru, was probably written about Saka 1371. This date is quite in keeping with the chronological scheme given before for Śrīnātha's works.

Two outstanding events in Śrīnātha's life, which have a bearing on the literary history of the country, have to be noted here: one is his victory over the Kavisārvabhauma Gauḍa Ḍiṇḍimabhaṭṭa, the poet laureate of the Vijayanagar court, and his consequent *abhiṣēka* in gold, in the Pearl Hall (*mutyālaśāla*) in the Vijayanagar court, by the Vijayanagar monarch, Prauḍha Dēvarāya, and the other his visit to the court of Sarvajña Siṅga, the Rēcerla king of Rājukoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa, and his fetching from the Rēcerla chief, Kaṭāri Liṅgama Nāyaka, the sword of the Reḍḍi kings, named *Nandikanta Pōturāju Kaṭāri.* The identification of Ḍiṇḍimabhaṭṭa, Prauḍha Dēvarāya, and Sarvajña Siṅga, and the dates to be assigned to the events mentioned above, have become knotty problems, since there were more than one person bearing those names. There has been much controversy about these problems in the Telugu press for a long time, and no final word has yet been said about them.

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70. Mack. Mss., No. 15-3-5.

Let us consider first about the date of Śrīnātha's victory over Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa and his *kanakābhiṣeka*. A *caṭu* verse[71] of Śrīnātha addressing Śārada, the goddess of learning, to sustain his name, just before his visit to the court of Sarvajña Siṅga of great fame, has been current in the Andhra country from ancient times. The following is a free English rendering of that verse.

O Śārada! Multitude of good qualities, you bathed me with *dīnara ṭaṅkas* in the Pearl Hall of the lord of the South; you made me break the bell-metal drum of Gauḍa Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa; you made me establish the title of *Sārvabhauma* in the presence of Candrabhūṣa Kriyāśaktirāya; you helped me to compose the great Andhra kavya, *Naiṣadha*. I wonder how, hereafter, you are going to sustain my fame, presiding over the full court of Rāvu Siṅga Mahīpāla of mighty intellect.

As is evident, the verse relates to his *kanakābhiṣeka* after his success in the contest with Gauḍa Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa. After defeating Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa, Śrīnātha assumed the title of Kavi-sārvabhauma, till then borne by the vanquished adversary, in the presence of Candrabhūṣa Kriyāśaktirāya, who was probably a judge presiding over the contest. Soon after this victory, Śrīnātha was bathed in *dīnarā ṭaṅkas* in the Pearl Hall of the Vijayanagar monarch. From Śrīnātha's other verses we come to know that the Vijayanagar monarch was Prauḍharāya or Prauḍha Dēvarāya. It is thus evident that Śrīnātha, Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa and Prauḍha Dēvarāya were all contemporaries. There were four kings of Vijayanagar who went by the name Prauḍha Dēvarāya, whether it was an actual name or a title, nemely, (i) Dēvarāya I

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71. "దీనారటంకాలఁ దీర్థమాడించితి
దక్షిణాధీశు ముత్యాలశాల
పలుకుతోడై తాంధ్రభాషామహాకావ్య
నైషధగ్రంథసందర్భమునకుఁ
బగులగొట్టించి తుద్భటవివాదప్రౌఢి
గౌడడిండిమభట్టు కంచుఢక్క
చంద్రభూష క్రియాశక్తి రాయలయొద్దఁ
బాదుకొల్పితి సార్వభౌమబిరుద
మెటులు మెప్పించెదో నన్ను నింకమీఁద
రావుసింగమహీపాలు ధీవిశాలు
నిండుకొలువున నెలకొనియుండి నీవు
సరస సద్గుణనికురంబ శారదాంబ." —Ct. Mm., I. pp. 116-117.

(Saka 1328 to S'aka 1344), (ii) Dēvarāya II (S'aka 1344 to Saka 1366) and Dēvarāya III (Mallikārjuna, S'aka 1370 to Saka 1386). As the fourth Prauḍha Dēvarāya was not a contemporary of Śrīnātha, he need not be taken into consideration.

Ḍiṇḍima was the title of some poets patronised by the Vijayanagar monarchs. They were three in number, namely: Ḍiṇḍima Kavi-sārvabhauma, Aruṇagirinātha I alias Sōṇādrinātha I, son of Rājanātha I and Abhirāmāmbikā; his son Ḍiṇḍimakavi Rājaṇātha II; and his son Kumāra Ḍiṇḍimakavi Aruṇagiri or Sōṇādrinātha II. These were the authors of three works, *Sōmavallīyōgānanda-prahasana*, *Sāḷuvābhyudaaym*, and *Vīrabhadravijayam* (a *ḍima*) respectively. These works inform us that a certain Nṛttarāja alias Kaviprabhu, a native of Parēndrāgrahāra in the Gauḍa country, defeated a certain Nāgaṇakavi in the court of Ballāḷa. His son was Rājaṇātha I, and his grandson, Aruṇagirinātha I. Rājanātha I married Abhirāmāmbikā, sister of Sabhāpatibhaṭṭāraka, and a daughter of Ḍiṇḍimaprabhu who is described as *brahmāṇḍabhāṇḍapicaṇḍamaṇḍalita-Vijayaḍiṇḍimacaṇḍiman*. So, this Ḍiṇḍimaprabhu was the maternal grandfather of Aruṇagirinātha I. According to the *Vēdāntadēśikavaibhavaprakāśikā* of Doḍḍayācārya of Cōḷasiṅgapuram, Vēdāntadēs'ika is said to have had a philosophical disputation with kavi Ḍiṇḍimasārvabhauma. As Vēdāntadēs'ika [72] was a contemporary of Vidyāraṇya-guru and Harihara I, Ḍiṇḍimakavi whom he defeated. seems to be the father-in-law of Rājanātha, and a contemporary of Nṛttarāja, the adversary of Nāgaṇakavi, the court poet of Ballāḷa III. [73] Ḍiṇḍimakavi, the father-in-law of Rājanātha I could not have been the opponent of Śrīnātha, for he flourished very early. Neither Nṛttarāja, nor his son Rājanātha I, are known to have the title, Diṇḍima Kavisārvabhauma from the works of their descendants. So, S'rīnātha's contemporary has to be selected from out of the three scholars, Aruṇagirinātha I, his son Rājanātha I, and his grandson Aruṇagirinātha II, who were all Dindimakavis stated already.

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72. "The *Maṇipravala* commentary of the *Vaibhavaprakas'ika* asserts that Vēdāntadēs'ika was born in S'aka 1191 (1269 A. D.) and lived to write the praises of Gōpaṇārya, who re-instated the Raṅganātha image at S'rīraṅgam in S'aka 1293, that is, 1371 A. D. This would assign to him an age of over 102 years. The same authority also asserts that he died in S'akā 1293. These statements require more minute examination. As regards the date of Gōpaṇārya's inscription, there is absolutely no doubt. It has been edited in quite a masterly way by Dr. Hultzsch, in Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 322." — T. A. Gopinatharao's History of *Srivaiṣṇavas*, p. 42., f. n.

73. I. A., Vol. XLVII (1918), p. 184. See also T. A. Gopinatharao's article on *Vīrakapatramala*, which is some times known also as *Vibhagapatramala*,

A perusal of *Sōmavallīyōgānanda-prahasana* written by Aruṇagirinātha I shows that the work was written while Dēvarāya was ruling the earth. It was in the reign of Dēvarāya II that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha politically rose to prominence, the date of his earliest record[74] being as early as Saka 1359 Piṅgala. He is generally believed to be the author of the Sanskrit kāvya *Rāmābhyudayam*. But the fifth canto of this kāvya contains a verse which reveals that it was written by Ḍiṇḍima kavīndra Sōṇādrinātha, son of Rājanātha and Abhirāmāmbikā, that is, Aruṇagirinātha I. In addition to this fact, we also come to know that the *Rāmabhyudayam* was an earlier work than the *Mahānāṭaka* or *Mahānāṭakasudhānidhi* of Immaḍi Dēvarāya[75] (Dēvarāya II). These facts clearly prove that Aruṇagirinātha I Ḍiṇḍima Kavīndra sārvabhuma was a contemporary and court poet of Dēvarāya II. He seems to have been also a contemporary of Dēvarāya's father, Vīra Bhūpati, otherwise called Vīra Vijaya Bhūpati, whose reign came to a close in Saka 1346; for, an undated inscription[76] of the time of Vīra Bhūpati furnishes the interesting information that the king made a grant of some land at Muḍiyanūru (Tirukkoyilur taluk, South Arcot district) to a son of Aruṇagirinātha, evidently Aruṇagirinātha I, for naming him Bhūpaṇa after the king. The name, Bhūpaṇa, is an equivalent of Rājaṇa or Rājanātha. We already know that Rājanātha II was the son of Aruṇagirinātha I. King Vīra Bhūpati was pleased to make a gift of some land to Bhūpaṇa, son of Aruṇagirinātha, since he was named after himself. Evidently the gift was made sometime after the *nāmakaraṇamahōtsava* of Bhūpaṇa (Rājaṇa), probably when he was a boy. The foregoing facts prove that Aruṇagirinātha I was the first Ḍiṇḍima Kavisārvabhauma, patronised by the Vijayanagar monarchs, and that he was a contemporary of Vīra Bhūpati and his son Dēvarāya II (Sakā 1344 to Saka 1366). Srīnātha's adversary must, therefore, have been either Aruṇagirinātha I or his son Rājanātha II.

Kāśīkhaṇḍam and *Sivarātrimāhātmyam* are the only two kāvyas extant, in the colophons of which Srīnātha mentions his title, Kavisārvbhauma, which he assumed after defeating Ḍiṇḍimabhaṭṭa. There is a reference to his *kanakābhiṣēka* also in the *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* at the end of the seventh canto (*Karnāṭa-kṣitipāla-mauktika-sabhākavirāt-saṁstutya-cāritra*). *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* was dedicated to king Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi who ruled till Saka 1360, or a few years later. Therefore, the event of the defeat of Ḍiṇḍimabhaṭṭa must have taken place in the interval between the time of *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam* and that of *Kāśīkhaṇḍam*, that is

74. Ep. Coll., No. 743 of 1909.

75. A. R. Sarasvati's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, No. 19, p. 60.

76. Ep. Coll., No. 267 of 1935.

between Saka 1350 and Saka 1360. These dates confirm that the Dindima Kavisārvabhaumā defeated by Srīnātha was no other than Aruṇagirinātha I, and not his son Rājanātha II.

Now, let us take the next problem of Srīnātha's visit to the Rājukoṇḍa court. Only once did he visit the court of Sarvajña Singa Bhūpāla of the Rēcṛla family, king of Rājukoṇḍa, on a mission from the Koṇḍavīḍu court. He is said to have been sent there to fetch the sabre of the Reḍḍi kings, called *Nandikanta Pōtarāju kaṭāri*, which prince Lingamanēḍu, son of Mādā Nāyaka II of the Rēceṛla family, had taken away before as a trophy, after gaining a victory over the Reḍḍi kings, in one of their expeditions against the Reḍḍi kingdom. There were three kings bearing the name Singa in the Rēceṛla family. One was Singa I, son of Eṛa Dāca Nāyaka. He did not have the title, Sarvajña. Of the other two who were both Sarvajñas, Singa II, the grandson of Singa I, and son of Anavōta Nāyaka I, ruled the kingdom from Cir. Saka 1306 to Cir. Saka 1321, and Singa III, the grandson of Singa II and son of Kumārānnavōta II, from Saka 1347 to Saka 1363 or a little latter. The identity of Sarvajña Singa who honoured Srīnātha has now to be settled. Srīnātha visited the court of Sarvajña Singa after defeating Gauḍa Diṇḍima bhaṭṭa, as has been known from his *cāṭu* verse alluded to above. He addressed Sārada, the goddess of learning, just before entering the Rēceṛla court. So, the date of his visit to the court of Singa has to be placed between Saka 1350 and Saka 1360. From this it is evident that Singa who honoured Śrīnātha, is identical with Singa III, son of Kumarānnavōta, that is, Anavōta II.

As tradition informs us that Srīnātha visited the Rēceṛla court only once, it seems likely that he went to the court of Lingama Nēḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa on his return journey from Rājukoṇḍa, and fulfilled his mission of bringing back to the Reḍḍi kings their sabre, *Nadikanta Pōtaraju kaṭāri*. There are many *cāṭu* verses on Lingama Nēḍu in the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, mentioning some chiefs, whom either he vanquished or befriended. Of these Sambeṭa Pinna[77] of Śaka 1350, Sāḷuva Tippa[78] of Saka 1355, Pōlēpalli Bukka[79] of Saka 1404, are known to us from their inscriptions also. Lingama Nēḍu was also a contemporary of Prauḍha Dēvarāya, Sultān Alā-ud-Dīn Bahmany II, the Gajapati, and Allaya Vēma.[80] A reference to the dates of some of these contemporaries, enables us to note that the active

77. Loc. Rec., Vol. XXXVI, p. 495.
78. Ibid, Vol, XXXVII, p. 115.
79. Ep. Coll., No. 85 of 1983.
80. Vl. Vm. pages 48–53.

military career of Liṅgama Nēḍu began sometime before Saka 1350. Early in his life, only when he was twelve years old, according to the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, he led an expedition to Koṇḍavīḍu, probably in the fag end of the reign of king Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. It was probably in this expedition that he had taken away *Nandikanta Pōtarāju kaṭari*.[81]

The Reḍḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram felt it a stigma on their valour to let their sword remain with their enemies, the Rēceṛla kings. So, they wanted to regain it by peaceful means by sending Srīnātha to their court as their ambassador on this mission. Srīnātha accomplished this task with great tact and skill. He pleased Liṅgama Nēḍu with his learning and poetical talents. There are many *cāṭu* verses on Liṅgama Nēḍu current in the country, which are attributed to Srīnātha. Liṅgama Nēḍu wanted to reward Srīnātha adequately, without minding that he was the court-poet of his bitter enemies, the Reḍḍi kings. Srīnātha probably took this opportunity to fulfil his mission. He requested Liṅgama Nēḍu to return the sabre of the Reḍḍi kings, and said that he wanted nothing more. Admiring the poet's loyalty to his patrons, the Rēceṛla chief returned the sabre and sent away the poet, bestowing upon him many valuable presents. This seems to have been the trend of events relating to Srinātha's visit to the Rēceṛla court.

Srīnātha's was a stormy life. He rose like the glowing morning star. He shone like the radiant Sun casting his influence far and wide. He set in a dark cloud of misery. Everywhere when patronage had failed, he leased a farm and took to agriculture; but there he was a misfit and a miserable failure. He could not pay the stipulated tax to the Government. Consequently he was subjected to many corporal punishments. Finally he died in penury.

Srīnātha was one of the greatest poets of the Andhra land. He was the first Telugu poet who had travelled through out the length and breadth of the Andhra country, though it might have been for seeking patronage of nobles and kings in different parts of the country, and eke out his livelihood. He lived a princely luxurious life. He recorded in his numerous *cāṭus* composed during his perigrinations, some of the customs and manners that excited his interest, of people living in different localities in the country, and impressions of places which he had visited. Some of his *cāṭus* written on diverse subjects, high and low, noble and ignoble, are full of literary charm, fine imagery, humour and sarcasm, though some of them on Sṛṅgāra are not in good taste, judged according to the modern standards. By his interesting *caṭu* verses and by the literary charm of his

81. Ibid, p. 89.

works, he was able to evoke a country-wide interest in the Telugu poetry, and love for it in the minds of people. He was thus not only a court-poet of the Reddi kings, but in a true sense, the first Andhra national poet.

The review of Telugu literature of the age of the Reḍḍis is not complete without taking note of the Telugu works, written by poets that flourished in the Rēcerla kingdom of Telingānā. So far as it is known at present they are five in number, namely, Paśupati Nāganātha, Ayyalārya, Gaurana, Koravi Gōparāja and Bammera Pōtarāja (Pōtana).

Paśupati Nāganātha :

Paśupati Nāganātha or Nāganātha, son of Pasupati, is the author of the Telugu work *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* which is now lost. He is identical with Nāganātha kavi of the Kauśika *gōtra*, son of Paśupati Pandita, and the composer of the Ainavōlu inscription [82] of Anavōta I, son of Siṅga I of the Rēcerla family, dated in Śaka 1291. That he is the author of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* in Telugu, is known from a verse from this work, quoted in an anthology in the library of the Telugu Academy.

Ayyalārya :

Ayyalārya, another Telugu poet patronised by the Padma Velama kings of the Rēcerla family of Dēvarakoṇḍa, is the author of a portion of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*. A perusal of the closing verses and the colophons at the end of different *kāṇḍas* of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*, reveals the fact that those *kāṇḍas* were composed by different authors, namely, Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa, Kumāra Rudradēva and Ayyalārya (or Ayyalamantri), though the title connotes that really *Bhāskara* was the only author of the work. The *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is the work of two authors, of whom one is Ayyalārya. He finished the portion of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, left unfinished by Huḷakki Bhāskara for reasons unknown to us. When some of the *kāṇḍas* of Bhāskara's work were lost or mutilated, the authors mentioned above seem to have completed them again, each in his own name, the portion or *kāṇḍa* he had completed. It is not also known if all these different authors were contemporaries. We are primarily concerned here with Ayyalārya whose date is roughly known to us. From some of the palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*, it is known that Ayyalārya completed the remaining portion of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of this work at the command of his patron, Vēdagiri Nāyanimgāru, that is, Peda Vēdagiri Nāḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa, son of Mādhava or Mādā Nāyaka I. The date

82. Vv. Cr., Appendix, No. 4.

of Vēdagiri's father, Māda I, is Śaka 1298. An inscription[83] mentioning Vēdagiri Nēḍu is dated in Śaka 1329. His protege Ayyalārya must have therefore flourished about that time. He is not known to have written any other works.

The colophon at the end of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa* enables us to know that Ayyalārya was the son of Appalārya, younger brother of Śakalyamalla Rama (Vīra) Narasiṁha, that is Rāma (Vīra) Narasiṁha, son of Sākalyamallubhaṭṭa.[84]

Gaurana :

Gaurana, a native of Teliṅgānā, was the son of Pōcāṁbā and Ayyalārya of the Gautama *gōtra*. He is the author of two extant Telugu kāvyas in *dvipada* metre, namely, *Hariścandracaritra*, dealing with the story of Hariścandra, one of the six noted Indian emperors of mythological fame, and *Nava Nātha Caritra* dealing with the adventures of Nava Nāthas, and *Lakṣaṇadipika*, a Sanskrit work on poetics. The introductory lines of the Telugu kāvyas referred to above, as well as the introductory verses in the *Lakṣaṇadīpika*, provide us the clue to fix the date of this poet approximately by stating that his father's elder brother, Peddana Pōtarāja (Pōtarāja, son of Peddana) was the minister of Siṅgaya Mādhava, (Mādhava, son of Siṅgaya) of the Rēcerla family. These Rēcerla chiefs, as we already know, were the rulers of Teliṅgānā, whose capitals were Rācakoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa. Gaurana's time may be fixed from a reference to the date of Siṅgaya Mādhava. There were two kings of the same name Mādhava, both being the sons of chiefs bearing the same name Siṅga. They were Mādhava I, son of Siṅga I, and Mādhava II, son of Siṅga II, who was otherwise called Sarvajña Siṅga and Kumāra Siṅga. The dates of these two Mādhavas are definitely known to us from their inscriptions. The Umāmahēśvaram inscription[85] of Mādhava, son of Siṅga I, is dated in Śaka 1298 (1376 A. D.), and the latest date of Mādhava II furnished by his records[86] is Śaka 1351 (1429 A. D.). At the end of the Umāmahēśvaram inscription there are some ślōkas and a Telugu prose passage. Two of the ślōkas refer to Peddana's son, Pōtarāja (Peddana Pōtarāja), who is described therein as *sarvaśāstra-viśārada* and the *rājyāṅgaikadhurandhara* In one of the ślōkas he is stated to have got composed the record relating to the temple of Śiva, to which Māda I made a gift, and

83. S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 1100.

84. Vide, section above on the Sanskrit Literature. See also the learned article on *The date of Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa and its authors* by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in the An. An. for Vikrama (1940).

85. Vv. Cr., Appendix, No. 10.

86. Ibid, Appendix, No. 12.

the composer's name is given in another verse as Māyisudhī, skilled in *padavākyapramāṇa*. It seems therefore reasonable to conclude from these verses that Peddana Pōtarāja was probably the minister of Mādhava I and not of Mādhava II. If the date of Peddana Pōtarāja is Śaka 1298, the date of Gaurana, his brother's son, may be assigned to the first half of the fourteenth century of the Śaka era.

Gaurana was a Śaiva by religion. The Śaiva Telugu poets of the Andhra country that preceded Gaurana, had developed a new school of their own, and set up new traditions in Telugu literature. The Śaiva poets freely made use of the *dēśi* metres in kāvya as against the classical ones, in order that it might also be set to music beside its being read, and *dvipada* was the favourite metre they employed. They had freely drawn from the spoken tongue, and yet were bound by ordinary rules of grammar, though transgressing them occasionally. The diction of their kavyas which differs greatly from that of the kāvyas of the non-Śaiva school, is peculiar, and did not always win the approval of later grammarians. However, the Śaiva poets created a popular literary movement, and the art of their kāvyas is more realistic than that of the kāvyas of the other school. The Śaiva school of Telugu literature has thus some distinguishing features of its own. Gaurana's works are no exception to this dictum. His style is vigorous, imagery perfect and the flow of his verse smooth and running. Some of his lines are crisp and profound with meaning, and read like aphorisms. They have passed into adages in common tongue.

Gaurana dedicated his *Nava Nātha Caritra* to Mukti Śāntarāya of the Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha*, to whose devotee, Mummaḍi Sāntayya, Śrīnātha dedicated his work, *Śivarātri-māhātmyam*. Gaurana and Śrīnātha thus seem to have been contemporaries. In fact, one *Nava Nātha Caritra* in Telugu written by a certain Śrīgiri kavi, was already in existence before Gaurana's time. But that was a *padya prabandha* and not a *dvipada* one. At the command of Mukti Śānta Bhikṣāvṛtti-rāya Gaurana took the same subject for his theme, and re-wrote it in *dvipada* metre.

All the three works of Gaurana, namely, *Hariścandracaritra*, *Nava Nātha Caritra* and *Lakṣaṇadīpika* are extant. He is known to have written also another poetical work, *Navagrahastavam*, a *stōtra* on the nine *grahas*, which is now lost. Two verses from this work are quoted by Pedapāṭi Jagannātha kavi, a later poet, in his anthology.

Koṛavi Gōparāju :

Gōparāju, son of Kāmāmbikā and Kasavarāju of the Koṛavi family, was a native of Teliṅgānā and belonged to the Harita-sa-*gōtra*,

He was the seventh in descent from Vennaya, minister of the Durjaya chief, Pṛithvīśvara of Velanāḍu who ruled from Cir. Saka 1104 to Cir. Śaka 1126.

Gōparāju's father was the minister of Rāṇā Malla whose identity has not yet been settled. As Gōparāju was the seventh in descent from Vennaya, he may be assigned to the middle or latter half of the fourteenth century of the Śaka era, calculating at an average of thirty years per generation. This conclusion is supported by another fact. Bāciraju and Siṅgana, two of the five sons of Abbaya, eldest brother of Gōpaya, grandfather of Gōparāju, are said to have been ministers to king, Anavōta Kumāra Siṅgaya (that is, Kumara Siṅga, son of Anavōta), obviously of the Rēcerla family of Rājukoṇḍa. This Kumāra Siṅga, who is identical with Sarvajña Siṅga Bhūpāla II, author of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākaraṃ*, ruled from Cir. Śaka 1330 to Cir. Śaka 1346.

This identification of Kumāra Siṅga furnishes the clue to fix approximately the date of Gōparāju. If Bāciraju and Siṅgana, and Kasavārya flourished in the early half or in the middle of the fourteenth century of the Śaka era, Gōparāju also may be assigned either to the middle or the early latter half of the same century. He becomes thus a contemporary of Kumārānnavōta, or his brother, Mādhava II whose dates range till Śaka 1351.

Gōparāju is the author of the Telugu kāvya, *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśika*, containing thirty-two stories about king, vikramārka of Ujjain, related consecutively by the thirty-two images sculptured on his throne, to king Bhōja of Māḷava, every time when he came to ascend it. This is the only work known to have been written by the author. The author himself states that this work is not an independent one, but a translation of an old Sanskrit work which is now lost. As one of the stories contained in this work, happens to be a close adaptation of a story[87] found in the Jain work, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, either the original author of this work in Sanskrit, or our Gōparāju, the translator himself, seems to have incorporated in this work stories relating to kings other than Vikramārka also, taken from other sources, and attributed them to that classical hero. Though this work is a Telugu translation of the Sanskrit work, it is difficult to detect it to be such.

The *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśika* is a remarkable kāvya, unique in many respects. The author maintains a vigorous style throughout the poem and the expression is crystal clear. The whole poem is

87. Vide, Chapter V on Games And Amusements, VII p. 437, f. n. 60.

characteristic of the realistic social atmosphere of the times, though the stories narrated therein were of bygone days. This happens to be one of the very few works which furnish a fund of information regarding the social life of the period in which the author lived. As the information which he supplies, tallies exactly with that furnished by the accounts of foreign travellers who visited South India at this period, it may be reasonable to suppose that Gōparāju himself brought into his kāvya a realistic touch, by attuning the stories he described to the social life of his period. The author exhibits his encyclopaedic knowledge on whatever subject he describes in his work, and provides us with many technical terms then in use relating to wrestling, archery and the like, some of which have died out since.

Bammera Pōtana:

The ancestors of Pōtana, alias Pōtarāju or Potanāmātya, were originally natives of Bammera in the Nalgoṇḍa district (Hyderabad-Teliṅgānā), about thirty miles distant from Waraṅgal. As Waraṅgal (Ekaśilānagara) was the secondary capital of the Padma Velama kings of the Rēcerla family of Rājukoṇḍa, and the primary capital of their predecessors, the Musunūri chiefs, Pōtana or his forefathers seem to have migrated to that place, and lived there.

Pōtana was the son of Lakkama and Kēsana and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-sa-*gōtra* and to the Āpastamba sūtra. He is the author of three works, *Bhōginīdaṇḍakam*, *Andhra Mahābhāgavatam*, and *Vīrabhadravijayam*, which are all extant.

The first work, *Bhōginīdaṇḍakam*, furnishes the clue to settle the date of Pōtana. He wrote that work on a vēśya of his patron Sarvajña Siṅga Bhūpāla. Some Telugu scholars contend that the author of this *Bhōginīdaṇḍakam* could not have been Pōtana for the simple reason that, as he was a great devotee, he could not have stooped to write this work on a courtesan. This argument, based as it is, more on sentiment than on unimpeachable evidence, has no historical basis. There is no evidence to show that Pōtana was a great devotee even from his youth. It is likely that he wrote this *daṇḍaka* in his youth, sometime after he entered the court of his patron, Sarvajña Siṅga, to please him. As wisdom dawned on him gradually, on observing the ways and whims of kings and princes of those days he withdrew himself from the impure and choking atmosphere of the royal court, and preferred to lead a peaceful life of an agriculturist, severing his connection with kings and royal courts.

Pōtana's patron, Sarvajña, is described in the *daṇḍakam* as the son of Kumarānnavōta and the grandson of Rāvu Siṅga Mahīpāla of the Rēceṛla family, and as having been served by Vasanta Bhūpāla. It is then obvious that Pōtana's patron was Sarvajña Siṅga III, son of Kumarānnavōta (Anavōta II), and the ruler of Rājukoṇḍa. This identification is confirmed by an inscription [88] of these chiefs at Little Conjeevaram, Conjeevaram taluk, Chingleput district, dated in Śaka 1359, corresponding to Piṅgala. This record registers the gift of four *dvārapāla* images, Caṇḍa and Pracaṇḍa, at the second and third *gōpuras* respectively, and of the two pinnacles of gold for the car by Vasantarāya, son of Anavōtā Nāyaka, and brother of Siṅgama Nāyaka. Vasantarāya, Anavōta Nāyaka and Siṅgama Nāyaka of this record are identical with Vasantāvanīnātha, Kumarānnavōta, and Sarvajña Siṅga respectively. It seems to have been customary among the Rēceṛla chiefs to prefix the term, kumāra, to the name of the grandson named after his grandfather, to distinguish one from the other. Hence, we find the names, Kumāra Siṅga (Siṅga II), and Kumarānnavōta (Anavōta II), in the genealogy of the Padma Velamas of Rājukoṇḍa. So, Pōtana patronised by Sarvajña Siṅga (Singa III) must have also flourished about Śaka 1359 (1347 A.D.), the date of the Conjeevaram record referred to above.

Pōtana's *Vīrabhadravijayam* does not stand comparison with his other great work *Andhra Mahābhāgavatam*, even though it is generally stated that it was his last work. Pōtana's *Bhāgavatam*, a translation of the Sanskrit *Mahābhāgavatam*, is his *magnum opus*. This great work also shared, for causes unknown to us, the same fate as the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa*. There is a traditional story current in the country that Pōtana buried his *Bhāgavatam* underground, to save it from destruction at the hands of Sarvajña Siṅga III, to whom Pōtana refused to dedicate that work, probably after he left his court, and this is adduced as the cause for the decay of some of the portions—the fifth, sixth, eleventh and twelfth *skandhas*—which were later on completed by some Telugu poets, namely, Gaṅgana, Ērcūri Siṅgana and Veligandala Nāraya, a pupil of Pōtana himself This story seems to be a pure myth. It has no historical basis. The real truth for the mutilation or destruction of this work seems to be in the extremely disturbed political condition of Teliṅgānā in the time of Pōtana, and his early patron, Sarvajña Siṅga. From the fag end of the reign of the Bahmanī Sultān, Ahmad Shāh I, whose rule lasted till 1435 A.D (Śaka 1357), and during the next two successive reigns, Alā-ud-Dīn II and his son Humāyūn Shāh, the whole of Teliṅgānā was thrown

88. Ep. Coll., No. 634 of 1919

into much confusion, owing to ravage and rapine consequent on the wars between the kings of Rājukoṇḍa and Devarakoṇḍa, and the Bahmanī Sultāns of Bīdar. In fact, Rājācal or Rājukoṇḍa, the chief capital of the Rēceṟla kings, was, according to the Muslim historians, assigned as a feudal fief [89] to the Bahmanī princes even as early as about 1435 A.D. Teliṅgāna was overrun by the Bahmanī generals many a time; even Waraṅgal was sacked, and it often changed hands. The Rēceṟla kings tried their best to regain possession of their lost territory, and to drive away the Mussalmans from Teliṅgāna with the aid of other Hindu kings. This political condition of Telingāna during this period, in which one's own belongings, family, and even life, were insecure, seems to have been the main cause for the mutilation of some of the *Skandhas* of Pōtana's *Bhāgavatam.*

Pōtana dedicated his *Bhāgavatam* to god Srī Rāma. He had the title *sahajapāṇḍitya*, which shows that he acquired proficiency in the Telugu language and poetics by his self-effort. Pōtana's poetry is mainly devotional in character. He is at his best when describing a devotional episode. He intensely felt the emotions of a devotee whom he described and went into ecstacy, while singing the glory of god Viṣṇu. Hence, his work, *Bhāgavatam* may be aptly termed as a devotional lyric. Pōtana had such a mastery over the language that *śabdālaṅkāras*, like *yamaka* and *anuprāsa* and others, crept into his poetical lines without effort. In spite of these *śabdālaṅkāras* his poetry has a fine finish and an innate beauty about it, characterised by its sweetness and melody. The flow of his poetry is smooth, and his style vigorous and supple. Pōtana's imagery is superb. He can make us realise the spirit conveyed by his poems intensely. He pressed the figures of speech into service so as to make his imagery perfect. The *śabda* or the sound of words dexterously employed, echoed the sense and the spirit. One can point out many instances in this work where this effect is clearly visible. In his later life when he wrote his *Bhāgavatam*, Pōtana was a *bhakta* practising *bhaktiyōga.* He was, therefore, able to add devotional fervour to Telugu poetry.

The period under review ends with Pōtana. His work, *Bhāgavatam*, stands as a symbol indicating the surging Vaiṣṇava revival in the Telugu country, both in the Teliṅgāna and in the coastal Andhra country, at the close of this period. The *Andhra Mahābhāgavatam* of Pōtana marks the swing from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism, which dominated the latter half of the Vijayanagar period.

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89. J. S. King - *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, p. 78.

LITERARY COURT

The Reḍḍi kings, like their predecessors, continued the splendid traditions of protecting and encouraging art and letters. Poets and philosophers vied with one another in arranging literary debates under the auspices of the royal court to establish their own especial supremacy. Such occasions were very popular, and they brought to the audience hall, the scene of the disputations, the most learned men of the land and the highest officers of the State. There was as much excitement as in the royal tournaments and success in the contest brought the victor kingly favour and grant of lands. No doubt, when one great scholar advanced the theory, *siddhānta*, assertion, and while his opponent sought to shatter it by *pūrvapakṣa*, refutation, by counter arguments, the court was struck with wonder and flushed with untainted joy at the feats of intellect and memory exhibited by them. Some of the chief literary feats and entertainments are given below :-

(i) Composing one hundred stanzas (a *Śataka*) extempore in a *ghaṭikā*, a period of twenty four minutes, in Sanskrit and Prākṛit, Śaurasēnī and others, that is, in the eight kinds of Prākṛit languages.

(ii) To describe offhand a thing or subject in the required way, in the required *dhātus* (verbal roots), and *rasa*, within the given time limit.

(iii) To repeat a poem (probably a passage also) after hearing it read only once, twice, or thrice.

(iv) To perform any kind of *avadhāna* (a feat requiring great attention, memory and skill). There were *aṣṭāvadhānas* and *śatāvadhānas* (attending simultaneously to eight, and one hundred things respectively). There were experts who performed *citrāvadhānas* in the *Yajur Vēda* also.

(v) To read a verse in the manner of a *gitikā* musical composition, with time and tune.

(vi) To tell by intuition names concealed, deeds secretly done before the entertainer, and the *bhāvas* in the mind of the questioner, that is, thought-reading.

(vii) To compose poems altogether omitting a set of letters generally *ōṣṭhyas* (labials) prohibited by the questioner and some *mātras*, prosodial instants or units in metre.

(viii) *Samasyā-pūraṇa*, that is, completing the remaining portion of the stanza with the given part, which contains generally queer and, at times, apparently an incongruous and silly idea, to form a single rational theme.

These entertainments were not the innovations of this age. Most of them were already popular for at least a few centuries past in the courts of Indian kings. But all these performances were given in Sanskrit and Prākṛit. The poets of the mediaeval period in the Telugu country cultivated these arts in Telugu also, and the courts of kings and nobles during this period were lively with such performances. Such entertainments and feats were given by scholars and poets, specially proficient in them. Scholarship and skill never went without being amply rewarded. Peddayamātya, grandfather of Jakkana, the author of *Vikramārkacaritra*, is said to have been an expert in all the above mentioned feats[90]. Stories regarding the *samasyas* given to Srīnatha ni some of the courts of the kings of this

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90. "సంస్కృతప్రాకృత శౌరసేన్యాదుల
ఘటికలో నొక శతకంబుఁ జెప్పఁ
బ్రహసనప్రకరణ భాణాది బహువిధ
రూపకంబులయందు రూఢి మెఱయఁ
జక్ర చతుర్భద్ర చతురుత్తరాధిక
క్షుద్రకావ్యములు పెక్కులు రచింప
నంధ్రకవిత్వంబునందుఁ బ్రబంధంబు
మేలుగాఁ దద్జ్ఞులు మెచ్చఁ జెప్ప
నిమ్ముల నేరీతి నేధాతువుల నేమి
రసమునకైన వర్ణనము సేయ
సరి నేకసంధా ద్విసంధా త్రిసంధలఁ
దొడరినఁ బోరిఁ బోరిఁ గడవఁ జదువఁ
జెప్పఁ జే యవధాన మెఱుఁగు నయ్యవధాన
మున వాని కించుక ముల్లనూప
వృత్తకందముఁ గందవృత్తంబునుం జతు
ష్కందంబు మొదలుగాఁ గలుగు గర్భ
కావ్యవర్గముఁ జెప్పఁగాఁ బ్రబంధంబులు
గోత్రములు పుట్టించుకొని లిఖింపఁ
గా నక్షరచ్యుతకంబు మాత్రాచ్యుత
కంబు బంధచ్యుతకంబు నామ
గోప్యంబులుం గ్రియాగోప్యంబులును భావ
గోప్యంబులును జెప్ప గోష్ఠియందుఁ
బద్యంబు గీతి కార్భటి నెగిఁ జనువంగ
నెల్లవిద్యలసంచు తెఱుఁగ నేర్చు

period, and the stanzas completed with the given parts by him, are still current in the country.[91] The literary court, or *gōṣṭhi*, as it was then called, was a pleasant and attractive feature of the royal courts of this age.

Accepting dedication of a work from any poet was another great festive occasion. It is natural to be such, as it was considered to be one of the *Saptasantānas*. It was the custom of those days for one desiring a kāvya to be dedicated to him, to invite a poet and request him to dedicate his work to him. When the poet agreed to the proposal, as it was usually the case with a great many poets, the *kṛtibharta* of the work honoured him with fragrant betel (*karpūra tāmbūla*), accompanied by valuable presents of silk cloths, gold jewels set with precious stones, and so on, according to his status. Grants of land or even of *agrahāras* were at times given. The poet thereafter described in glowing terms the genealogical descent of his patron recounting the glory and achievements, of the patron and his ancestors if there were, any, in the introductory portion of the work. The Introductory portions of the Sanskrit and Telugu works, which were dedicated to nobles and kings or their officers, thus form valuable source-material for the re-construction of our past history.

ననుచు నెల్లారి తిరుకాళ మనుజవిభుని
సమ్ముఖమ్మున సాహిత్యసరణి మెఱసి
మహిమఁ గాంచిన పెద్దయామాత్యసుకవి...” —Vk. Cr., I, v. 20.

The author Vennelakaṇṭi Annaya also adverts in his work, *Ṣōḍaśakumāracaritra* to some of these intellectual feats of skill (vi, v. 18):

“అష్టభాషల-మధు రాశు విస్తర చిత్ర
కవితలు చెప్ప సత్కవులు మెచ్చ
... ...
నూతనరీతుల ధాతువిభ్రమముల
రసములు మెఱయు వర్ణకము వాఱు
పేర్పురాణంబుల పేకథ యడిగినం
దడఁబాటులేక రయేర్పడఁగఁ జెప్ప
నోలి నవధానములు వేనవేలు సూపు:..”

91. It is said that, when once S'rīnātha visited the court of the Rēcerla chief, Siṅga of Rājukoṇḍa, the following *samasya* was given to S'rīnātha by a Bhaṭṭa in his *āsthana*.

“కుక్కవా నక్కవా ఫణివా క్రోఁతివా పిల్లివా బూతపిల్లివా.”

This is reported to have been completed by the poet as shown below, very creditably:

The literary court of the kings of this period was a veritable *viśvakalāpariṣat*, where skill in various arts was tested and duly rewarded. It is worthy of note that many of the kings of this period, in spite of their pre-occupations with administration and almost incessant warfare, found time to devote themselves to pursuits of literature and art. The most stormy period of our history had bequeathed to us the legacy of precious literary treasures. The mind as well as the body was highly active in the period under review.

"తక్కక రావుసింగవసుధావరుఁ డర్థులకర్థ మిచ్చుచో
దిక్కులలేని కర్ణుని, దధీచిని, ఖేచరు, వేల్పుమ్రానుఁ, జెం
పెక్కిన కామధేనువు, శిబీంద్రుని నెన్నదు భట్ట! దిట్టవై
కుక్కవో నక్కవో ఫణివో క్రోఁతివో పిల్లివో బూతపిల్లివో."—Cf. Mm., I. p. 117.

APPENDIX

Introductory portion of the *Śivalīlāvilāsam*

Till now only one incomplete copy of *Śivalīlāvilāsam* has been available, which is preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. This copy contains only the first three *āśvāsas*. Even in this copy, the introductory portion in the first *āśvāsa*, generally containing a description of the genealogical descent of the poet, or of the poet's patron, or of both, is not complete. The few verses in the extant introductory portion without a beginning and with a great many mistakes and lacunae here and there, describe the genealogy of Allāḍa's son, Doḍḍā Reḍḍi, to whom this work was dedicated, and furnish much new historical information otherwise unavailable, regarding the Reḍḍi kings of Rājamahēndravaram.

I was able to get another, though incomplete, copy of this rare work through Vidvān Ogēti Venkata Subbarao garu of Hyderābād, to whom the grateful thanks, not only of mine, but also of the Andhra Pubic, are due. This copy contains the first three *āśvāsas* with an incomplete introductory portion. It is interesting to note that this portion contains verses describing the descent of the author. Thus, the introductory portions in the two copies now available, though not complete, furnish much information about the author of the work as well as of his patron. I give below, without any emendation of the text the extant introductory portions in the two copies, having combined them together into a single one.

శ్రీదనరార మ్రొక్కిన గిరీంద్రవరాత్మజ వేచ్చుర (?) వేళ త
త్పాదసముల్లసన్న ఖరవర్షణవీథులఁ దేజరిల్లి యే
కాదశమూర్తి భేదములఁ గన్నులపండువుసేయు శంభుఁ డా
హ్లాదకరుండు గాచు మన యళ్ళయ దొడ్డనృపాల శేఖరున్.

ఏనికమోమున నెసఁగుపావని తల్లి
కొండలరాయని కూర్మిపట్టి
నెలచేరుచుక్క యౌదలఁ దాల్చు నేర్పరి
సాటువకొక్కు మిన్నేటి సవతి

మూఁడు చూపుల వేల్పు ముదుసలి యిల్లాలు
ముత్తైదువలలోన మొదలిపేరు
కడ చదువులయందుఁ గనుపట్టు...కటి
వెండి గుబ్బలియింట నుండుపడఁతి
ప్రకట శుభ సద్మ నిజ పాదపద్మనికట
చంచరీకాయమాన చంచదవతంస
కలిత గీర్వాణి ... ...
... ... [దొడ్డవిభుని]. ౨

[అతులమ*] రందబృంద సముదంచిత నాభినవాబ్జషట్పద
శ్రుతులఁ దదంతర స్థిత సరోజభవానన నా (సా?) మకోమల
శ్రుతులు నిజకృతు (?) ల్మోదము సొంపును బెంపు వహింప మెచ్చ న
చ్యుతుఁ దఖిలేశ్వరుండు మనుచున్ దయ నల్లయదొడ్డభూవరున్. 3

నిలుకడ దియ్యంపు నలువునఁ దగువాఁడు
జనకుండుగానుండు చతురవాణి
కలువలఁ దనరాక నలరింపఁగలవాఁడు
తమ్ముండుగానుండు తలిరుఁబోణి
యంతలు నెలయింప నెనఁగుపంతమువాఁడు
నాథుండుగానుండు నవలతాంగి
వలపుల వెదచల్లు వన్నెతూపులవాఁడు
తనయుండుగానుండు వనజగంధి
వరవికాస చారు వాసనాంభోరుహ
హర్మ్య రమ్యతల విహారలోల
హృదయకమల కమల యిచ్చుగావుత అల్ల
విభుని దొడ్డనృపతి కభిమతములు. ౪

శ్రేష్ఠతర ప్రభావ సవిశేష గుణాద్భుత భావచాతురీ
నిష్ఠను విశ్వభూతగణ నిర్మిత మొప్ప ఘటించి లోక బం

హిష్ఠ చరిత్రఖేలన మెయిందగు పద్మభవుండు నిర్జర
జ్యేష్ఠుఁడు గాచు నల్లవరు దొడ్డకుమార నృపాలరత్నమున్. ౫.

మహనీయ గంధ సంబంధ గుణంబులఁ
గర మొప్పు వికచ పంకజముతోడ
శ్రవణ ప్రియాదాన సరసభాషితములఁ
బ్రకటిల్లు రాజకీరంబుతోడ
నానాగమార్థ నిర్ణయ గుంభనంబులఁ
జదురొందు నూత్న పుస్తకముతోడ
సరిగమపదనిస స్ఫురిత స్వనంబులు
వివరించు మంజుల వీణెతోడ

మెఱయు శ్రీహస్తములతోడ నెఱసి సకల
భువన పరిపూర్ణ విభ్రమంబునఁ దలిర్చు
చుండు దేవి వాగీశ్వరి యొసఁగుగాత
కోర్కె లల్లయ దొడ్డన క్షోణిపతికి. ౬

పూని దివానిశలును భువ
నానీకముఁగావఁ బ్రోవనగు భాను సుధా
భానులు హితంబు లిత్తురు
మానుగ నల్లాఖ్యదొడ్డ మనుజేంద్రునకున్ ౭

వేల్పులకెల్లఁ దా వేల్పగు నొడయండు
పనుల యంకిలిఁ దీర్చు ప్రకటులాఁడు
చదలేటినవతి యచ్చపు కూర్మిబిడ్డండు
నెలపువ్వుఁ దలఁదోపు సెరకు(అపు ?)లాఁడు
వణఁకుగుబ్బలిరాచవారికి మనుమండు
ముక్కంటి నలరించు ముద్దులాఁడు
పాపజన్నిదము లేర్పడఁ దాల్చు పాపండు
కొక్కెఁబోతెము(తును ?) తోలు వె(నె ?) క్కులాఁడు

గండయుగ మండనా..........
మద[జనాలోల] ....
గాన సుముఖుండు శ్రీభద్రగణముఖుండు
మనుచు నల్లయ దొడ్డకుమారవరుని. ౮

ఖగమున్ లుబ్ధకుఁ జేసినంత నిజశోకం బుర్విలో నద్భుతం
బుగ సుశ్లోకముఁ దాల్చె నేమునిచేఁ బుణ్యార్థసంపాదకం
బగు రామాయణ మేసుధీనుతునిచే నారూఢతం బొల్చెఁ జే
ర్మి గడు స్మీఱఁగ నట్టి యాదికవి వాల్మీకిం బ్రశంసించెదన్. ౯

చతురామ్నాయములున్ జగత్త్రయము మెచ్చన్ వ్యక్తముల్ చేసి త
త్ప్రతిమంబై పొలుపారు భారతము నుత్పాదించి నానాపురా
ణ తతుల్ నిర్మల ధర్మబోధనధురీణఖ్యాతి నిర్మించి సం
తతమాహాత్మ్య విలాసుఁడై వెలయు వేదవ్యాసుఁ గీర్తించెదన్. ౧౦

పటుసమ్మోదమున న్భజింతుఁ గవితాహారిణు బాణు న్సము
త్కట వాణీజలమేఘు మాఘు నుతవిద్యార్థిము సోము న్వికం
కటవిద్యారవి భారవిం జతురరేఖాభాజునిం భోజుఁ బ్ర
స్ఫుట లక్ష్మీకరు భాస్కరున్ సతతతేజోభాను భాను న్మదిన్. ౧౧

నన్నయభట్టుఁ గావ్యరచనావిదుఁ దిక్కన సోమయాజి న
చ్ఛిన్న మహాత్వ సంవిదితశేముషి నెఱ్ఱయ ప్రెగ్గడ న్సము
త్పన్న నవప్రబంధ రసభావకు నింపుగఁ బ్రార్థనాంజలుల్
మున్నుగ నాత్మలోఁ దలఁతు (మువ్వుర మువ్వురఁ బోలు ?) పుణ్యులన్. ౧౨

బుధులఁ గమనీయ కవితాం
బుధులఁ గళావిధుల భావపూర్ణేందు వచో
విధులఁ బ్రణుతింతు నెప్పుడు
నధునాతన కవుల మతిజితాంబరకవులన్. ౧౩

ఆకల్పంబుగఁ దూర్కరాజు కన నూరాఖ్యాకుచేత న్శుభ
ద్రాకల్యాణమనం దనర్చు కృతిరత్నం బొప్పఁ గైకొన్న సు

క్లోకు న్మత్ప్రపితామహున్ బుధజనస్తోతవ్య దివ్యద్గుణో
త్సేకున్ గంగయ శింగనార్యుఁ దలఁతుఁ ధీనిర్జరాచార్యునిన్. ౧౪

మాతాతన్ విలసద్గధీ(?భీ)రకలనామాతాత సాదృశ్య సం
ఘాతన్ యాదవనాథ పాదజలజ(జాత?)ధ్యాతఁ జీ ఎం(యం?)బ్బికా
చేతఃపుష్కరిణీమరాళము నురుశ్రీమూలమున్ మంగళా
స్వీతజ్ఞానమయాత్మునిం దలఁచెదన్ నిశ్శంక మంత్రీశ్వరున్. ౧౫

పుజ్జనకు తత్త్వదర్శి న
ముజ్జనకుని నబ్బనచివముఖ్యుని దలఁతున్
సజ్జన సౌముఖ్యుని ను
ద్యజ్జయ హరినిభుని నంబమాంబావిభునిన్. ౧౬

ఇలఁ జలిచీమరీతి ఖలుఁ డెవ్వరి మర్మములైనఁ బట్టునే
దలఁ దెగిపోవునప్పుడును దా విడువం డదిగావునన్ వృథా
క . . (లన?) నిరూఢులై బుధులఁ గారియఁ బెట్టుచు నుండునట్టి పె
ద్దలదెస యేనుబోవ నెడదవ్వులనుండి నమస్కరించెదన్. ౧౭

తెలుఁగని చెప్ప సంస్కృత విధిజ్ఞతలే దని సంస్కృతంబునన్
బలుకఁ దెనుంగు నేరరని ప్రాక్తన మార్గమునంద వచ్చినం
గలవది మున్ను నంచు నొకకై వడిఁ గ్రొత్తగఁ గూర్చ రేని పె
ద్దలు వ(?వ) నిగోరటం(రం?)చు మహాఁ దజ్ఞులు నాడుదు రల్పధీయుతుల్. ౧౮

కలిత మహాకవీంద్ర కృత కావ్య సమర్థపదార్థ మర్మముల్
తెలియఁగలేక చీకటియె తెంపుగఁ ద్రవ్వుదు రష్టాహా కడున్
ములుచలు కొంద అట్లయగు ముందట నున్నను పుట్టుఁజీకు లు
జ్జ్వలమణిదర్పణాంతర లసత్ప్రతిబింబముఁ గాన నేర్తురే. ౧౯

వ. అని క్రమంబున నిష్టదేవతాప్రార్థనంబును బురాణ నవీన కవి కీర్తనంబును గురుజనాభివాదంబును బలప్రకార నిరూపణంబును నముచితంబుగా జరిపి యాత్మగతంబున, ౨౦

ఇల నలఘుకవులు కబ్బం
బులు లక్షలు జెప్పినారు మ న్నని నాకున్
వల దుడుగఁ గావ్య రచనము
చెలఁగి కరులు నడచుత్రోవఁ జీమలుఁ జనవే. ౨౧

శ్రోత్రగ నర్థముల్ దలఁచి గుంభన శబ్దములు న్విచిత్రతా
యత్తత నుల్లసిల్ల నిది యచ్చట నచ్చట నర్థావర్ణముల్
మెత్తిన నూలుకొల్పి రసమేళన మొప్పగఁ జెప్ప కూరకే
కత్తర బెత్తరల్ బెనచి కారులు కబ్బము లన్న నవ్వరే. ౨౨

పుర భూపర్తువు లంబుజాప్త హిమరు క్పుత్రోదయంబు ల్మహీ
ధర మంత్రాహవముల్ వివాహరతియాత్రల్ ద్యూతపానాంబుధుల్
విరహాంభోవనలీల లుత్తమరసావిర్భావ భావక్రియా
నరణిం జెప్పఁదగున్ బుధుల్ గరము మెచ్చన్ సత్ప్రబంధంబులన్. ౨౩

వ. అని తలంచి యుదంచిత రచనా చమత్కృతిఁ గలుగ నొక్క
సత్కృతి నిర్మించు తలంపుననుండు సమయంబున, ౨౪

... ...

... ...

శ్రీవత్సాన్వయ శేఖరుండవు సదా శ్రీరామచంద్రానుకం
పావర్ధిష్ణు శుభాన్వితుండవు ఆ(శుభా)పస్తంబసూత్ర క్రమ
వ్యావర్ణీచరణ ప్రసిద్ధుఁడవు రమ్యార్థాష్టభాషాకవి
త్వావిర్భావ విధాధురీణుఁడవు కొమ్మామాత్య నీ విమ్మహిన్. ౨౫

చతురుఁడవు పూర్వకవినాథ సన్మహత్వ
మహితుఁడవు సర్వబుధలోక మాననీయ
చరితుఁడవు గాన నింపునఁ జలుపవలయుఁ
బెంపు గల్గంగ నస్మదభీష్ట మొకఁడు. ౨౬

కొడుకు వనము చెఱువు గు [డి*] నిధి నల్లిల్లు
కావ్య మనఁగఁ గీర్తికారణములు

జగతిఁ గలవు సప్తసంతతు లందులోఁ
గరము కీర్తికరము కావ్యమొకఁడె. ౨౭

చెలువుగ భవ్యకావ్యములచేతన యారమవా(రఘురా?)మముఖ్యు లు
జ్జ్వలమగు పెంపుఁ గాంచి గరువంబున మించిరి [తా*]రు నేఁడునుం
గలరుకదా యశోధనులు గావునఁ దత్క్రిమ మాత్మ నంతయుం
దెలియఁగఁ జూచి యేఁ గృతిపతిత్వముఁ బూనఁగఁ గాంక్షచేసితిన్. ౨౮

వింటిఁ బురాణముల్ గరము వేడుకతోడ ననేకభంగులన్
గంటి కృతార్థతా కలిత గౌరవ కౌతుక మట్లనయ్యు ము
క్కంటి మహాత్మ్య మేకతము గల్గద యెందువినంగ రొ(లొ?)చ్చుగా
నంటిన సర్గవంశ చరితాదులచే నటుగాన నామదిన్. ౨౯

కేవల శివచరితము నే
భావన వినఁగోరుదుం బ్రబంధనిధాన
శ్రీ వఱలఁగ వినిపింపుము
భావరసాలంకృతాంధ్ర భాషాసరణిన్. 30

వ. అని పల్కి కర్పూర తాంబూల జాంబూనదాభరణాదు లొసంగిన నంగీకరించి యే నతని కిట్లంటి, 3౧

మును కృతు(?) లెంద రందరు సమున్నతి నందరె వార లీగతిన్
ఘనమతి విశ్వపూజ్యమగు కావ్యము మార్గముఁ గన్నవారె నీ
త్రినయన భక్తి[యుక్తి*?]యు నుదీర్ణ వివేకము నింత యొప్పునే
యనఘత నుల్లసిల్లెద వుదారకవిత్వమహత్వసంపదన్. 3౨

వ. అని సంతసిల్లి యమ్మహానాయకుం గృతినాయకుం గావించి తత్ప్రబంధరచనాభంగి నంగీకరించితి, 33

ఒప్పుగలచోట నొప్పిన నొప్పు మిగుల
తప్పుగలచోటఁ దీర్చినఁ దప్పు గలుగ
దొప్పు దప్పుగఁ దప్పును నొప్పుగాఁగఁ
గొనక కవులార నాకృతి వినఁగవలయు. 3౪

కృతిముఖ తిలకంబనఁ గృతి
పతివంశము ప్రస్తుతింతుఁ దగ భువనహిత
స్థిత పురుషోత్తమ లీలా
న్వితమగు ... ... జలధివిధమున వెలయున్. ౩౪

శ్రీ తరుణీశ పాదసరసీరుహ దేశము ... ... (పావనై ?)క ని
ర్ణీత విశేషలీల నొక నిర్మలవంశము సంభవించె స
ర్వాతిశయ ప్ర ... ... (కీర్తిసముదం?)చిత సంచిత పుణ్యగణ్యతా
న్వీతవిభూతి నిర్జరధునీజలపూరముతోడి పాడియై. ౩౫

అందు జనించి మించిరి సమగ్రనిరూఢిఁ గ్రమక్రమంబునన్
మందరధీరు లాగత సమస్త నిశా(విచా?)రులు సంతత ప్రజా
నందనకార్యకారులు గుణస్ఫుటహారులు ధర్మరక్షణా
మందవిచారు లంగజితమారులు దేసటు లత్యుదారులై ౩౬

వ. ఇవ్విధంబున నవ్విమలాన్వయంబున నూర్జిత కీర్తిలక్ష్మీశు లనేకులు
పుట్టి రట్టియెడ, ౩౭

ప్రభవము నొందె దొడ్డజనపాలుఁడు నిర్జరవాహినీ మహా
రభటి విజృంభణ ప్రకట కారటవీధర (?) సుప్రసన్నతా
విభవ వచోవిశేషపదవీపరిణద్ధగతి ప్రసిద్ధ స
త్యవక(త్సభిక?) విధీ(ధే?)యుమానసుఁడు జాలవిశాల గుణానుకూలుఁడై. ౩౮

ధైర్యసంధా పిబాధనః కరుణుల కరుణుల
రఘుగోత్ర జలవిందురామ(?యు)
ధీగవాస(గుణస)త్త్వశక్తి జయవైభవముల
గురుభీమ బలహారి హరినిరూఢి
వానభాగాగ్నేయవ ధర్మ రక్షణా
లఘునసూదనకనాశనసమాఖ్య
తనురయ శౌచసాదర లాక్షమాజురు
బుధ మరుద్గంగాంగభూవిభూతి
పొగడ నెగడు నఖిల భూస్థలి నానమ
త్సకల రాజమాళి మకుటరత్న

ముకురలబ్ధబింబ వికసత్పదాబ్జాత
నలలితుండు దొడ్డజనవిభుండు. ౮౦

అతనికి లోకపాలకులయంశమునన్ భువనైకవైభవో
న్నతిఁ దగ జన్నమాంబవలనన్ జననంబు భజించె నల్లడ
క్షితిపతి యుగ్ర విక్రమ విశేష విభూష భుజస్థలీ సమ
న్వితసిత హేతి పాతిత వహిష్ఠ విరోధి వరాధి యోధయై. ౮౧

పెద్ద కోమటివేమ పృథివీశు వెనుసూచి
యతని సంపదలెల్ల నపహరించె
గౌడాధిపతిఁ గెల్చి గజపతిదళ విభా
ళాఖ్యాన బిరుదంబు నలవరించె
ఒడ్డాదివిభుఁ దోలి యొగి వాని యిండుల
పట్టులఁ ద్రవ్వించె బలువు చెఱువు
ధారానురత్రాణుఁ బోర నిర్జితుఁ జేసి
కొల్లవట్టించెఁ ద ద్ఘోటకములఁ
గేవలుండె తురఁగ రేవంతుఁ డవఘళ
రాయమానమర్ద రాయరాంక
దివ్య(భానుదీప్త?)మాన నిష్ప్రతాప(తీక?)ప్రతాప వి
హారి దొడ్డవిభుని యళ్ళశౌరి. ౮౨

అల్ల విభుకీర్తి విభ్రమ
ముల్లసిలున్ సాంధ్యనాట్యయుత శర్వాణీ
వల్లభ జటాగ్రనట దు
త్పుల్ల ధునీ ధూర్తలహరి ధూర్ధరలీలన్. ౮౩

త్యాగప్రకారంబు ప్రాణ(?)గొడ్డంబుగా
చెలఁగు ఖేచరరాజుఁ జెప్పనేల
బాహావిజృంభణంబు బకభంజనంబుగా
నెసఁగు మరుత్సూను నెన్ననేల
విక్రమం బర్థిత్వ విధి నరూఢంబుగా
నెగడు నారాయణుఁ బొగడనేల

ప్రాభవం బఖిలగోత్ర ప్రవాసకముగాఁ
దనరు సురాధీశుఁ దడవనేల
ననుచుఁ గొనియాడుచుండుదు రఖిలజనులు
నిష్కలంకవిభాస నిర్ణిద్రభద్ర
గుణ పరంపరారత్న భూషణ విభా స
మన్వితుండగు దొడ్డయ యల్లవిభుని. ౪౪

భరితశ్రీనిధి యన్మహీరమణుఁ డొప్పెం జోళ భక్తి క్షితీ
శ్వర సూనుండగు భీమలింగ మనుజేశశ్రేష్ఠుసత్పుత్రి భా
స్వరకారుణ్యా దశాజనావనవిధాసంధాత్రి వేమాంబికన్
వరియించెన్ బతిభక్తి గౌరవ దృఢవ్యాపార సత్యాంబికన్. ౪౫

అఖిల బంధువులకు ననయం బభీప్సిత
ము లొసంగుఁ ... ...
దన పుట్టినిల్లు సొచ్చినయిల్లు వర్ధిల్ల
నాదిగర్భేశ్వరి యగుచు వెలయు
ముంగిలి మొలుఁగని ముద్దరాలని తన్ను
బుధులెల్లఁ గొనియాడఁ బొలుపు మిగుల
... ...
... ...
... ...
... ...
... ...
... ... ౪౬
... ...
... ... ప్రత్యక్షపులున్
ధీరతులు దొడ్డయాన్న కు
మారులు జనియించి రలఘు మహిమాన్వితులై. ౪౭

అందుఁ బ్రథమోద్భవుఁడు గొమ
రొందును శ్రీరామవిభుని యొరపున జప కా

నందు . శ్రీవేమవిభుఁడు ... ...
... ... ప్రస్ఫుట సరణిన్. ౪౮

ఽవహాళి జవాభంగ భాస్వత్క్రమ తురంగ
విహారమాణ తురంగ విలసనంబు
మదనిర్ఝరాఘాల మహనీయ శుండాల
వితతాచలోత్తర విభ్రమంబు
మకరోత్తమరాజి ... ...
... ...
భూరిరయోదార వీరగుణాకార
సుభట పయఃపూర శోభితంబు

నగుచు నిజబలార్ణవము మర్యాద గడచి
యన్యమండల ద్వి(ద్వీ?)పము(ల) నా(లా?)క్రమింప
నవని విభుఁడైన యల్లయవేమ విభుఁడు
... ... ౪౯

తగదా వర్ణనసేయ నల్లయసుతున్ ధాటీసమాటీక న
ద్యగణీయక్రియ (? క్రమ)ఝూటి ఘోటక ఖురవ్రాతప్రణీత క్షతో
పగతక్ష్మాశణ... ... ...
... ... సరస్వచ్ఛంద్రు వేమేశ్వరున్. ౫౦

వినతధరానాథ వీక్షణ కుముదషం
డంబు లుద్గమవికాసంబు విడువ
పరిపంథిమేదినీపతిగర్వతిమిర సం
ఘంబులు ... ...
... ... చంద్రికౌఘంబులు
... ... దమ ప్రసాదంబుఁ దొరుగఁ
బర మహీవల్లభ బిరుద నక్షత్ర పుం
జంబులు దమప్రకాశంబు విడువఁ

బరగు వలయాచలాధర భాగని...
... జృంభణా స్తంభనా స్తంభనరణి
తనరు నల్లయవేము ప్రతాపతరణి. ౫౧

ఆ రఘురాముఁ డాదరసమగ్రత లంక విభీషణున్ యశం
బార ... ...
త్తారఘురాముఁ డాశ్రితుని సంగవ(మ?)భూపుని పుంగశౌరి (?) శృం
గారపుఁగోట నిల్పెఁడె తగఁ శరణాగత రక్షణాంకుఁడై. ౫౨

మత్స్యజనాధిపు మద మణఁగించి య
భంగు ... ...
మాళవరపు వాస మనుజవల్లభుఁ దోలి
పల్లవత్రినయనోద్భాసి యగుచు
నందాపురేశ్వరు నళుకార్చి యాబాంధ(శాంధ?)
కార జగజ్జ్యోతికరణి యగుచు
అంప యిమ్మడిరాజు సొంపు మానెన్నిక(?)
మాన్పి . . యెక్కిన (యేను?) మాడియముల
ధరణిపులఁ గెల్చి తత్తదుద్దండ బిరుద
సముదయములెల్లఁ దన యధీనములు గాఁగఁ
వెలయు నల్లభూపాలక వేమవిభుడు
... ... ౫3

విశ్రుత సూనయుగుచు మారియంద్దుర
మం ... ముక్తాత పత్రంబు పూన
చిద్వల్లి బొబ్బిలి క్షితినాథసుతులు సొం
పలర వెంజామరములం ధరింప
మల్లిలితిక్షమామండలేశ్వర మిత్రు
లలవడి పసిఁడిసంబెల (వహింప)
సంకెడ(ట?) నృపాత్మజ ... ...
లమర హేమవ్యజనములుఁ దాల్ప

వలిమరావనీనాథపూర్వకసమస్త
వివిధ సామంత రాజసంభవులుఁ దగిలి
యుభయ పార్శ్వములను గొల్వ నుండుఁ గొలువు
విభవజంభారి యల్లయ వేమశౌరి. ౫౪

చటులత నల్ల[య] వేమన
పటుధాటీ విజయభేరి భాంకృతి చెలఁగన్
లటమథన నృహరి సమధిక
కటుకంఠ గభీరకుహాకవాన . సరణిన్. ౫౫

అలఘుం డల్లయ వేమ భూవిభుఁడు రాయస్థాపనాచార్యుఁ డిం
పలరన్ మాకవరంబునందు శుభరాజ్య ప్రాజ్యుగాఁ బల్లవో
జ్జ్వలవంశ్యుం బురుషోత్తమాఖ్యు నిడి విశ్వస్తుత్య కృత్యంబునన్
విలసిల్లెన్ సరియెవ్వ రవ్విభునకున్ విశ్వంభరామండలిన్. ౫౬

ఉక్తవేళల షోడశోపచారంబుల
శివుని చిత్తంబు రంజితముసేయు
దయతోడు ... ... రా ... ...
నత నృపాలురఁ బదోన్నతులఁ జేయు
హేమాద్రి దానక్రియామహత్వంబున
విప్రుల నతిదశాన్వితులఁ జేయు
... ...
... ...
ననినఁ గొనియాడఁ దరముగా (దతని?)మహిమ
ప్రకట సింహాచలోత్తరభాగలిఖిత
వివిధ జయశాసనాక్షర విసరసవి(?)స
మిద్ధగుణుఁ డల్లదేవేంద్ర(దేవ?) వేమేశ్వరుండు. ౫౭

తేజమెలర్ప నవ్వసుమతీధవశేఖరుఁ డొప్పు సర్వధా
శ్రీ జనరక్షణ క్రమధురీణుని తమ్ముని వీరధీమణిన్

రాజమహేంద్ర నామనగరంబునఁ బట్టముగట్టె నంచిత
శ్రీజయకీర్తిసౌరభవిశేష విజృంభిత దిక్సమేతుఁడై. ౫౮

వ. అప్పురంబు ప్రభూత మహిమ పరాభూత చక్రవాళ సమున్నత వప్రాగ్రచల త్తారకాసముదయంబును సతలస్పర్శదర్శనీయతోయ పరిపూర్ణ వేష్టన సృష్ట విశ్వంభరావిమానంబును నభినవ సురభివాసవాసనాథ లసత్ప్రసవవితాన రతీశ్వర శాశ్వతవిభవ సీ . త్ప్య నానారామంబును నమందమకరంద నిష్యంద సద్మపద్మ కువలయ కుముద షండహిండమాన చక్రవాక చంచరీక ప్రముఖ సారసపతంగసమాజ. కూజనాకలకల వాచాట నిరాఘాట కాసారంబును నుప కంఠ ప్రవాహ గోదావరీసరి న్మానిత కమలాచలశృంగసంగత కాంచనప్రాకార ప్రాసాదశిఖర మార్కండేయనాథ శేఖరశశాంకనిస్సృత సుధారసప్లుత మందర గంధవహావిహార శ్రమాగత పాంథలోకంబును వినూత్నరత్నచ్ఛవిగుళుచ్ఛ పరంపరా సంపన్మనోహర భర్మహర్మ్య విలసిత ప్రహసితరోహణాచల కూటం బును ప్రతివత్సర వసంత మహోత్సవ నిర్భర విహార సందర్భ సముచిత వసంత రాయ రథ్యాప్రదాన వివిధవీథికాధిగత తత్తత్పదార్థ విశేషంబును వేదశాస్త్ర పురాణ కావ్య నాటకాలంకార సాహిత్యపారావార పారంగత ధరణీ బృందారక బృందశ్రుత స్వాధ్యాయనాదంబునుం దృణకణాయిత విరోధి ప్రాణ నిజార్థరణ(?) వితరణశూర రాజకుమారచ్ఛల గృహీత బహుజయంత రూపంబును బ్రతికోటి ధన ప్రతిష్ఠిత స్వర్ణకోటి లాంఛిత గృహాంగణ ఘణాంతరిత ప్రసాధిత భూరి విభవాధిక్య మాణిక్య నిరస్త నిశాంధకార వైశ్రవణసదృశ వైశ్యసమూహం బును సదభ్రవిభ్రమసార శృంగార భాసి విలాసి విలాసినీజన మానసాప హారణ కరణ కళా కళావతీ విలాస తటిల్లతా పల్లవిత వర్షకాల వికాసం బును ననల్పకల్పనా కల్పన నాసందనస్పందన సముచ్చయాదంతధారాధర భరిత గగనభాగంబును సిరసిత ప్రభావాంఛాలబ్ధ జంగమత్వ చిత్రకులగోత్ర పదారంగ మదాంధ గంధశుండాలదానధారాకర్దమిత ప్రజణీప్రదేశంబును నిర ర్గళ సర్గ జవన వనతిరస్కరణ యశస్కరింఖాణకారట్టముఖ్య దేశ్యవరతురంగ మానాలంబును నపరాల కామరావతీ సంశయకనన్య సామాన్య శోభనాలోభం బును నతిమతి ప్రసంగ హృదయంగమ రామణీయకదామ విజృంభ సంభార ధురీణంబును నగుచు తేజరిల్లు నా రాజమహేంద్రవరంబున కధీశ్వరుండు, ౫౯

అభినవభోజాఖ్య నలరు నితం డన్న
నుపమింపవచ్చునే నిపుణకలన
జగనొబ్బగండాఖ్య జరియించు నితఁ డన్నఁ
బురణింపవచ్చునే పురుషఘనత
భుజబలభీమాఖ్యఁ బొలుపారు నితఁ డన్నఁ
జర్చింపవచ్చునే సత్వగరిమ
రణరంగ రామాఖ్యఁ బ్రకటించు నితఁ డన్న
భావింపవచ్చునే బాణమహిమ
ననుచు నుతియింప వెలయుఁ బూర్వాస్త్రశిఖరి
శీతనగ సేతుమధ్యమ క్ష్మాతలేంద్ర
మూర్ధవానటచాసనమూర్త విజయ
భద్రగుణుఁ డల్లనృపవీరభద్ర విభుఁడు. ౬౦

మహాస్రగ్ధర : తరమా కీర్తింప కీర్తిస్థగిత దశదిశాస్థాణు నల్లాంకుసూనుం
బరభూభృత్పక్షశిక్షాపటుచటులభుజాభాసితారాతిసీమా
పరిలబ్ధ ప్రాణనాథ ప్రముదిత విష . ద్బ్యాలికాశాలి రాగ
స్వరసంగీత ప్రబంధస్వబిరుద ... ... పదవీసాంద్ర వీరావనీంద్రున్. ౬౧

కుటిలత సుందరీ కుంతలంబులయందు
నటరాగములు తదాస్యములయందు
నలసత దన్మదు(దగ్గజ?)యానరీతులయందుఁ
జపలభావము తదీక్షణములందుఁ
గాఠిన్య(?)గుణము తత్కుచ యుగంబులయందుఁ
దనులతా త్రివళి మధ్యములయందు
విషమాస్త్రభయము తద్విరహవేళలయందు
బాండురత్వము గండపాళులందుఁ
గాని ప్రజలందు నెందును గలుగకుండ
నవని పాలింపు పెంపున ... ... యుగను

గ్రథిత హేమాద్రిదాన దీక్షాగరిష్ఠుఁ
డల్లదేవేంద్రు వీరభూవల్లభుండు. ౬౨

వరకమలాప్త వంశమున వర్ణనఁ గాంచి యమోఘమార్గణా
ధరమున మించి శాంభవకథాసరణి న్మది నుంచి యుల్లస
ద్భరిత మతప్రవర్తన ముదంబు వహించి తనర్తు రింపు సొం
పరుదుగ రామభద్రుఁడును నల్లనృపాలకు వీరభద్రుఁడున్. ౬౩

విమతకళత్ర నిర్వీర(ర్వేద) సంభవదార్త
నాదముల్ పటుగర్జనములు గాఁగఁ
బరిపంథిదార సంపతదురుభూషణ
ప్రతతులు నవతటిల్లతలు గాఁగ
శాత్రవశుద్ధాంత నేత్రగళద్బాష్ప
సలిల పూరములు . . . . . . లు గాఁగ
సహితావరోధ భావాంతస్స్ఫురచ్ఛోక
తరవహ్ని లశనిపాతములు గాఁగఁ
దనర(రు!) . గదాఖడ్గ నిమర్దన ఘనంబు
సార్వకాలిక . . విజృంభణంబుఁ బూని
రాజమాత్రుండె యతఁడు మూర్తిప్రభావ
వీరవిభుఁడగు నల్లయ వీరవిభుఁడు. ౬౪

విహితవినోదుఁ డల్లనృపు వీరవిభుండు వసంతవిస్ఫుర
ద్విహరణ మాచరింప నుడువీథి సితాసితవర్ణరేణు సం
గ్రహములు నిర్ఝరీ చికురరాజి దలర్చి సురాళినెల్ల ద
జ్జహదహజద్వయోగుణ విశంకటశంక ఘటించుఁ బైపయిన్ ౬౫

తనకీర్తికాంత గుంభనము దుగ్ధాబ్ధి డిం
డీరపంక్తులకుఁ బాణింధమంబు
తన ప్రతాపానలం బమర [నత]ధా(ధ)రానాథ
సంతతులకు లలాటాతపంబు

తనకటాక్షావలోకన మాశ్రితాభీష్ట
            సంసిద్ధులకును వశంవదంబు
తనవాగ్విజృంభణ .... ముదితవా
            చంయములకు ... ... బ్బ
            ... ...
            గౌతమీమధ్య దత్తాగ్రహార ముదిత
            విహారనిగమ హారి నియమభూసు ...
            ... ... డల్లనృపతి వీరశౌరి. ౬౬

అరుదారన్ సురరత్న మన్నవ(త?)రి రంధ్రాన్వేషణం బాచరిం
తురు సజ్జీవన మాచరింపఁగఁ దలంతుర్ నీరదంబన్న జం
దురుఁ డన్నం బరిపాటిదక్కరన (దక్కిచనఁ ?) జాతుర్యాచక గ్రామణుల్
ధర నల్లాధిపు వీరశౌరివలనన్ ధన్యత్వముం గాంచుటన్. ౬౭

అల్లవిభు వీరధరణీ
వల్లభ వాక్ప్రౌఢలహరి వడి సమధిక సం
ఫుల్లన్మల్లీమతల్లీ
వెల్లన్మధు మధుర లసన విభవ నిరూఢుల్. ౬౮

కరిపతు లేకహస్తు లహికాంతుఁడు గూఢపదుండు గచ్ఛపే
శ్వరుఁడు విషోదయుండు గరివల్లభులున్ విరసస్వభావు లం
దరసి వసుంధరారమణి యల్లయ వీరనరేంద్ర చంద్రు సు
స్థిర భుజపీఠిఁ జెందె విలసిల్లుచు నాగ(ర)వితాన(ర)కంబుగన్. ౬౯

తదను సంభవుండు దనరారు దొడ్డ భూ
వలయనాథుఁ డెల్లవారుఁ బొంగ
సకల మంగళార్థ సంభారతను నరరాజ
శేఖరుండు రాజశేఖరుండు. ౭౦

ఘన సుధర్మావాస గౌరవస్థితిఁ గల్గి
            యొదిగి డాఁగుటలేసి త్రిదశవిభుఁడు

సంపూర్ణ బహుకలా సంభృతోన్నతిఁ గల్గి
యడఁగి పోవఁగలేని యమృతకరుఁడు
తేజోవిశేష ప్రదీపితాకృతిఁ గల్గి
యాశ్రయాశతలేని హవ్యవహుఁడు
గమలా సదానంద సుమనోజ్ఞతం గల్గి
యంగహీనతలేని యసమశరుఁడు
వెలయుఁ గాంతాకరాలీన వివిధరత్న
కటక ఘణఘణాత్కార శృంగార ధవళ
చామరద్వయ పవన సంచలిత చికుర
నికరుఁ డల్లాడవిభు దొడ్డనృపతి వరుఁడు. ౨౧

స్తుతి సేయందగు నల్లడేంద్ర తనయున్ దొడ్డ క్ష్మాపాలకున్
హిత హేమాద్రి విశిష్ట దానకలనా నిర్దిష్ట ధూనిర్జితాం
చితవాణిన్ స్థలవీథి ముక్తశిశిరగ్ర . . ధారాపయస్
స్తుతి దూరీ (ర?) ప్రతిఘాత చోడప కృతాంత స్త్రాపరత్నాకరున్. ౨౨

ఎడప కాగ్రహములు విడువని నృపతులు
వీడరు (విడుతురు?) నిజరాజ్య విహారణములు
సొలవ కాజ్ఞలు సేయఁజొరని భూరమణులు
చొత్తు రుగ్రాచల స్థూలగుహలు
కడక కప్పంబు లీఁగానని నృపతులు
గాంతురు నానాస్త్ర ఘర్షణములు
వరుస పాదములకు వ్రాలని జనవిభుల్
వ్రాలుదు రాజి ధరాతలమునఁ
దన సముద్దండ జైత్రయాత్రాప్రతిష్ఠ
భూరిభేరీభణంకార ఘోరరవము
నఖిల దిక్కులఁ దఘుకొత్తునప్పు డనిరఁ
బొగడనేల నల్లయ దొడ్డ భూపమణిని. 23

దృక్కర్యాధిపబాహుఁ డల్లడ ధరిత్రీనాథు దొడ్డాంకుచే
నుక్కాడన్ రిపుకోటి యాజిఁ బడుచో నాప్సర(రు?) నాకంబులో
జక్కాకీ టట డుడ్డుడూ ధణధణ ఝ్ఝుంఝుం ధిమిం ధిద్ధిమిం
ధిక్కత్తోణక కీర్ణవాద్యములతో దివ్యాంగనోత్సాహముల్. ౨౪

శ్రీసారహారిదంత భూసార కరిదంత
శోభాభిభూతి విశుద్ధయశుఁడు
దుర్వార హృదయస్థ లారాద ...
... ... మహత్వధనుఁడు
మందారవనికాయ బృందారవనికాయ
గీతాభిశోభి విఖ్యాతయశుఁడు
గంగాతటాభంగ శృంగార ముదభంగ
సత్యానురూప విస్తారముఖుఁడు
జగతిఁ దనరు నతఁడు సగర భగీరథ
నల యయాతి రంతి నహుష భరత
పూర్వ పూర్వరాజ పుణ్యగణ్య విలాస
ధుర్యుఁ డల్లవిభుని దొడ్డశౌరి. ౨౫

అవిరళ దానశీలుఁడగు నల్లయదొడ్డనృపాలుఁ బోలునే
కవిపరిరక్షణత్వ గుణగణ్యత సాత్వికవృద్ధిఁ దక్క శాం
భవనిధి యంతయుం గలిగి పారు విరోధమునందు రక్తతం
దవులఁ జరించు భావనవృథాపరిషంగతి నాత్మలోపలన్. ౨౬

అరరే! అల్లయదొడ్డ భూవిభుఁడు వాహారోహ రేవంతుఁ డిం
పరుదారన్ వడి మూలగూరికడ వాహ్యాళిస్థలిం రాజకుం
జరసింహాంబను వారువంబును యదృచ్ఛాలీల దాటింపఁడే
తిరమై యిర్వదినాల్గుమూళ్లు నిడు పుత్సేకంబు చేయెత్తుగాఁ. ౨౭

ఇందుధరభక్తి నల్లయ
నందనుఁడగు దొడ్డధరణినాథునిసరి లే

రెందును కలియుగమందును
నందిత నియమవ్రతుండు నంటి యొకండున్. ౨౮

అతనికి ననుజుఁడు వినయా
న్వితరఘురామానుజుండు విశ్రుతబల సం
గతి ధర్మజానుజుఁడు ప్ర
స్తుత చరితుం డన్నవిభుఁడు సొంపువహించెన్. ౨౯

తన దానసంపత్తిఁ గనిన యాచకకోటి
యింద్రభూజముల బహిష్కరించు
దన సమంచిత కీర్తి దనరారు దుగ్ధాబ్ధి
విభ్రమలీల నావిష్కరించుఁ
దన నిష్ప్రతి(గ(నిష్ప్రతీక?)ప్రతాప ప్రకాశంబు
భాస్కర ప్రభలఁ దిరస్కరించు
దన భుజాశాతాసి ధారావిలాసంబు
రణజయ శ్రీలఁ బురస్కరించు
ననినఁ బ్రతియెన్న వచ్చునే యలఘుజైత్ర
ధాటిఘోటి ఖురాఘాత దళితలలిత
సర్వ సర్వంసహా రజచ్ఛన్న జలధి
వలయుఁ డల్లయయన్న భూవల్లభునకు. ౩౦

మారుఁడు నూతనమూర్తి గు
మారుఁడు పటుశక్తి లక్ష్మి మధుమాధనరా
ణ్మారుం డల్లయ యన్నకు
మారుం ... ముసేయు ... క్రమముల్. ౩౧

వీరల వంశగురుండు ను
దార గుణోత్తరుఁడు నగుచుఁ దత్వమహత్వ
శ్రీరుచి ఘోడియరాయ ప
దారూఢుఁడు భీమదేశికాధిపుఁ డొప్పున్. ౩౨

అవిరళైశ్వర్య మహత్వ సంపన్నత
మహాళన బాసట మలయువాఁడు
సంశ్రిత రక్షణాస్థాపరిపూర్ణత
నాభామహాేజ్యులు నసువువాఁడు
వేదశాస్త్రాదిక విద్యానిరూఢత
వదన సరస్వతి వడువువాఁడు
వివిధాన్న వితరణ ....
చరణ సమీక్షణ సమతవాఁడు
తగుఁ బ్రశంససేయ దండభృన్మద విభం
జనుఁడు వినయ వినత జనవరేణ్య
మణికిరీట ఘృణి సమంచిత చరణుఁడు
ఘోడిరాయ భీమేశ్వర(భీమగురు?)వరుండు. ౮౩

నిపుణత్వంబునఁ బ్రస్తుతింపవలయున్ శ్రీ వీరభద్రాచలా
గ్రవు దివ్యాతత భర్మహర్మ్య తలజాగ్ర ద్వీరభద్రాఖిలే
శపాదద్వయ (పదాంభోరుహా?) భక్తినుస్థిర రమాసంపూర్ణ భీమేశ్వరుం
ద్రిపురారీంద్ర గురూత్త మాత్మభవునిన్ దేవేంద్ర కోలాహలున్.* ౮౪

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* Then follow the *Ṣaṣṭhyantas*, which have not been copied here, as they are of no importance. Most of the verses describing the genealogy of the author's patron, and the long prose passage describing Rājamahēndravaram are full of mistakes (both of language and prosody) which cannot be properly corrected.

INDEX

Name — *Page*

A

Abdur Razzāk 233, 237, 295, 382, 435, 437
Abhijñāna Śākuntalam 132, 462
Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi 235, 293, 295, 300, 431, 442, 455
'Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Gangū Bahman Shāh 5, 20, 21
Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī ... 5
Alaṅkārasaṅgraha ... 3
Alaṅkārasudhānidhi 487, 488
Allāḍa Reḍḍi (Allaya Reḍḍi) 135, 141, 164, 181, 182, 183 to 189, 238
Allaya Doḍḍā Reḍḍi (Doḍḍā Reḍḍi, son of Allāḍa) 133, 143, 238, 264, 336, 508
Allaya Vēmā Reḍḍi (Vēmā Reḍḍi, son of Allāḍa) (See also Vēmā Reḍḍi) 135, 140, 143, 335
Allaya Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi (Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi, son of Allāḍa) (See also Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi) 54, 135, 384, 468, 520, 524, 528
Alpa Khān 185, 186, 187
Amarakōśavyākhyā ... 489
Amarukaśataka ... 464
Amīr Khusrau ... 5, 227
Ammarāja II Vijayāditya 216, 259
Amṛtānandayōgi ... 3
Anamācā Reḍḍi ... 119, 122
Annāmayastava ... 491
Anantāmātya (Telugu poet) 263, 264, 352, 375, 444, 505, 506
Anavēmā Reḍḍi, son of Prōlaya Vēma 43, 59, 83, 110 to 121, 124, 125, 129, 203, 205, 207, 230, 231, 237, 239, 245, 329, 334, 342, 358, 359, 383, 452, 466, 467, 468

Name — *Page*

Anavōtā Reḍḍi, son of Prōlaya Vēma 42, 43, 47, 48, 83, 90, 94 to 105, 123, 124, 152, 172, 215, 316, 383, 404, 466, 467
Anavōtā Reḍḍi III, son of Anavrōla 169, 185, 187, 188, 189, 479
Anavōtā Reḍḍi II, son of Kumāragiri 48, 129, 143, 144, 145, 173, 174, 207, 487
Anavōtā Nāyaka, Toyyēṭi 20, 87, 97, 98, 513, 514
Anavōtā Nāyaka I (Rēceṛla chief) 23, 24, 101, 102, 118, 127, 128, 486, 531
Anavōtā Nāyaka II (Rēceṛla chief) 24, 130, 486, 536
Anavōtanāyakīyam ... 489
Andhrabhāṣābhūṣaṇam ... 390
Andhra Mahābhāgavatam (See also *Bhāgavatam*) ... 536, 537
Andhra Mahābhāratam 492, 494, 497, 498
Anitalli 144, 162, 169, 181, 182, 183, 187, 190, 312, 480
Annadēva Cōḍa 24, 83, 112, 129, 160, 174 to 184, 334, 479
Annā Reḍḍi, brother of Prōlaya Vēma 48, 84, 90
Annā Reḍḍi, grandson of Mallā Reḍḍi ... 197, 198
Annamadēva, brother of Kākati Pratāparudra ... 271
Appakavi ... 511
Appakavīyam ... 511
Arjunadēva (of the Matsya family) 153, 154, 155, 249
Artha Śāstra 325, 378, 394
Aruṇagirinātha I (Ḍiṇḍima) 527, 528
Avaci Seṭṭi 272, 359, 383, 409,

Name	Page
Avaci Tippaya Seṭṭi ...	272
Avyayasaṅgrahanighaṇṭu	490, 491
Ayyalārya (Telugu poet)	531, 532
Ayyaparāju (of the Vatsavāya family) ...	266
Ayyāvoḷes ...	397, 398

B

Name	Page
Baden Powell ...	372
Baddena	212, 214, 215, 217
Baddenanīti ...	204
Bālasarasvati (poet) ...	467
Bammera Pōtana	455, 491, 535 to 537
Bāṇagadya ...	491
Basavēs'vara ...	307
Basava Purāṇam ...	418, 518
Bayyarāja (of the Pallava family)	155
Bhairavakavi ...	337, 418
Bhāgavatam	454, 455, 495, 536, 537
Bhaktirāja (of the Telugu Cōḍa family)	82, 96, 98, 99, 106 to 109, 112, 129, 160
Bhānudēva I ...	151
Bhānudēva III ...	36, 108
Bhānudēva IV	36, 189, 192
Bharatācārya ...	433
Bhāskarācārya (Guru of the Vais'ya community) ...	274
Bhāskara Bhavadūra ...	370
Bhāskara (of the Parahita family)	481
Bhāskara Rāmāyanam	531, 532
Bhaṭṭa Bāna ...	471
Bhaṭṭar family of S'rīraṅgam	314, 315
Bhaṭṭari (Parās'ara bhaṭṭa)	351
Bhīmēs'vara Purāṇam	4, 50, 54, 134, 141, 182, 357, 361, 369, 421, 453, 495. 517, 522 to 524, 528
Bhōja (king) ...	464, 504
Bhōjarājīyam	226, 263, 326, 375, 378, 444, 445, 461, 495, 506
Bhōganātha ...	487
Bhōginīdaṇḍakam	535, 536
Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēs'vara (W. Ch. king)	235, 293, 295, 296, 298, 301, 430, 442
Bijjaladēva ...	307
Bommakaṇṭi Appayārya	486, 489
Bomma Peṭṭuṭa ...	248
Brahmatantrasvatantra Jiyar	315
Bṛhaddēśi ...	418
Brown, C. P. ...	14, 415
Bukka Bhūpāla (Āravīḍu family)	51
Bukka I (king of Vijayanagar)	86, 104, 225
Bukka II („ „)	159, 164

C

Name	Page
Cāgi Dōrayarāja ...	399
Camatkāracandrikā	487, 488, 489
Campuḍu guḍi (guḷḷu)	310, 342
Cārucaryā ...	204
Caturvargacintāmaṇi	323, 327
Cāṭu kṛtulu ...	10, 12
Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjari	133, 138, 149, 158
Cauṇḍapāmātya ...	149
Cōḍa Bhīma	108, 112, 173, 329
Cōḍa Gaṅgadēva, (Cāḷukya chief)	142
Cōḍa Tikka I	61, 499, 500
Cōḍa Tikka II ...	500
Cokkana Siṅganaṁgāru (Governor of Taṅgeḍa) ...	351

D

Name	Page
Dantulūri Bāparāju ...	523
Daśakumāracaritra	500, 504
Daśamaskandham (Bhāgavatam)	514
Dēvakīnandanaśatakam	501
Dēvarāya I	26, 126, 147, 159,

Name	Page
160, 161, 164 to 166, 176 to 179, 185, 417, 499, 500	
Dēvarāya II	190, 191, 192, 237, 499
Dhanañjaya (King)	268, 270
Dhanañjayavijayam ...	271
Dharaṇīdēvula Rāmayamantri	432
Dharmapālacaritam ...	274
Dharmāsana	265, 272
Dhṛtarāṣtranīti ...	461
Diṅgnāgācārya ...	286
Duarte Barbosa	10, 238, 239, 243, 287, 294, 301, 302, 409, 410, 413, 442

E

Name	Page
Edgar Thurston	51, 345, 392
Ekkaṭlu ...	241
Ēkavīra ...	27?
Ēnugu Lakṣmaṇakavi ...	266
Eṟṟā Pregaḍa	42, 54, 65, 91, 207, 436, 496, 497, 498
Ethel Rosenthal ...	430

F

Name	Page
Fīrūz Shāh (Bahmanī Sultān)	10, 24, 146, 162, 163, 164, 175, 184, 185, 200, 282
Fleet, Dr. J. F. ...	74, 325
Friar John of Montecervino	284, 329, 407, 458
Friar Jordanus	241, 296, 344, 377, 379
Friar Odoric	344, 349, 377

G

Name	Page
Gaḍiyāram	324, 325, 326, 327
Gajarāvu Tippa Nāyaka	148, 149, 150, 157, 158, 161
Gaṇapatidēva (Kākatīya king)	256, 257, 366, 403, 426
Gaṅgādhara ...	474, 487
Gaṅgavamsanucaritam ...	189
Ganna Bhūpāla ...	271
Gauḍa Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa	493, 526
Gaurana (Telugu poet)	276, 290, 308, 499, 532, 533
Gautamadharma sūtra ...	229
Ghōḍērāya Gaṅgayadēva	65, 66, 67, 91 311, 312
Ghōḍērāya Tripurāridēva	312
Girīśasahasra ...	474
Girīśasūktimālā	196, 312, 465
Gōdāvarīkhaṇḍam ...	469
Gṛharāja-saudha	448, 449, 452
Gūḍhārthadīpikā ...	478
Guṇaga Vijayāditya III	194
Guṇaratnasūri ...	305
Guṇḍāmatya ...	426
Guruparamparaprabhāva	316, 490

H

Name	Page
Hāla ...	464, 492
Halāyudhastōtra ...	491
Haṭhayōgapradīpikā ...	308
Hamsasandēśam ...	471
Haradattācārya ...	465
Harapāladēva ...	5
Haravilāsam	4, 239, 272, 274, 303, 359, 407, 412, 414, 495, 523, 524
Harihara I	25, 27, 86, 225, 281, 313, 318
Harihara II	126, 127, 157, 159, 177, 329, 399, 448, 449, 485, 500, 512
Harisīma Kṛṣṇa ...	271
Hariścandracaritra ...	532
Harivamśam	42, 54, 65, 78, 91, 378, 495, 498
Harṣacaritam ...	471
Hēmacandra ...	433
Hēmādri	88, 91, 105, 322, 327, 333, 334, 337, 338, 355, 367

I

Name	Page
Ibn Batūta	233, 405, 410

Name	Page
Ibn Hankul ...	413
Immaḍimantri ...	205
Immaḍirāja (Raṁpa chief)	141
Irugapa Daṇḍanātha ...	164
Īśvara bhaṭṭa (Sanskrit poet)	466

J

Name	Page
Jāfar Khān ...	20
Jakkana	309, 311, 387, 499, 500, 501, 502
Janāśrayīchandas ...	492
Janāśraya Mādhavavarman	492
Jannaya ...	502
Jannaya-Siddhāmātya ...	417
Jatanamu Peddi ...	206
Jāyapa Nāyaka	426, 429
Jayanta II (Matsya chief)	154
Jayanta III („ „)	154
Jayanta IV („ „)	154
Jayasiṁhavallabha I (Cāḷukya king) ...	75
Jīvarakṣa Timmana ...	349

K

Name	Page
Kādaṁbarī ...	471, 473
Kaḍiyaṁ Mācinēḍu ...	453
Kākati Prōla II ...	269
Kālanātha bhaṭṭa (of the Parahita family) ...	480
Kāḷidāsagadya ...	491
Kandāḍa Ayyaṅgār ..	315
Kandamantri ...	204
Kaṅkaṇṭi Pāparāju ...	433
Kanakalēkhākalyāṇam ...	470, 471
Kāpaya Nāyaka (Musunūri chief)	18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 80, 237, 382, 474
Kapilēśvara Gajapati (Kapilēndra)	37, 192, 193
Kārōhaṇa ...	304
Karikāla Cōḷa ...	267
Kārtavīryārjuna ...	267
Kāśikhaṇḍam	3, 4, 54, 83, 134, 135, 136, 137, 190, 349, 355, 430, 495, 522, 523, 528
Kāṭama Reḍḍi II (Kāṭa Reḍḍi or Kāṭaya Reḍḍi)	90, 172, 245
Kāṭaya Vēma (Kāṭama Reḍḍi Vēma)	3, 123, 130, 133, 142 to 146, 149, 157, [15]9 to 162, [1]73 to [1]82, 206, [2]07, [2]10, 276, 316, 329, 359, 417, 427, 46[?], 511
Kathakali ...	322
Kaṭhāri Nāga Nāyaka	101
Kāṭamarāju (of the yādava clan)	321
Kāvali Venkaṭa Borriah	[?]3
Kavile Saṁpratis ...	208
Kāvyādarśa ...	507
Kāvyālaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi	15, 175, 506, 507, 508
Kāvyaprakāśa ...	463
Kētana ...	328, 390
Kēyūrabāhucaritra ...	495, 504
Khāfi Khān ...	179
Khusru Khān ...	62, 227
Kōlacala Mallinātha	225, 272, 273, 467
Kōlacala Peddibhaṭṭa ...	467
Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi ...	148
Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi II ...	159, 199
Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi III ...	202
Kōmaṭi Vēma (See Prōlaya Vēma)	206
Komaragiri II, son of Kāṭaya Vēma	162, 182, 187
Komaragiri III (son of Anavrōla)	187, 188, 189
Kommājī Sōmanātha ...	137
Koravi Gōparāju	326, 350, 377, 425, 440, 442, 533, 534, 535
Kōṭa Kētaraju ...	271
Krīḍābhirāmam	4, 127, 226, 281, 311, 322, 427, 431, 443, 512, 513
Kṛṣṇa III (of Mālkhēḍ)	504

Name	Page
Kṛṣṇadēvarāya (of Vijayanagar) 494	
Kṛṣṇadēva (of the Pottapiṭala family) ...	417
Kṛṣṇavijayam ...	269
Kṣētraganita ...	364
Kṣatriyas (of the Andhra country) 266	
Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I	34, 132, 394, 492
Kumāragiri Reḍḍi (Son of Anavōta Reḍḍi)	45, 125, 128, 129, 133, 141, 143, 146, 149, 150, 157, 159, 167, 168, 173, 174, 180, 206, 207, 210, 215, 245, 316, 359, 417, 426, 427, 428, 452, 462, 469, 477, 521
Kumāragirirājīyam	180, 359, 427, 462
Kumārannavōta, Rēcerla chief (See Anavōta II) ...	24
Kumāra Mādā Nāyaka (Rēcerla chief) ...	24, 166
Kumāra Siṅga II, Rēcerla chief (See Siṅga II) ...	427, 486
Kumārasambhavam ...	454, 455
Kumāra Vēdagiri, Recerla chief	166, 167
Kusumāyudha IV (Cāḷukya chief)	463, 464

L

Name	Page
Lakṣhmaṇa Rao, K. V.	57, 124, 263, 268, 505
Lakṣmaṇācarya ...	485
Lakṣmaṇa Daṇḍanātha	471
Lakumādēvi ...	428
Lakulīs'a ...	304
Le Strange ...	413
Līlāvatīgaṇita ...	367
Liṅgama Nēḍu	25, 166, 167, 191, 529, 530
Liṅgamamantri ...	41
Lionel D. Barnett ...	143

M

Name	Page
Mackenzie, Colonel Collin	12, 13
Māca I (brother of Prōlaya Vēma)	123
Māca Reḍḍi (Son of Peda Kōmaṭi)	123, 158, 166, 167
Māca II, Son of S'rīgiri	197, 199
Macpherson, Sir John	223
Mādā Nāyaka I (Rēcerla chief)	23, 24, 101, 102, 103, 118, 127, 531, 532
Mādā Nāyaka II (Rēcerla chief)	128, 488, 529, 532
Madanavilāsa Bhāṇa ...	427, 489
Mādhava ...	488
Mādhavavarman ...	269, 270
Maḍiki Siṅgana	204, 208, 210, 387, 513, 515
Mahadēva ...	466
Mahima bhaṭṭa ...	463
Mahimnastōtra ...	491
Mahā-Parinirvāṇa Tantra	310
Mahābhārata (See *Andhra Mahābhārata*)	
Maindarāma ...	381
Mukti S'āntayya	308, 525, 533
Malhaṇastava ...	491
Malayarājastōtra ...	491
Mallana, Prauḍhakavi	204, 205, 212, 214, 215, 337, 461
Mallinātha ...	124, 126
Malla Reḍḍi (brother of Prōlaya Vēma)	77, 78, 123, 195, 197, 198, 496
Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya	70, 480
Malik Neby ...	17
Māmiḍi Siṅgaya Pregaḍa (Siṅgamāmātya)	162, 206, 266, 383, 478
Mañcella Narahari Nēḍu	382, 384, 453

Name	Page
Maṅgaḷagiri Anandakavi	271
Maṅgi Yuvarāja ...	263
Manu Smṛti ...	328
Mārā Reḍḍi ...	172, 173
Marco Polo 9, 385, 387, 404,	442
Maruttarāṭcaritra ...	522, 524
Mataṅgamuni ...	418
Mitākṣara ...	225, 328
Maṭha ...	320
Mīna Nātha ...	308, 311
Monier Williams ...	335, 354
Mubārak Shāh ...	227
Muhammad bin Tughlak 17, 20, 21, 25, 28, 282, 383, 390	
Muhammad Shāh I (Bahmanī Sultān) 22, 80, 81, 280,	383
Muhammad Shāh II (Bahmanī Sultān) ...	10, 146
Mummaḍi Vēmaya Reḍḍi	40
Mummaḍi Nāyaka 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 95, 115, 116, 260, 314, 315, 351	
Mummaḍi S'antayya ...	320
Mūrtitrayōpākhyānam ...	271

N

Name	Page
Nādeṇḍla Gōpa ...	424
Nāgambikā (Rēcerla family)	488
Nāganātha ...	418
Nāgārjuna ...	308, 485
Nalābhyudayam ...	471, 472
Nalagāmarāja ...	348
Nallāṇḍicakravarti ...	316
Nallasiddhi (Telugu Cōḍa)	321
Nāmaya Nāyaka 29,	369, 477
Nānedēva Mahārāja	500
Nannaya bhaṭṭa 492,	494, 497
Nāra Bhūpāla ...	320
Narasiṁha IV (Gaṅga king)	141
Narasiṁhakavi, Aṅgara	31
Nāṭya Śāstra ...	433, 466
Nava Nātha Caritra 275, 308, 320, 485, 495, 499, 532	
Nicolo de Conti 9, 227, 237, 285, 295, 344, 345, 359, 385, 390, 405, 406, 444, 458, 478	
Nikitin Athanasius 10, 236, 239, 392	
Nīlakaṇṭhastava ...	491
Nītiprakāśika ...	246
Nītisāra ...	461
Nītiratnāvaḷi ...	204
Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇa	61
Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad ...	244, 280
Nṛsiṁha bhaṭṭa ...	473, 474
Nṛsiṁha Purāṇam ...	436, 495
Nirōṣṭhya Rāmāyaṇam 426, 429, 430, 432	
Nuniz ...	303

P

Name	Page
Padma Purāṇam ...	495, 514
Paes ...	302, 391
Pālkuriki Sōmanātha 290, 337, 418, 422, 491, 518	
Palnāṭivīracaritra 235, 241, 444, 523	
Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra 293, 360, 361, 418, 425, 436, 491, 495, 523	
Panṭa Mailāra Reḍḍi 40,	520, 521
Paṁpakavi ...	138
Parahita II ...	480, 481
Parahita III	481 to 485
Parahitasaṁhitā ...	483, 484
Parahitaviṣṇusiddhānta...	484
Parās'ara bhaṭṭa 32,	314, 315
Parāśara Mādhavīya ...	225
Pārvatī Pariṇayam ...	470, 471
Pās'upata S'aivas 304, 305, 306, 307	
Pas'upati Nāganātha 427,	489, 531
Peda Kōmaṭi Māca Reḍḍi	165
Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma 3, 4, 46, 89, 123, 146, 150, 157 to 168, 170, 174, 175, 176, 179 to 181, 183,	

Name	Page
184, 185, 206, 208, 234, 282, 311, 417, 427, 449, 463, 469, 473, 478, 481, 485, 520	
Peddana (minister of Anavēma Reḍḍi) ...	125
Peddana (Telugu poet)	175, 507
Peddana Pōtarāju ...	489
Pedda Vēdagiri Nāḍu (Rēcerla chief)	24, 128, 129, 174, 175
Peddibhaṭṭa ...	477, 478
Periyaviḷḷa ...	482
Piḷḷai Lōkācārya ...	313
Prasaṅgaratnāvaḷi ...	490
Pratāpārjunadēva (of the Matsya family) ...	153, 154
Pratāpa Vīra Gaṅgarāja	140, 417
Pratāparudradēva (Kolani)	17
Pratāparudra (of the Kākati family)	15, 62, 149, 215, 227, 348, 362, 365, 427
Pratāparudrīyam ...	464, 507
Pratāpacaritra ...	490, 491
Prauḍhadēvarāya	272, 287, 295, 474
Prēmābhirāmam ...	510
Prōlaya Nāyaka (Musunūri chief)	17, 18, 235 216, 374, 474, 475
Prōlaya Nāyaka II (Koppula chief)	28
Prōlaya Reḍḍi ...	239, 352
Prōlaya Vēma Reḍḍi	38, 42, 59, 76 to 91, 152, 214, 218, 239, 256, 259, 272, 311, 404, 452, 496, 498, 499
Puruṣōttama II (Pallava chief)	132, 141
Podillapalli Siṅgama Nāyaka	217
R	
Rāca Vēma	170, 171, 200, 206, 208, 372, 498
Rāghavīyam ...	488
Raghunāthābhyudayam ...	471
Raghunātha Nāyaka ...	435
Raghunāthacaritam ...	472
Rāja Rāja I (E. Cāḷukya king)	492, 497
Rāja Rāja III (C. Cōḷa king)	61
Rājēndra Cōḍa (See Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa I)	
Rājēndra Cōḍa II (Velanāṭi chief(	501
Rājarājābhiṣēkam ...	30
Rāmābhyudayam ...	432
Rāmacandrarāya ...	147
Ramannadēśa ...	413
Rāma Preggaḍa ...	206
Rāmarāja (Cāgi chief) ...	266
Rāmarājīyam ...	15
Rāmāyaṇa	435, 461, 488, 495
Raṇamu-kuḍupu ...	249, 250
Rasābharaṇam ...	506
Rasārṇavasudhākaram	102, 486, 487
Rasamimāṁsā ...	488
Rasakacchapuṭam ...	484
Rasikasañjīvanī ...	464
Ratnapāñcālikā	427, 486, 487
Ratnāvaḷi ...	354
Rāyani Bāca (Rāyasam)	210
Rāyana Bhāskara ...	511
Rāyanamantri Bhāskara (Pṛthvīseṭṭi) ...	399
Rāyapa Nāyaka ...	365
Rāyasams ...	209
Rāvu Mādhava Nāyaka	488
Robert Sewell ...	146
Rudramadēvi ...	341
Rukmāṅgadacaritram	204, 233, 439, 461, 485, 495
S	
Śabdacandrika ...	470, 471
Śabdaratnākaram ...	47
Sadāśivarāya (Vijayanagar ruler)	479

Name	Page
Sāhityacintāmaṇi	... 463, 464
Śaivism	... 304
Sakalanītisammatam	203, 461, 514
Śākalya Mallu bhaṭṭa	316, 490, 491
Śaktivarma I (E. Cāḷukya king)	403
Saṁsāramāyās' iva	... 491
Samudragupta	... 137, 268
Śaṅkarācārya	... 317
Saṅgama II	487
Saṅgamarāja (Surabhi king)	141, 155
Saṅgītacintāmaṇi	427, 431, 433, 464
Saṅgītaratnākaram	... 487
Saṅgītasudhā	... 435
Saṅgītasudhākaram	... 417, 487
Śaṅkaramuni	... 312
Śaṅkarasvāmin	... 496
Saṅkīrtanalakṣaṇa	... 420, 422,
Śānta Rakṣita	... 287
Saptaśati	464, 465, 469, 522
Saptaśatīsāraṭīkā	... 464
Sarasvatī bhaṭṭa	... 473, 474
Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa	504
Sārṅgadhara	... 487
Sarvajña Siṅgama Nāyaka	25, 316, 529
Satīscandra Vidyābhūṣan	286
Saṭsahasradēśīyas	... 263
Saubhāgyadēvarāja (Pallava chief)	141
Saugandhikāharaṇa	... 473
Saviram Yellappa	... 206
Shaikh Muhammad Ṣirāj Junaidi	280
Shams-i-Ṣirāj 'Afif	... 281
Siddha cult	307, 308 to 310
Siddhana	... 500, 501
Siddhēśvaracaritra	... 270
Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśika	4, 226, 286, 311, 355, 368, 377, 437, 440, 445, 495, 534
Siṅga Bhūpāla I (Rēcerla chief)	22 490, 529,
Siṅga Bhūpāla II (Rēcerla chief)	3, 24, 102, 417, 427, 485, to 488, 529, 536
Siṅga Bhūpāla III (Rēcerla chief)	25, 529, 536
Siṅghaṇadēva (Yādava king)	487
Siṅgaya Nāyaka (Kōrukoṇḍa chief)	31, 32, 35, 418, 480, 485
Śivaleṅka Kommana	5, 508, 509, 510
Śivalīlāvilāsam	3, 58, 83, 134, 135, 137, 140, 141, 163, 190, 312, 495, 508, 509
Śivaliṅgā Reḍḍi	3, 196, 197, 201, 312, 465, 466
Śivarātri Māhātmyam	320, 495, 524, 525
Śivatattvasāram	... 70
Sōḍaśakumāracaritra	460, 495, 502, 503
Sōmadēvarāja	... 17, 18
Sōmadēvarājīyam	... 270
Sōmaya Preggaḍa (Sōmayamantri)	124, 206, 404
Sōmēśa	... 465
Sōmasiddhānta	... 478
Sōmēśvara	293, 296, 298, 301, 442
Sōmavallīyōgānanda Prahasanam	528
Śrīdēva Cakravarti	... 316
Śrīkṛṣṇavijayam	... 268
Śrīnātha	3, 4, 12, 50, 54, 133, 214, 226, 234, 239, 262, 266, 274, 286, 337, 373, 387, 407, 421, 424, 428, 430, 448, 459, 463, 465, 466, 469, 478, 491, 493, 515 to 531
Śrīgiri (Pramathakavi)	498
Śrīnātha Paṇḍita (of the Parahita family)	... 484
Śrīgiri Reḍḍi	... 199
Śrī Rāmānuja	... 313, 314
Śṛṅgāradīpikā	... 464, 465

Name	Page
Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadham	125, 162, 478, 522
Śṛṅgāra Śrīnātham ...	482
Śṛṅgārabhūṣaṇa Bāṇa ...	470
Śrīraṅgarājabhaṭṭaru Vaṁśāvaḷi	315
Śrīraṅga Māhātmyam	418, 451, 495
Śrīvatsacihnamiśra ...	314
Stuart, H. A. ...	241
Subhadrākalyāṇam ...	509
Śūdras ...	276
Śukra Nīti ...	89
Śukranītisāra ...	228
Sūrāṁbā ...	170, 271
Sūrāmātya ...	426
Sūraparāja (Pallava chief)	155
Svātmārāma yōgīndra	308

T

Name	Page
Tāḷḷapāka Tirumalayya	420
Tantric cult ...	310, 311
Tarkarahasyadīpikā ...	305
Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī ...	281
Tarnassari ...	412
Tattvaprakāśikā ...	465, 466
Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk ...	280
Teṟaṁbi ...	305
Tikkana Sōmayāji	494, 497, 505
Thomas Bowrey ...	389
Trilōcana Pallava ...	267, 362
Trilōcanācārya ...	467
Tripurāntaka ...	510, 511
Tripurāntakōdāharaṇam	510
Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra	438
Tiruveṅgaḷacakravarti	316
Turagā Rāma ...	168

U

Name	Page
Udāra Rāghavam ...	490, 491
Udayārjuna (Matsya chief)	140
Ugravāḍi Mōḷarasa ...	269
Uttara Rāmāyaṇam ...	433
Uṇḍi Rāja ...	113, 114
Uṇḍi Rāja (Pinnuṇḍi Rāja)	178, 179
Upēndra (Cāḷukya Chief of Elamañci) ...	152, 153
Ūraya ...	509
Uṣāpariṇayam ...	470

V

Name	Page
Vaiṣṇavism ...	313, 314
Vaiśyas ...	271
Vaiśyavaṁśasudhākaram	225, 272, 273, 274
Vallabha Cāmanāmātya	500
Vallabhāmātya (Vallabharāya)	127, 281, 286, 310, 326, 351, 431, 434, 443, 512, 513
Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa	311, 427, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473
Varadācārya ...	386
Varthema	236, 237, 287
Vasantarājīyam	145, 359, 427, 462
Vasantōtsava	353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359
Vāsavīkanyaka ...	274, 275
Vasco da Gama ...	406
Vāśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇam ...	514
Vatsavāya Timmajagapati	266
Vātsyāyana ...	353
Vēdānta Dēśika	313, 315, 316, 527
Veli-kāvali ...	231
Velugōṭi Rāyapa Nāyaka	148, 149, 150, 157, 365
Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśacaritra	10, 11, 12, 167, 250
Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi	11, 12, 101, 118, 128, 129, 166, 191, 245, 247, 248, 249, 529
Vēmabhūpālacaritam	48, 49, 66, 79, 85, 311
Vāmana (yōgi) ...	310

Name — Page

Vēmā Reḍḍi (Son of Allāda) 133, 136, 137, 138, 190, 191, 192, 193, 384
Vennelakaṇṭi Annaya 460, 502, 503, 504
Vennelakaṇṭi Sūrana ... 103
Viduranīti ... 461
Vidyāguru ... 306
Vidyānātha ... 507
Vidyāraṇya 25, 225, 313, 318, 458, 470
Vijayabāhu I ... 240
Vijayāditya ... 394
Vijayanandanavilāsam ... 271
Vijñānēśvarīyam ... 328
Vikramārkacaritra 309, 311, 418, 495, 499, 501, 539
Vikramārjunīyam ... 138
Vināyak Dēv ... 21
Vīra Balañjya Samaya 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395 to 399
Vīrabhadrā Reḍḍi (See also Allaya Vīrabhadra) 190, 191, 192, 193, 312, 417, 466, 481
Vīrabhadravijayam ... 326, 495
Vīrācāram ... 348
Vīramāhēśvaram ... 508
Vīra Narasiṁhadēva (E. Gaṅga king) ... 329
Vīra Narasiṁhadēva II (Hoysala king) ... 60, 61
Vīra Narasiṁha III (E. Gaṅga king) ... 108
Vīranārāyaṇacaritam ... 464
Viṣṇu Purāṇa 103, 121, 502
Viṣṇu Smṛti ... 229
Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman 268
Viṣṇuvardhana III (E. Cāḷukya king) ... 305, 333
Viśvanāthakavi ... 473, 474
Viśvēśvara (Sanskrit poet) 486, 487, 488
Viśvēśvara (Cāḷukya king) 417, 426, 507
Viśvēśvara Śiva ... 320 480
Vratas 337, 338, 339
Vyāḷi (Siddha) ... 485
Vyāghrarāja ... 137

W

William Taylor, Rev. 14

Y

Yājñavalkya ... 332

ERRATA

Page	Line	For	Read
vi	3	intensely	intensively
,,	35	Srínātha	Śrínātha
,,	37	Thmmayya	Thammayya
17	f.n. 4	Swell	Sewell
25	21	sate	state
31	42	somewhera	somewhere
53	14	flourshed	flourished
57	34	Kammas	Kammes
65	8	Reḍḍi's	Reddis
73	28	wiht	with
222	1	renumerated	remunerated
225	27	*Vaiśyavaṁśasudhārṇava*	*Vaiśyavaṁśasudhākaram*
226	11	assult	assault
243	11	diety	deity
253	18 & 21	similies	similes
262	f.n	ధాత్రినేఏ ప	ధాత్రినేలింప
295	21	*Abhilaṣitārhacintāmaṇi*	*Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*
295	29	Nicolo de Donti	Nicolo de Conti
360	21	*Davana Purnima*	*Davana Punnama*
394	34	*Artha Śsātra*	*Artha Śāstra*
421	6	*Bhīmveśvara*	*Bhīmeśvara*
427	20	*Ratnapāñclaikā*	*Ratnapāñcālikā*
435	31	Ragunātha Nāyaka	Raghunātha Nāyaka
463	7	Peda Komṭi Vēma	Peda Kōmati Vēma
467	26	Kolaca Mallinātha	Kōlacala Mallinātha

CORRIGENDUM

Page	Line	For	Read
117	30	"Anavēma's brāhman general"	"Anavēma's general"